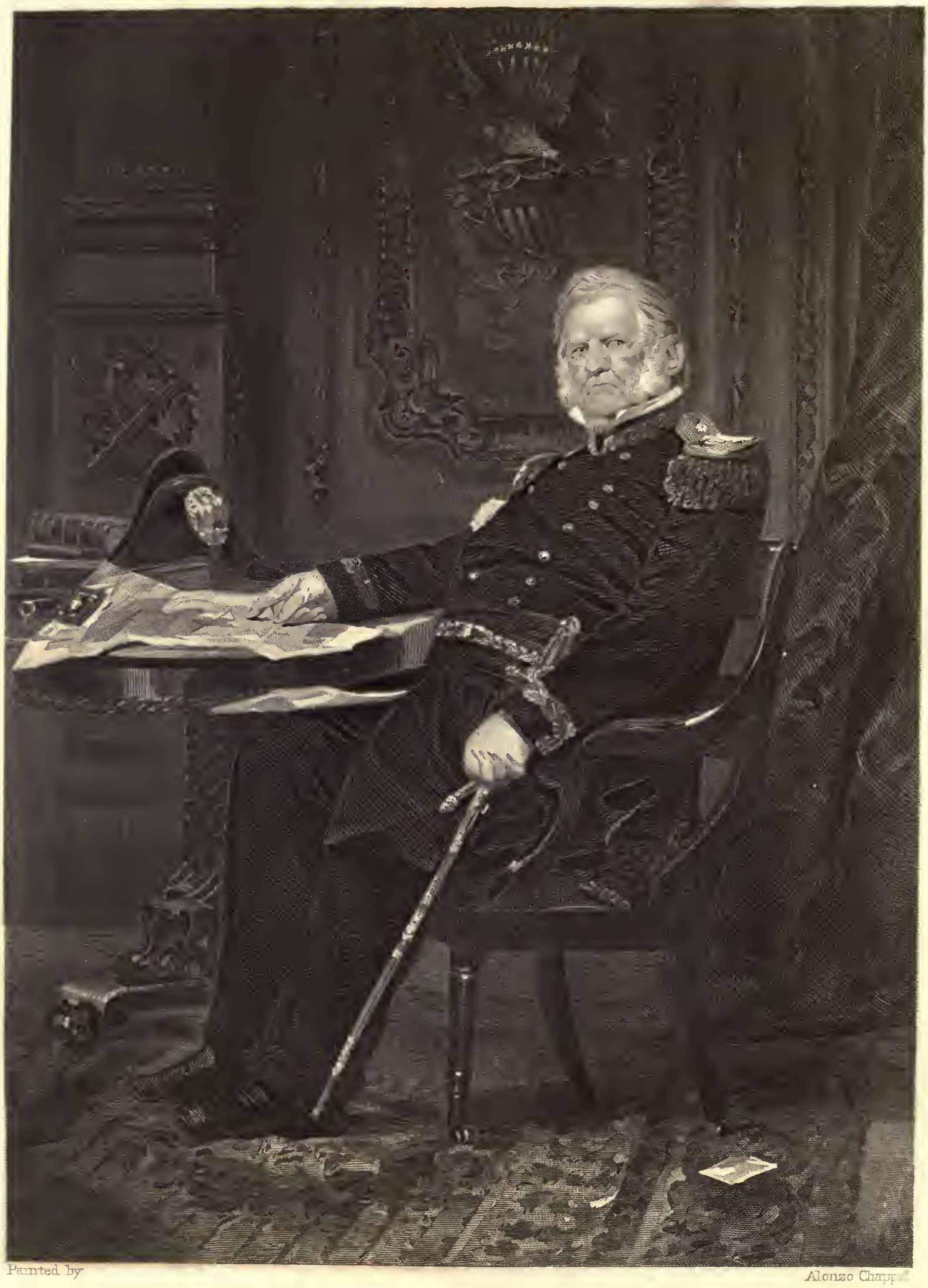
The Bancroft Library

University of California • Berkeley

Gift of

Cathrine Coates



Painted by Alonzo Chapp

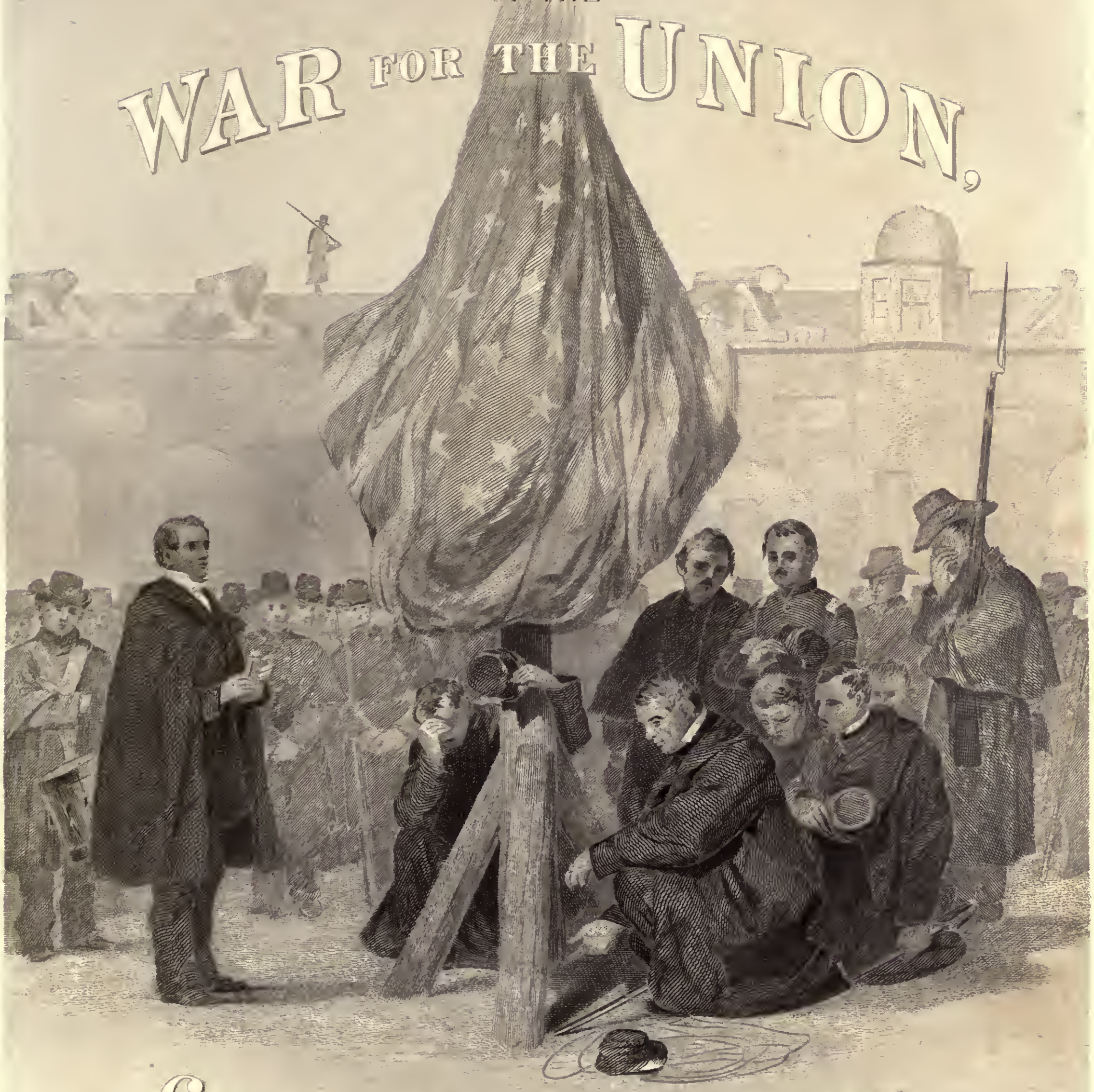
Winfield Scott.

[illegible] from a recent Photograph from life

[illegible]son [illegible] & Co Publishers, New York

[illegible]

HISTORY OF THE WAR FOR THE UNION,



CIVIL, MILITARY & NAVAL,

BY E. A. DUYCKINCK

Illustrated by Alonzo Chappel.

Drawn by Alonzo Chappel

CONSECRATING THE FLAG AT FORT SUMTER.

NEW YORK,
JOHNSON, FRY & COMPANY,
27 BEEKMAN STREET.

[illegible] Congress AD 1862 by Johnson, Fry & Co in the clerks office of the district court for the southern dist[illegible] N.Y

2511
14/3/1868

NATIONAL HISTORY

OF THE

WAR FOR THE UNION,

Civil, Military and Naval.

FOUNDED ON

OFFICIAL AND OTHER AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY

EVERT A. DUYCKINCK,

Author of "National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans," "Cyclopedia of American Literature," Etc.

Illustrated with Highly-Finished Steel Engravings.

INCLUDING

BATTLE SCENES BY SEA AND LAND, AND FULL-LENGTH PORTRAITS OF NAVAL AND
MILITARY HEROES, FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS,

BY ALONZO CHAPPEL AND THOMAS NAST.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOLUME I.

NEW YORK:
JOHNSON, FRY AND COMPANY,
27 BEEKMAN STREET.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1861,
By JOHNSON, FRY & COMPANY,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

THE Publishers submit this record of the WAR FOR THE UNION with a few words of acknowledgment to their Subscribers for their support during its progress. Undertaken at an early period of the conflict, when its duration could not be calculated, the work has been steadily prosecuted, chapter by chapter contemporaneously with the rapid march of events. Relying mostly upon original documents which will always retain their value, the narrative has been proportioned to the importance and length of the struggle; while the Artists have presented in a series of more than seventy engravings, the most remarkable incidents and most important personages who have figured in the national history during this unprecedented struggle. In attaining this result, the Publishers have had to encounter many mechanical difficulties growing out of the interruptions of labor, and the increased price of materials, consequent upon the war; but they have never suffered these embarrassments to interfere with the steady progress of the work.

One thing has been constantly kept in view, to exhibit as far as opportunity at the time allowed, the merits of the conflict as set forth in important State papers and other public documents by the parties on either hand. Thus by the side of the messages of President Lincoln will be found those of the leader of the Rebel Confederacy, and, where such materials were accessible, the dispatches and reports of rival commanders. Nor has it been attempted generally to sit in judgment upon the merits or pretensions of individuals, officers or statesmen, in the thronged arena of the conflict. It has been thought sufficient to exhibit prominent facts and results, leaving the decisions and awards of fame to the judgment of the reader. But one thing, it is believed, has never been lost sight of—the paramount claims of national allegiance and unqualified patriotism. This is a test upon which all lovers of their country will be agreed; that whatever allowances may be made for minor differences, they must all yield to the safety and welfare of the whole where the interests of the nation are at stake, in the maintenance and preservation of the UNION.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

CHAPTER. PAGE

I.—INTRODUCTORY 5

II.—RISE AND PROGRESS OF SECESSION 20

III.—PRELIMINARIES TO SUMTER 37

IV.—SECESSION IN CONGRESS 50

V.—THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY 65

VI.—INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN 78

VII.—FORT SUMTER 95

VIII.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION 120

IX.—RESPONSE OF THE NATION 131

X.—SEIZURE OF HARPER'S FERRY AND THE NORFOLK NAVY YARD 149

XI.—THROUGH BALTIMORE 162

XII.—GENERAL BUTLER'S DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS 174

XIII.—THE ADVANCE ACROSS THE POTOMAC 189

XIV.—AFFAIRS ON THE POTOMAC 202

XV.—MOVEMENTS OF THE CONFEDERATES 214

XVI.—THE DEATH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS 230

XVII.—AFFAIRS AT BALTIMORE 238

XVIII.—GENERAL BUTLER AT FORTRESS MONROE 252

XIX.—WESTERN VIRGINIA 274

XX.—EASTERN TENNESSEE 293

XXI.—PROCEEDINGS IN MISSOURI 305

XXII.—THE POSITION OF KENTUCKY 324

XXIII.—GENERAL McCLELLAN IN WESTERN VIRGINIA 342

XXIV.—MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS IN JULY 351

XXV.—THE MOVEMENT TOWARD MANASSAS 367

XXVI.—THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN 384

XXVII.—INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT 408

XXVIII.—FOREIGN RELATIONS 432

XXIX.—THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT AT RICHMOND 469

CHAPTER. PAGE
XXX.—THE SOUTHERN PRIVATEERS 479
XXXI.—EXTRA SESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS 490
XXXII.—THE BATTLE OF CARTHAGE, MO., JULY 5, 1861 502
XXXIII.—GENERAL LYON'S MISSOURI CAMPAIGN. BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK, AUGUST 10, 1861 514
XXXIV.—THE DEFENCE OF LEXINGTON, SEPTEMBER 12–20, 1861 531
XXXV.—HATTERAS ISLAND 538
XXXVI.—THE CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH-WESTERN VIRGINIA 556
XXXVII.—GENERAL FREMONT'S MISSOURI CAMPAIGN 578
XXXVIII.—MILITARY AND NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS AT SANTA ROSAS ISLAND AND THE PASSES OF THE MISSISSIPPI, SEPTEMBER–NOVEMBER, 1861 602

TO

THE ARMY AND NAVY

OF

THE UNITED STATES

This History

OF THE

WAR FOR THE UNION

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

THOU, TOO, SAIL ON, O SHIP OF STATE!
SAIL ON, O UNION, STRONG AND GREAT!
HUMANITY—WITH ALL ITS FEARS,
WITH ALL THE HOPES OF FUTURE YEARS—
IS HANGING BREATHLESS ON THY FATE!
WE KNOW WHAT MASTER LAID THY KEEL,
WHAT WORKMEN WROUGHT THY RIBS OF STEEL;
WHO MADE EACH MAST, AND SAIL, AND ROPE,
WHAT ANVILS RANG, WHAT HAMMERS BEAT:
IN WHAT A FORGE AND WHAT A HEAT
WERE SHAPED THE ANCHORS OF THY HOPE.
FEAR NOT EACH SUDDEN SOUND AND SHOCK,
'TIS OF THE WAVE AND NOT THE ROCK:
'TIS BUT THE FLAPPING OF THE SAIL,
AND NOT A RENT MADE BY THE GALE.
IN SPITE OF ROCK AND TEMPEST'S ROAR,
IN SPITE OF FALSE LIGHTS ON THE SHORE,
SAIL ON, NOR FEAR TO BREAST THE SEA!
OUR HEARTS, OUR HOPES, ARE ALL WITH THEE;
OUR HEARTS, OUR HOPES, OUR PRAYERS, OUR TEARS,
OUR FAITH TRIUMPHANT O'ER OUR FEARS,
ARE ALL WITH THEE,—ARE ALL WITH THEE.

Longfellow.

THE

WAR FOR THE UNION.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

"HOWEVER disagreeable it may be," is the language of the American historian, Minot, in commencing his narrative of the Insurrections in Massachusetts in 1786, and the Rebellion Consequent Thereon, "to review the troubles of our country, every patriot will look upon it as his duty, not to let them pass without notice. The period of misfortune is the most fruitful source of instruction. By investigating the causes of national commotions, by tracing their progress and by carefully marking the means through which they are brought to a conclusion, well established principles may be deduced, for preserving the future tranquility of the commonwealth." It is in the calm, impartial spirit of this remark that we would proceed to narrate, simply and clearly as we may, the development of the present most extraordinary conflict, a rebellion or attempted revolution, gigantic in its extent, terrible in the ferocity with which it has been carried on, and memorable to all time for its trial of principles and modes of government, in which the whole modern world is interested, and upon the maintenance of which the welfare of millions of people is immediately dependent. In many lights, truly, a most sad and humiliating struggle; in others, radiant with the purest glory of national devotion and self-sacrifice.

The time has, of course, not yet come for a complete record of these occurrences to be written. The movement began in secrecy; many of its hidden contrivances and resources will probably never be fully known; others may be disclosed only by the revelations of private manuscripts and correspondence in another age. Even a knowledge of what was publicly transacted, so wide has been the area and so numerous and complicated have been the incidents, must await the slow and patient labors of long-continued research. Who can now enter into the secrets of the opposing cabinets, or unravel the intricate web of statesmanship? The very operations of war, which would appear to be of a tangible character, have always their disputes and contradictions. With the best of evidence before us it is most difficult to determine the facts of a battle—what was actually performed and suffered, let alone determining the motives and plans of the combatants. Military critics yet dispute over conflicts which hundreds of annalists and commentators have labored to elucidate. How then must it be when the smoke and dust of the encounter have scarce rolled away from the plain?

Enough, however, lies open to the view to supply the reader with the more prominent features of these extraordinary passing events; to gratify his curiosity in many most interesting particulars; to afford fruitful opportunity for meditation in even a cursory review of the chronicle. We shall meet with many deeds of exalted heroism, worthy a better field than the painful theatre of civil war; with many exhibitions of manners and character which we might survey with more satisfaction, perhaps, were our fellow citizens not the actors, and our beloved country the scene.

To understand properly the origin and causes of this attempt on the part of the Southern States to assert and maintain their independence of the government of the United States, we must ascend to the beginning of our national history. We shall there find at the outset certain differences and conditions, marking the two portions of the country, the North and the South, which at no subsequent period, perhaps, have been wholly inoperative. They are to be referred, generally, to climate and the social relations springing from the peculiar institution of slavery. The South, as an agricultural producing region, with its fields tilled and its products gathered by slave labor, a privileged class of its inhabitants enjoying the benefits of wealth thus obtained, presented many contrasts to the less favored regions of the North, where competence, and even a bare subsistence could be gained in most instances only by patient toil and long continued self-denial. When the men of these opposite regions first met in the conventions and congresses preliminary to the formation of the national confederacy, the effects of these diversities were exhibited in taste and temper. John Adams, then making his way rapidly upward in the world, a curious and politic student of men's manners, and keenly sensitive to social discriminations, has left us in his diaries and correspondence various anecdotes and observations of these differences. As he travels southward from New England, he notices in Virginia the increased style and expense of living, and more than once records the perils to which the infant Union was subjected in the opposite temperaments and interests of the representatives of the North and the South. There is in particular a curious illustration of the relative social aspects of the two regions, in a letter which he wrote in 1775, to Joseph Hawley, in reference to the pay given by Congress to the privates of the army. His correspondent, at the East, urged that this remuneration be increased, a recommendation to which Adams replies that the gentlemen of the army from the southward thought it already too high, and that of the officers too low. He says that "many an anxious day and night" has been spent upon this subject; and adds the general reflection, "we cannot suddenly alter the temper, principles, opinions and prejudices of men. The characters of gentlemen in the four New England colonies differ as much from those in the others, as that of the common people differs; that is, as much as several distinct nations almost. Gentlemen, men of sense, or any kind of education, in the other colonies, are much fewer in proportion than in New England. Gentlemen in the colonies have large plantations of slaves, and the common people among them are very ignorant and very poor. These gentlemen are accustomed, habituated to higher notions of themselves, and the distinction between them and the common people than we are. And an instantaneous alteration of the character of a colony, and that temper and those sentiments which its inhabitants imbibed with their mothers' milk, and which have grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength, cannot be made without a miracle. I dread the consequences of this dissimilitude of character, and without the utmost caution on both sides, and the most considerate forbearance with one another, and prudent condescension on both sides, they will certainly be fatal. An alteration of the Southern Constitutions, which must certainly take place if this war continues, will gradually bring all the continent nearer and nearer to each other in all repects."[*]

This, certainly, is a very noticeable passage which has lost none of its political significance after the lapse of three-quarters of a century. That alteration of the Southern Constitutions is yet needed to complete that essential condition of a perfect union, which has never been better defined than in those very words, "gradually bringing all the continent nearer and nearer to each other in all respects."

The war of the Revolution did much to accomplish this. The men of the South shed their blood in the battle-fields of the North, and the men of the North in the battle-fields of the South, in a common cause; and the fraternity of the trench, the rampart and the deadly encounter with the foe was not lost upon them. It was a great lesson of brotherhood when Morgan and his riflemen hastened on foot on their extraordinary march to the field of Saratoga, or when Lincoln and Green with their companions found themselves by the side of Sumter and Marion, in defence of the plantations of the South. It was a still greater when WASHINGTON, aptly chosen from the middle region of the country, a representative of the purest and best traditions of the South, patiently and magnanimously spent his life in reconciling all contradictions, to mould and establish a great nation. The fates seemed to hold an impartial balance as the struggle for independence begun on Northern soil ended in the sunny region of the South.

Notwithstanding, however, this cement of blood in the common struggle of the Revolution, the North and the South were not as yet sufficiently one people to enter without an effort upon the more perfect union of the Constitution. The historian of that great charter of our liberties, while enumerating the embarrassments which beset its adoption, includes also, as "a very serious cause for discouragement, the sectional jealousy and State pride which had been constantly growing from the Declaration of Independence to the time when the States were called upon to meet each other upon broader grounds, and to make even larger sacrifices than at any former period. It is difficult," he adds, in a philosophic spirit, and with a prescience of coming events, "to trace to all its causes the feeling which has at times arrayed the different extremities of this Union against each other. It was very early developed, after the different provinces were obliged to act together for their great mutual objects of political independence; but, even in its highest paroxysms, it has always at last found an antidote in the deeper feelings and more sober calculations of a consistent patriotism. Perhaps its prevalence and activity may with more truth be ascribed, in every generation, to the ambition of men who find in it a convenient instrument of local influence, rather than to any other cause. It is certain that when it has raged most violently, this has been its chief aggravating element. The differences of neither manners, institutions, climate, nor pursuits, would at any time have been sufficient to create the perils to which the Union of the States has occasionally been exposed, without the mischievous agency of men whose personal objects are, for the time, subserved by the existence of such peculiarities. The proof of this is to be found in the fact, that the seasonable sagacity of the people has always detected the motives of those who have sought to employ their passions, and has compelled them at last to give way to that better order of men who have appealed to their reason."*

---

[*] Letter to Joseph Hawley, Philadelphia, 25th November, 1775. Adams' Works, ix. 366–7.

Alas! since this was written the argument has been put to a ruder issue, and a sterner arbiter has been brought in than the voice of sober judgment. But at the beginning and throughout the unhappy contest we may look to find the same parties. The antagonism commenced in faction, and the insane will of the few must depend for reconciliation in the end on the well grounded sober second thought of the many. Posterity, we may hope, profiting by our misfortunes, will be too wise again to renew the conflict on such a stage, with such weapons. No questions of domestic rights and policy can arise among us which may not be peaceably and satisfactorily adjusted by fair minded men for the welfare of all under the liberal provisions and beneficent working of the Constitution.

To expect that any large bodies of men will live together under a general government, actuated by the spirit of freedom, without the existence of party differences and opinions, is to look for what has never yet existed under any political system, and what it would, perhaps, be unphilosophical to desire. Uniformity of sentiment on all subjects in which a considerable number of men are called to act together, can exist only with a degree of indifference which would be more alarming than opposition. We may have stagnation and apparent uniformity; but a living, vital system will be the result of contending energies. Party we must expect to have under the best possible conditions of government. No society, worthy to take rank with the nations of the world, may hope to be without it. The various interests of such a community cannot be made so homogeneous that some cause of contention will not arise. If we could bring our wills and inclinations to uniformity, the very constitution of nature would still produce diversity. If our Northern and Southern States were to be definitely separated from one another, in each portion there would yet be differences. The manufacturing and commercial interests, city and country, free trade and protection, capital and labor, would be asserting their distinctive claims with more or less of hostility. There would be a foreign policy and a domestic policy; a policy of taxation, an inequality in the means of meeting it; a rivalry between the seaboard and the interior, between army and navy, between one method of internal improvement and another. While, if we should admit into the arena the discussion of new forms of government, or make religion in any way a state question, the opportunities of controversy would be indefinitely and intensely multiplied.

---

* History of the Constitution of the United States, by George Ticknor Curtis, i. 372. New York, 1854.

Now, the first principle of all combinations in society whatever, is that men must regulate their differences by adjustment and concession in some way. It is the most imperative of all social and political doctrines, without which neither a family, a club of friends, a city, a state, an empire, in fact, any form of human organization whatever, can exist. The full recognition of this paramount truth is the great distinction between wisdom and charlatanism in statesmanship. It is the difference between theory and practice, between mathematics and morals—the acceptance of a fate which is a law to the whole world. When material forces simply are to be dealt with, provided their qualities are well understood, a result only of long experience, they may be handled according to a definite, fixed rule or prescription. A formula of the chemist or the mechanician may be carried out to the letter. Not so with human dealing. There our action and progress must be politic. We must, within certain limits, be pliable and yielding, and leaving ideal abstractions and inflexible resolutions, get all the good we can under the circumstances. Wisely, treating of this very subject, and in connection too with American affairs, said the great English statesman, Edmund Burke, "All government, indeed every human benefit and enjoyment, every virtue and every prudent act. is founded on compromise and barter. We balance inconveniences; we give and take; we remit some rights that we may enjoy others; and we choose rather to be happy citizens than subtle disputants." But he adds, however, that while we may part with some civil liberties, "for the advantages to be derived from the communion and fellowship of a great empire," we must take care that "the thing bought bear some proportion to the purchase paid."* Applying these principles to the regulation of our political affairs on this continent, we find them already recognized in that great instrument, one of the subtlest contrivances of human wisdom, the Constitution of the United States. That organizes a government of balanced powers and mutual duties. It prescribes limitations where they are necessary, and leaves action free in the path of progress. It has been found hitherto, and will be found again, that where its provisions are honestly received and maintained, we shall have a free, liberal and enlightened government.

Is there anything which necessarily interferes with this? Has the Constitution failed to meet any question which has arisen, either of domestic or foreign policy? On the contrary, under its guidance and protection we have advanced in honor and influence abroad, in wealth and happiness at home. Why, then, have not all alike acknowledged its advantages, and been faithful in their allegiance?

In answer to this question, which involves the considerations of the essential conditions of union in the government of the whole number of states, we may

2

---

* Speech on Conciliation with America, March 22, 1775.

with satisfaction turn from the tumult and confusion of the hour, to the calm, accurately-pronounced judgment of De Tocqueville. He is universally accredited as a philosophical observer, of nice powers of discrimination in all that relates to the constitution and government of political bodies, and the qualifications for their well being. He has shown a remarkable sagacity and insight in his treatment of the affairs of America, and he wrote, moreover, at a time when the subject was fairly open to his view, amply illuminated by the experience of half a century of the history of the country, and quite unobscured by any mists of passion or prejudice belonging to the day. From 1835 to 1840, when M. De Tocqueville was engaged in committing to writing his great work on American Democracy, the results of his observations made a few years previously in the United States, the nation was prosperous and in repose. The cloud which had gathered on the political horizon, in a small region of South Carolina, in the Nullification proceedings of 1832, had been dissipated; and the political machinery of the general and state governments was working with its accustomed ease and regularity. What were then his observations and deductions? Looking first to the material interests depending upon the permanent existence of the Union, he found a powerful plea for its safety in the advantages gained by the States in strength in maintaining their commercial and public rights with other nations; while at home he saw, in the continuance of the confederacy, the absence of those evils of custom-houses, standing armies, taxes, and burdensome restrictions of all kinds, sure to arise on the Continent, on the breaking up of the national government. Nor did he find any physical causes calculated to favor such a dissolution. The Alleghanies presented no formidable difficulty, and the differences of soil and climate, with their corresponding varieties of production, so far from creating hostilities, were rightly considered bonds of union. He observed the almost exclusive agricultural employments of the Southern States; the equally engrossing commercial and manufacturing pursuits of the North, and the mingled agricultural and manufacturing industry of the West. But he saw no opposition in these diverse forms of wealth. He perceived no unhappy disagreement between the production of tobacco, of cotton, or rice, and that of wheat or Indian corn; nor did he see why one region might not yield with propriety what another with equal felicity should distribute to the world. The central regions of the West could have no ships, and the South might certainly benefit by the hardy commercial adventure of the North. As for slavery, so far from looking upon it at that time as a means of disintegration, he saw the South dependent upon the North for protection against the possible dangers of an alarmingly increasing negro population, dangerous to the safety of the whites in the minority.

Turning from material, he regarded those moral instincts which, stronger than all physical ties, are the bonds of good citizenship in civil societies. He found in the United States a remarkable agreement on those leading social and political principles, which make men to be of one mind in a house. "A government," says he, "retains its sway over a great number of citizens, far less by the voluntary and rational consent of the multitude, than by that instinctive and, to a certain extent, involuntary agreement, which results from similarity of feelings and resemblances of opinion." The people of the United States, though cherishing a great variety of sects, in general, he remarked, exhibited great uniformity of belief. Emphatically they had but one notion of politics, that of self-government, with all its claims or pretensions to wisdom, justice and virtue ; while national pride, lifting them above the monarchies of the old world, which regarded them with distrust, bound them together as one people. "They perceive that, for the present," said he, "their own democratic institutions succeed, while those of other countries fail ; hence they conceive an overweening opinion of their superiority, and they are not very remote from believing themselves to belong to a distinct race of mankind."

These, it must be admitted, are powerful links of agreement, both of interest and sympathy. But man is not always steadily governed by his interests, and his sympathies on great subjects may be disturbed by very inferior motives. The philosophical De Tocqueville saw some of these at work. Glancing at the danger of some one portion of the country getting so powerful as to do without the rest, and the difficulties which might result in some undefined way from the vast and unwieldy growth of a people rapidly spreading on a huge continent, with singular sagacity, as the event has proved, he dwelt at length on the jealousy which might arise from the comparative inferiority of a portion—a comparison, by the way, which ought never to arise where inevitable sectional differences should be lost in the general welfare of the whole. That cause of embarrassment he found at the South, which at that time, under the impulses given to European emigration, was rapidly yielding in population to the hitherto unpeopled West. The institution of slavery he saw also, not so much producing a diversity of interest, as a difference of manners ; opposing the feelings and sentiments attached to a comparatively idle, luxurious mode of living to the thoughts and habits induced by the stern industry and resolute persistence of the occupants of regions in some respects less favored by nature.

"The inhabitants of the Southern States are, of all the Americans," is the language of this acute writer, "those who are most interested in the maintenance of the Union ; they would assuredly suffer most from being left to themselves ; and yet they are the only citizens who threaten to break the tie of confederation. But it is easy to perceive that the South, which has given four presidents, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, to the Union ; which perceives that it is losing its federal influence, and that the number of its representatives in Congress is diminishing from year to year, while those of the Northern and Western States are increasing ; the South, which is peopled with ardent and irascible beings, is becoming more and more irritated and alarmed. The citizens reflect upon their present position, and remember their past influence, with the melancholy uneasiness of men who suspect oppression : if they discover a law of the Union which is not unequivocally favorable to their interests, they protest against it as an abuse of force ; and if their ardent remonstrances are not listened to, they threaten to quit an association which loads them with burdens while it deprives them of their due profits."

Even in this the philosophic observer saw nothing so very alarming, provided time were given, and with time, the sense of justice and moderation which comes with reflection, to settle and compose such fears. He perceived, however, an unfavorable influence at work, in that respect, growing out of the very extent and rapidity of the national prosperity. If the development were less rapid there would not, he thought, be so much occasion for alarm. "The progress of society in America is precipitate, and almost revolutionary. The same citizen may have lived to see his State take the lead in the Union, and afterward become powerless in the federal assemblies; and an Anglo-American republic has been known to grow as rapidly as a man, passing from birth and infancy to maturity in the course of thirty years. It must not be imagined, however, that the States which lose their preponderance, also lose their population or their riches; no stop is put to their prosperity, and they even go on to increase more rapidly than any kingdom in Europe. But they believe themselves to be impoverished, because their wealth does not augment as rapidly as that of their neighbors; and they think that their power is lost because they suddenly come into collision with a power greater than their own. Thus they are more hurt in their feelings and their passions than in their interests. But this is amply sufficient to endanger the maintenance of the Union."

How wise is all this! What a key does it afford to the present unhappy contest. It may not unlock all the recesses of this intricate question which, assuming the vast form of an attempted revolution, must needs have many explanations of interest and passion; but it is certainly sufficiently comprehensive of the main issue. The South, jealous of declining influence, and indisposed from pride or prejudice to look for new elements of strength, which might have been found within the Union, sought power and authority outside of it, in a revolutionary attempt at its destruction.

Mr. John Stuart Mill, the eminent English author of the System of Logic, universally acknowledged one of the most acute writers of the times on matters relating to political and social science, has, in a chapter of his recent work on Representative Government, considered the essential conditions of a successful federation. He finds them to be three-fold: a mutual sympathy; an amount of power in none of the states great enough to maintain itself alone against encroachment; an equilibrium of strength, involving mutual dependence of the component parts. Taking the United States separately, and not by large geographical divisions, we may safely apply the two latter tests. None of them is powerful enough to array itself in arms against any serious foreign aggression, and no one is strong or wealthy enough not to feel the need of one or more of the others. As for the first and most important consideration, it is resolved by Mr. Mill, somewhat in the style of thought of De Tocqueville, into the sympathies of race, language, religion, and above all, of political institutions. To name these conditions is at once to suggest their applicability to the United States. We need not stop to illustrate them. But while we draw from them the most hopeful auguries for the future, we may pause to note the single exception taken by this intelligent observer. "In America," says he "where all the conditions for the maintenance of union existed at the highest point, with the sole drawback of difference of institutions in the single but most important article of slavery, this one difference has gone so far, in alienating from each other's sympathies, the two divisions of the Union, as to be now actually effecting the disruption of a tie of so much value to them both."*

The argument for Union afforded in the physical geography of the country, the bonds and ties of its great arteries of river communication, needs only a glance at the map to be demonstrated. Its force was felt by the first founders of the nation. No one saw it better than Jefferson, who, with prophetic instinct, gave the nation Louisiana. No dweller on the Ohio, the Missouri, the Mississippi or their numerous tributaries need be told of it. Yet we may cite with satisfaction the noble expression of this great natural and political truth uttered by Dr. Lieber in a letter to the President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York. "Nature," says he, "gave us a land abounding in all the means of sustaining life and industry—food and fuel. She cast a net work of fluvial high roads over the whole. Our history is marked by no feature more distinctly than by the early complete freedom of river navigation, for which other nations have struggled in vain for many long centuries; and this Insurrection with a Federal confession of judgment, steps in and means to snap the silver thread. The Mississippi belongs to you, sir, as much as to any man in Louisiana, and it is mine as much as it is yours. It belongs to the country by Divine right, if *jus divinum* ever existed in any case; and let us trust in God, that the country will never allow it to be wrested from us. Every consideration, from the consciousness of a high mission impressed upon us by our Maker to that of the commonest economy, urges us to hold fast to the unstinted freedom of our fluvial and all other communication."*

Turning from this cursory glance at the elementary conditions of the Union and its preservation, we may briefly review a few of the historical antecedents which stand out prominently in more or less relation to this great Revolt. They may be referred generally, with sufficient accuracy for our purpose, to the maintenance on important occasions of the doctrine of State Rights, and to the legislation on the subject of Slavery. The first prominent assertion of the former after the adoption of the Constitution, arose in the administration of John Adams, in an opposition to certain measures of the government, and found expression in those pregnant texts for future political orators the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798. Both of these were levelled against what are called the Alien and Sedition acts, which were passed by Congress with the view of defending the government against the machinations of foreigners, and any conspiracies or furtherance of them by malicious writings. The Administration of Adams, it will be remembered, was then opposed with great violence by a faction in the interest of France, and it was held, doubtless, by the legislators who passed the acts, that the extraordinary perils of the day justified them. Not so, however, thought that watchful guardian of the public liberties, Thomas Jefferson, whose zeal on the occasion was sharpened by the fervor of political animosity. He prepared the draft of a series of resolutions to be presented to the Kentucky Legislature, in which a theory of the government was laid down, and a practice enjoined which would virtually set aside the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court on questions where power given by the Constitution to the government was supposed to be transcended, and make the individual States sovereign judges over the whole. The Resolutions, as actually presented in a less destructive, modified form, asserted the limited powers of the government under the "compact" of the Constitution, and maintained "that as in all other cases of compact, among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress." This was certainly a broad generalization, but, if we may interpret it by the light of the accompanying resolutions, it was by no means intended to cover the modern doctrine of secession. The object of the Resolutions was to agitate and procure a repeal of the obnoxious acts. The utmost that was said, was "that these and successive Acts of the same character, unless arrested on the threshold, may tend to drive these States into," not, be it remarked, peaceable secession, but "revolution and blood." The spirit of the whole was a jealous maintenance of the reserved rights of the States against any usurpation of authority by the general government. That Jefferson himself, their author, would, if he had been required to pronounce a settled opinion on the subject, have deprecated any division of the Union on any grounds short of an absolute necessity for revolution, may be judged from the words of a letter which he wrote some months before, to John Taylor of Caroline, when that extreme theorist thought it was time "to estimate the separate map of Virginia and North Carolina with a view to their separate existence." Not so, said Jefferson, in reply, after reviewing the evils which the country was supposed to be suffering from the New England domination:—"If, on a temporary superiority of the one party, the other is to resort to a scission of the Union, no Federal government can ever exist. If to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the New England States cut off, will our natures be changed? Are we not men still to the South of that, and with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania and a Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands by eternally threatening the other that unless they do so and so they will join their Northern neighbors? If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units. Seeing, therefore, that an association of men who will not quarrel with each other, is a thing which never yet existed, from the greatest confederacy of nations down to a town meeting or a vestry—seeing that we must have somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than to see our bickering transferred to each other."*

---

* Considerations on Representative Government. By John Stuart Mill. Chap. xvii. Lond. 1861.

* Letter of Dr. Francis Lieber to the President of Chamber of Commerce, New York, October, 1861.

The Virginia resolutions, drawn up by James Madison, and presented in the State Legislature in December, a month after the Kentucky resolutions, may be considered explanatory of the latter. In marked language they expressly assert "that this Assembly most solemnly declares a warm attachment to the Union of the States," and maintain the inviolability of the Constitution for the preservation of that Union. For that end, an alarm of danger was indeed sounded, but with no other sentiment than "the truest anxiety for establishing and perpetuating the union of all." The other States were called upon to join Virginia in pronouncing the acts unconstitutional, and to take the necessary measures to co-operate "in maintaining unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The resolutions were undoubtedly of a suspicious and dangerous character, but they were far from countenancing any doctrine of secession, still further from putting any such doctrine in practice. Their object was political agitation within the limits of the Constitution, for its preservation.

They were often appealed to, in subsequent days, as the creed of the State Rights party, and much that they contain is incontrovertible; they were, doubtless, mischievous in the tendency of certain expressions; they perhaps trifled with nullification; but we have too much respect for their authors, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, to suppose for a moment that they inculcated so absurd a political doctrine as the secession of a State from the Union, federal compact, or whatever it may be called, at will. When that question came up thirty-four years after, one of the parties, Madison, emphatically the guardian and interpreter of the Constitution, gave no unequivocal opinion upon the subject.*

No action injurious to the government followed these much talked of resolutions. The occasion which called them forth soon passed away; the obnoxious acts ceased from their own limitation. Jefferson came into power, and his party, of course, were satisfied with the ordinary working of the Constitution.

The next demonstration of this nature on the part of the States, arose in New England, and grew out of dissatisfaction with the war of 1812. The embargo destroyed the commerce of that region, and there were local jealousies and other distrusts of the employment of the militia. The eastern States were disposed to claim exclusive control over the latter raised within their borders. They were reluctant to furnish money and men for what they thought an unprofitable warfare. A Convention was called at Hartford to discuss these grievances. It gave birth to a Report which reflected the spirit of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions in some of its sentences, but which by no means countenanced rebellion. The resolves which were adopted, were limited to recommendations to the legislatures of the States represented, to protect their citizens from the operation of acts unauthorized by the Constitution, subjecting them to forcible drafts, conscriptions, or impressments, and advice to the States to protect and defend themselves. There were also amendments to the Constitution proposed, apportioning representation and taxation on the basis of the white population, limiting the powers of Congress with reference to embargoes and the war-making power, forbidding naturalized citizens to be eligible to any civil office under the United States, and the president to be elected twice or for two terms, or to be chosen from the same State twice in succession. The convention which made these suggestions met in secret, prepared them with diffidence, and had but little encouragement in any quarter. The proceedings came to nothing. It was but a local and temporary agitation. The war passed over, and the suggestions and amendments were not thought of again. The Hartford Convention, greatly exaggerated, remained only a name of terror, occasionally brought forward to discredit politicians who, rightfully or wrongfully, were made to bear the penalty of an unpopular act. The bare suspicion of disloyalty to the government was a fatal brand to a man endeavoring to rise in public life.

---

* Hildreth's Hist. of the United States. 2d series, II. 234.

* Letter to Daniel Webster on his speech in the United States Senate, "The Constitution not a Compact," in reply to Calhoun. Everett's Memoir of Webster. Webster's Works, I. cvii

Nearly twenty years passed away when the voice of disaffection was again heard at the South. This time the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were the grievances complained of. They were in the interest of the North and a burden to the South, it was alleged, and were pronounced unconstitutional. The South Carolina Legislature, under the inspiration of Calhoun, asserted the State Rights doctrines in their extreme form. The State, it was resolved, should, when it had determined for itself that the Constitution was infringed, repudiate the acts of the government. This was Nullification. A Convention of Delegates met in November, 1832, and adopted an ordinance applying the principle. The tariff acts were declared null and void, and any attempt of the United States to enforce them, it was resolved should be a signal for the dissolution of the Union, when the State of South Carolina would forthwith proceed to organize a separate government. This revolutionary declaration was met the following month by the most energetic proceeding on the part of the government, to maintain its military authority at Charleston, and the Proclamation of President Jackson, which with great clearness and an unanswerable line of argument, maintained the power assumed by the State to be "incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed."

The Proclamation, as is well known, was written by Edward Livingston, but its sentiments and ideas were fresh from the heart of Jackson. It was prepared under his supervision, and received its most earnest appeals from his patriotic energy. "Let it," said he, as he wrote at midnight, submitting the conclusion to his friend for his amendment and revision, "let it receive your best flight of eloquence to strike to the heart and speak to the feelings of my deluded countrymen of South Carolina. The Union must be preserved, without blood if this be possible; but it must be preserved at all hazards and at any price."*

---

* Andrew Jackson to Edward Livingston, December 4, 1832—11 o'clock P. M. This letter was read by Mr. George Bancroft at the Cooper Institute at a meeting in November, 1861, called for the aid of the suffering patriots of North Carolina. The original letter was placed in his hands by the only surviving child of Mr. Livingston.

Jackson was not a man to be content with words. A Proclamation with him was always the prelude to vigorous action. It was backed in this case by a force quite adequate to collect the revenue and maintain the laws. The consequence of this decision was, that the revenue was still collected and South Carolina postponed her desperate remedy. Calhoun came on to Washington to take his seat in the Senate. The President was disposed to arrest him for treason, and it is said, afterward regretted that he had not done so. The Force Bill to make provision for the collection of the revenue was introduced. Mr. Calhoun then made his stand, submitting a series of resolutions announcing his favorite doctrine of the separate sovereignty of the States, the constitutional compact which united them as States, and the right of each to determine for itself when its privileges were violated, and to choose its own measures of redress. He maintained these resolutions in an elaborate speech, marked by the speaker's characteristic clearness and subtilty, which was replied to with at least equal ability by Webster, in an oration refuting the "compact" theory of State sovereignties, and establishing the authority of the Constitution as a government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations between itself and individuals; that, as a necessary consequence, no State authority could dissolve these relations, that nothing could dissolve them but revolution, and that there could of course be no such thing as secession without revolution.

Subsequent events have proved the force of the orator's argument. His theories and warnings have unhappily been written in letters of living light in the actions of rebellion; they have been stamped in characters of fire upon the country; thousands of desolated abodes are monuments of his judgment; a myriad of graves record his sagacity. "To begin with Nullification," said he, "with the avowed intent, nevertheless, not to proceed to secession, dismemberment and general revolution, is as if we were to take the plunge of Niagara, and cry out that he would stop half way down. In the one case as in the other, the rash adventurer must go to the bottom of the dark abyss below, were it not that that abyss has no discovered bottom." His conclusion, enforcing the necessity of preserving the Constitution and Union at every cost, was equally prophetic. He, indeed, was spared the practical application of his own doctrine. The energy of Jackson and the moderation of Clay for a time arrested the dark fate which the rebellious State courted for herself. In our time she has claimed and secured the awful Nemesis. When men pondered for a moment, awe-struck and inert, the words of Webster, though dead, yet speaking, came to their ears. "If the Constitution cannot be maintained without meeting these scenes of commotion and contest, however unwelcome, they must come. We cannot, we must not, we dare not, omit to do that which, in our judgment, the safety of the Union requires."

In 1860, in the concluding acts of the thirty-sixth Congress, when the seceding Southern members were aiming their Parthian arrows at the gentle mother which had given them protection and a name, a noble-hearted defender of his country, destined shortly to seal his devotion on the battle-field with his life, stood up in his place to parry the deadly assault. The honest, forcible convictions of Senator Baker of Oregon, in reply to the casuistry of Senator Benjamin of Louisiana—a leader presently of the rebel government—were uttered in the language of Webster. The weapons, "forg'd for proof eterne," with which he fought, were borrowed from that celestial armory.*

"I have had a laborious task here," wrote Jackson, from Washington to a clergyman, the Rev. Andrew J. Crawford, in a slaveholding State, when the contest with South Carolina was over, "but nullification is dead; and its actors and courtiers will only be remembered by the people to be execrated for their wicked designs, to sever and destroy the only good government on the globe, and that prosperity and happiness we enjoy over every other portion of the world. Haman's gallows ought to be the fate of all such ambitious men, who would involve their country in civil war and all the evils in its train, that they might reign and ride on its whirlwinds and direct the storm. The free people of these United States have spoken, and consigned these wicked demagogues to their proper doom. Take care of your nullifiers; you have them among you; let them meet with the indignant frowns of every man who loves his country. The tariff, it is now known, was a mere pretext. . . . The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question."*

The maintenance of the State Rights theory, in the extreme doctrine of Nullification and its kindred progeny, thus furnished a certain support, a set of principles as it were, which might be brought into service, when it was thought necessary to intimidate or coerce the political action of the majority.

It remains to consider briefly the state of facts, or the subject matter, which was to furnish food for the development, on so grand a scale, of this malevolent theory. This, as Jackson predicted, was the question of slavery. From the beginning of the government there had been jealousies and anxieties on this head. The interests and growing moral convictions of the North, and the views of many influential leaders at the South, were opposed to the institution from the beginning; but in the formation of the government it was left untouched in the several States, and by a species of compromise, recognized to a certain extent in the Constitution. It was made a basis of representation, and it was protected outside of its State municipal limits, within which it was never interfered with, by the provision which required the return of fugitives from labor. Beyond this, in the practice of the government, it was considered and treated as a subject within the control and legislation of Congress. Thus in the Congress of 1789, the first under the Constitution, the ordinance passed by the Congress of the Confederation in 1787, prohibiting slavery in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, was unanimously re-affirmed. It was again the subject of legislation to some extent, in the organization of the Territory of Mississippi, derived from the State of Georgia, and became notably such when the purchase of Louisiana added a vast region to the country. The question was brought to a direct issue on the admission of Missouri as a State in 1819. A strong Northern party was desirous, in accordance with the spirit and motives of the ordinance governing the Northwestern Territory of the original States, to exclude slavery from this additional western region. The battle was long and fiercely fought, calling forth many of those arguments and appeals on both sides which have of late become so familiar to the country. The moral evil of slavery, and the duties to restrict it, were pressed with great earnestness by one party, while the other maintained it was beyond the province of Congressional legislation. After long agitation, the subject was settled by a compromise. Missouri was admitted as a slave State, while, with the exception of her domain, all the territory north of the line of 36 degrees, 30 minutes, being the northern line of Arkansas, was to be free. It followed by natural inference, that the occupants of all territory south of the line, might exercise their discretion on the subject; and, at a proper time, be admitted into the Union as States, with or without the adoption of slavery in their several Constitutions, as they preferred.

---

* Senator Baker's Speech in the Senate, January 2, 1861.

† Manuscript Letter of Gen. Jackson, May 1, 1833, cited by Mr. Sumner in the Senate, December 10, 1860.

Such was the opinion and practice of the nation, till the year 1845 introduced a new element into the question. Texas was then annexed, an event which was immediately followed by the war with Mexico. The termination of that conflict brought a vast additional area to the country, lying between the northern boundaries of California and the far southern limits of New Mexico, drawn from the Rio Grande to the Pacific. New legislation was required. By the Congressional legislation of 1850, California was admitted as a free State, the Territories of New Mexico and Utah were organized, the slave trade was abolished in the District of Columbia, and the South received new guarantees for the enjoyment of her slave property, in a stringent Fugitive Slave Act drawn up by Senator Mason. The series of measures, taken together, were considered as a compromise on the vexed question of slavery, and as such were advocated by their author, Henry Clay, and secured the support of Benton, Webster, and others. In the North they were generally accepted; in the South they were received with distrust, which might have led through disaffection to open revolt, had the extreme councils of some of the leaders, like Quitman, been adopted by the people. South Carolina and Mississippi were, indeed, fast ripening for rebellion, but the hour had not yet come to strike. Mr. Clay's was not a good name to conjure evil spirits. They would not come at that call. The conspirators waited another word of incantation. The love of the Union in the hearts of the people was not yet lightly to be dislodged.

With the passage of Mr. Clay's resolutions, it was hoped the much-agitated subject would be laid at rest, and the country enjoy the longed for repose; and this, perhaps, might have been the case, had the wise councils of the disinterested advocates of the Compromise continued to govern their successors. Four years after, when Clay had closed his mortal career, his last memorable public service being the advocacy of the measures just alluded to; and Webster, with an interval of a few months only, had followed him to the grave, the mouldering fires were stirred again in their ashes, and the flames burst forth with renewed vigor. The organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, brought the old discussion once more to the legislative halls at Washington. The adjustment of that matter, in the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska Act, in 1854, by which, the duty of Congress in the protection of the Territories during their pupilage being suspended, the whole question was left to be decided by chance or conflict as it might happen,—the provision of the admission of these States, with or without slavery, as the terms of their Constitution at the time of their application should dictate—this abandonment of the principles of the Missouri Compromise, re-opened once more the whole fatal strife. The debate was transferred from the Senate Chamber to the battle-field ; emigrants from the free and from the slave States met on the soil of Kansas, in rival attempts to occupy the ground in favor of their different modes of society. Through wrangling, perplexity, fraud, and bloodshed the work of colonization was carried on. The boasted Squatter Sovereignty, as the bastard system of Senator Douglas was ingloriously and not inappropriately called, proved not the so-much desired solution of a difficult question in peace and harmony, or the expected cessation of political antagonism ; but on the contrary, the introduction of the wildest confusion and embarrassments, confounding the councils of the President, Congress, hosts of Committeemen, troops of Governors and army officials. Out of the sickening contest came, in the end, the free State of Kansas ; but its birth heralded a wide spread civil war, which had taken its first lessons of crime and desolation on that blood-stained soil.

The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico, were thus indirectly the source of the political agitations which placed Mr. Lincoln in the Presidency in 1860. A war undertaken for the extension of slavery, ended in its limitation. The territory was gained, and its first production was the Democratic Free-soil party of 1848. Texas, the Mexican war, the Wilmot proviso, the Clay compromises, Douglas' Kansas and Nebraska Act, the rehearsal of strife and battle in the infant Territory, the rise and rapid development of the Republican party, the canvass of Fremont, the election of Lincoln, are so many events in direct sequence marking the progress of that great rivalry of ideas and institutions which, existing from the beginning, often laid to rest and never extinguished, culminated in the Great Rebellion of 1861.

CHAPTER II.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF SECESSION.

THE introduction to this opening drama was the election for the Presidency. The canvass of 1860 brought four candidates into the field, representing different shades of political opinion, turning more or less directly on the free-soil agitation which had vexed the country since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Of these, Mr. John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, was the candidate of a minority of the Democratic party, the ultra pro-slavery party of the South ; and stood pledged by the resolutions of his supporters in the conventions, at Charleston in April and at Baltimore in June, to the fullest protection of the institution. Not only, by the terms of those resolutions, had Congress or the Territorial Legislature no power to abolish or prohibit the introduction of slavery in the Territories, or impair its assumed rights, but it was declared to be the duty of the Federal Government, if necessary, to afford to such property active protection. Diametrically opposed to this doctrine stood the declarations under which Mr. Lincoln accepted his nomination, from the Republican National Convention at Chicago, in May. The "platform" of that body explicitly set forth, in language made remarkable by subsequent events, " that the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country." It was also further declared, " that the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom ; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain the provisions of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it ; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.' Intermediate between these declarations on the Territorial question, came in Mr. Douglas, the nominee of the majority of the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, who was understood to advocate a doctrine of non-intervention by Congress, or " popular sovereignty." A fourth body of delegates, professing to represent a certain " Constitutional Union" conservatism, met also at Baltimore in May, and with the simple declaration, " that it is both the part of patriotism and duty to recognize no political principles other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws," pledged themselves to " maintain, protect, and defend those great principles of public liberty and national safety." Their nominee for the Presidency was Mr. John Bell, of Tennessee, with Mr. Edward Everett for the Vice Presidency.

With principles thus pronounced, the case was given to the country in November, when it appeared that of the entire popular vote, 4.662,170, Mr. Lincoln received 1.857,610 ; Mr. Douglas, 1.365, 976 ; Mr. Breckenridge, 847,953 ; and Mr. Bell, 590,631. Every free State, except New Jersey, where the vote was divided, voted for Lincoln, giving him seventeen out of the thirty-three States which then composed the Union. In nine of the slave States, besides South Carolina, he had no electoral ticket. Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Texas, cast their vote for Breckenridge ; Bell received Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia ; Douglas, Missouri. The electoral vote stood for Lincoln and Hamlin, 180 ; for Breckenridge and Lane, 72 ; for Bell and Everett, 39 ; for Douglas and Johnson, 12.

Such was the expression of the popular voice, after a canvass conducted with earnestness on both sides, and, apart from the intrigues and divisions of the politicians of the Democratic party in their Charleston Convention, with remarkable moderation and freedom from acerbity. It appeared the calm, sober, regular assertion of the judgment of the country on a question of national policy which had been long discussed and fully investigated. The Republican speakers had, indeed, been denied a hearing at the South ; but of this, while they felt its inconvenience and injustice, they made no complaint, for they were successful without it. The public had yet to learn what such exclusiveness foreboded ; they did not read in it incipient treason and rebellion, or if the suspicion crossed the mind, it was rejected as uncharitable and incredible. On the other hand, Southern orators like Yancey, openly threatening rebellion, and partizans of their way of thinking, had spoken freely in Northern cities ; and their language, however unpalatable, had been listened to with respect. The defeated party had nothing to complain of on that score. If their divisions had elected Lincoln, it was obviously their own fault. They were not such children in political science, as to be taught the propriety of submission to the authoritative declarations of the ballot-box.

The vote, if we interpret it by the professions of the Republicans, — and they were entitled to the benefit of their promises till they should refute them by their actions,—said that, while the influence of the new government was to be on the side of freedom, yet that every principle of the Constitution was to be maintained. The party, absorbing largely the old elements of Whiggism, certainly did not present a revolutionary aspect. It rather appeared to lean to conservatism. Its candidate had been chosen as eminently a safe, prudent leader. Indeed, in the delicate relations of the times, the country would not have tolerated a violent agitator or disturber of its peace. The intention of the victorious party, if we regard the declarations of its interpreters, was to adhere to and maintain the sound constitutional doctrines of the fathers of the Republic. If any resistance was to be offered to slavery, it was not to the privileges conceded to it by the Constitution, but to its extension into new fields of which Congress was the guardian.

Mr. Lincoln, whose election was so often made the pretence of hostility,—as if the whole Government were in the hands of the President,—had openly pronounced his sentiments on the chief measures in agitation in the country in reference to slavery ; and in each instance had shown not only the highest deference to the Constitution and the laws, but a prudent regard to the peace and welfare of the country. He had declared, in the most emphatic manner, that he considered the people of the Southern States entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave Law ; though he thought the one in existence might be amended, while he had no intention of impairing its efficiency. He would not, he said, " introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery." He would even, he admitted, much as he should dislike the necessity, acknowledge the claim of a new State to be admitted with a slave constitution, though he would have the noxious element of slavery kept away from it while in a territorial condition. In regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, while, with Henry Clay, he thought it desirable to "sweep from our Capital that foul blot upon our nation," he held that if it were done, it should be in accordance with several conservative provisions, namely, that the abolition should be gradual, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District, and that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. Of the abolition of the slave trade between the different States, he had formed no opinion, for he had not sufficiently studied the constitutional question; but, if he were to make up his mind in favor of the measure, he would not press it without regard to the wishes and welfare of the parties immediately interested. Such, in effect, were the declarations to which he pledged himself in the summer of 1858, in his electioneering contest with Douglas in Illinois; and the record was often appealed to while he was a candidate for the Presidency.

There was, however, another declaration which fell from his lips the same season, which, as it was frequently quoted by his opponents and has since, by the progress of events, attained a sort of historical significance may be worth presenting in this relation. It was made in a speech at Springfield, Illinois, at the close of the Republican State Convention in June. "We are now," said he, "far into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward, till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South." This was indeed a notable expression of opinion, a most sagacious glance of a keen sighted observer on what was passing before him, a species of prophecy, as it turned out; but it did not necessarily imply any disposition to hasten either event by a revolutionary course of conduct.

More important, however, than any of these declarations of a local political conflict several years old, as an interpretation of Mr. Lincoln's views and feelings in relation to the existing state of affairs, was the language of the address which he delivered in the city of New York not long before his nomination, and which was largely circulated as an indication of his policy. Its leading design, rigorously carried out with equal learning and acumen, was to test the principles of the Republican party by the practice of the Fathers of the Constitution. "Let all," said he, adopting a text thrown out in one of the speeches of Senator Douglas, "who believe that 'our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now,' speak as they spoke and act as they acted upon it. This is all that Republicans ask—all Republicans desire—in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it again be marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it, be, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content. . . . It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not do so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can."*

The amiable and conservative character of these declarations had to be admitted by all fair-minded disputants, who would then be driven to point out the probability of the influence of such a man in bringing others to his way of thinking, and thus providing for the passage of measures tending to the limitation of slavery with the safeguards which he proposed. The weakness and absurdity of such a remonstrance were palpable enough, yet it was frequently urged by men who appeared so determined to uphold Southern institutions, that they would not permit them to be brought in question even by the Southerners themselves ; for who could be influenced to any purpose in such an issue save the slaveholders ? Moreover, both branches of Congress were in the hands of the opponents of Mr. Lincoln, and might be presumed to be a sufficient guard over his movements. He could be little, after all, but their Executive. What, then, was the danger to be apprehended from a Republican President, thus prudent in his own resolves, and thus powerfully held in check by his political adversaries ?

In vain were all these inducements to a pacific policy held up before Southern statesmen. It would seem that they had adopted a course of revolt before which nothing of good counsel that could be offered would be suffered to stand in the way. On no other hypothesis than a disposition to break up the Union at all hazards, can their conduct be accounted for. Instant measures were taken by them to array the whole region south of the Potomac in opposition not merely to the Republicans, but to the government itself. It was not legitimate influence in the work of legislation which was sought for in their agitation, but disorganization and absolute destruction of the State. Immediately leading actors began to busy themselves publicly with the work of treason. Influential politicians corresponded with one another, schemed, plotted and intrigued. The readiness with which they brought forward their arguments, and the confidence of their plans showed them practiced in the arts of revolt. They were evidently but enacting in the eye of the public what they had long before studied and rehearsed in private. The long-desired opportunity for which they had eagerly waited, had arisen. Their arguments on previous occasions had failed to convince, or had not been followed by action. They had now an irresistible appeal in the election by the North of a Republican President, a sworn foe, as he was represented, of Southern institutions. In full command of their political machinery, working upon the prejudices and ignorance of the people, they had but to touch certain springs, and the fair edifice of the national authority in the South fell to the ground, and in its stead arose the hideous structure of a rebel Confederacy.

---

* Address of the Hon. Abraham Lincoln at the Cooper Institute. New York, February 27, 1860.

Indeed, there is but too much reason to believe, from the public declarations of many of their eminent politicians, from the divisions at the Charleston Convention, and from other indications, that Disunion was a foregone conclusion in many Southern minds. The election of a Northern President, chosen by the votes of the Northern States, it was frequently asserted would justify an act of secession. When the vote was taken, and the decision made known, the action was immediate. The legislature of South Carolina, which was in session, called together in advance of its regular meeting, to appoint electors for President and Vice President, proceeded at once to take the initiative in the revolt. Indeed, Governor Gist, the very first day of the meeting of that body, the fifth of November, had in his message advised the course to be pursued in the event of Abraham Lincoln's election. "The only alternative," said he, "is the secession of South Carolina from the federal Union." Not overlooking the inevitable contingency upon such action, if, as he expressed it, "in the exercise of arbitrary power, and forgetful of the lessons of history, the government of the United States should attempt coercion," he added, "it will become our solemn duty to meet force by force." In accordance with this conclusion he recommended a thorough reorganization of the State militia, and the acceptance of the services of ten thousand volunteers, who should be drilled and be in readiness for instant action. "With this preparation for defence," he concluded, "and with all the hallowed memories of past achievements, with our love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, and with the knowledge that we are contending for the safety of our homes and firesides, we can confidently appeal to the Disposer of human events, and surely trust our cause to his keeping."

The advice fell upon willing ears. Following the suggestion of the Governor, the topic of Secession was freely discussed by the legislature. There was much talk of arming, of the relative advantages of separate action and of coöperation with other States; Messrs. Chesnut and Hammond, the representatives of South Carolina in the United States Senate, resigned their seats, and their resignation was accepted; and—the most important, because most dangerous, proceeding of all—a resolution was unanimously adopted in both branches of the Legislature, calling a special convention of the people, to meet on the 17th December, to consider and provide for the interests of South Carolina in the assumed emergency. On the 27th November the legislature was again in session at Columbia, listening to another message from Governor Gist, urging various means of independence, commercial and military, and strongly charged with Secession doctrines and advice. The Federal Government, he said, could "not rightfully use force to prevent a State from seceding, or force her back into the Union," adding significantly, "but, in the language of the late Judge Harper, men having arms in their hands may use them." It is not a little significant of the calculations made at this period by the South, that he encouraged his hearers with the remark, "It is gratifying to know that, if we must resort to arms in defence of our rights, and a blow struck at South Carolina before the other States move up in line, we have the tender of volunteers from all the Southern and some of the Northern States to repair promptly to our standard and share our fortunes." With reckless indifference to the probable consequences of these rebellious suggestions, with an appeal to honor and religion, he added: "We cannot penetrate the dark future; it may be filled with ashes, tears, and blood; but let us go forward in the discharge of our duty, with an unwavering trust in God, and a consciousness that anything is preferable to dishonor and degradation."

The Hon. C. G. Memminger, afterward Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate Government, in a speech at a public meeting in the city of Charleston, on the 30th of November, with the prescience of an actor who had in his own hands the guarantee of his predictions, marked out the entire programme of the Rebellion. The action of the Convention, the Commissioners to be sent to Washington to treat for the forts, the capture of the latter by armed men if not surrendered, the indisposition of President Buchanan to act offensively, the powerlessness of President Lincoln in the early days of his administration, giving time to South Carolina to gain over to her cause the cotton States, were all pointed out as so many onward stages in the progress to Southern Independence.* There was no attempt in this argument to conceal the employment of armed resistance. It was the common talk at Charleston. At the same meeting a letter was read from Colonel Hayne, in which the prospects of a struggle with the government were thus confidently discussed: "Should the South be called upon," said he, "to meet the North in the battle-field, we have eight millions of the Anglo-Saxon race to sustain us and our cause, just in the sight of God and man. What more do we want? Did not Frederick the Great, with a population of not half of our number, carry on successful war with almost the whole of Europe against him, and at the close of the war, adding largely to his empire? The great Napoleon conquered Europe--all but gallant England. Burke, with his large mind, told Lord North the British premier in ''76,' that the Southern colonies would, on trial, be found hard to subdue—and it was found to be so, in the hour of trial and on the battle-field. For all the purposes of war—especially long and continued war, for good and sufficient reasons perfectly understood and duly endorsed by our people—the Southern States rank among the first nations of the world."*

In Georgia there was at first some hesitation—for there were many friends of the Union in the State, and others who, from interest, looked with suspicion upon the threatened movement. Governor Brown, in his message to the legislature in November, opposed secession and the project of a Southern Convention, contenting himself with a plan of taxation and reprisals upon the property of citizens of States infringing upon Southern rights. He recommended, however, the appropriation of a million of dollars to arm the State. The legislature refused to elect a new Senator to the United States Senate for the next Congress, an example followed before the conclusion of the month in North Carolina.

---

* History of the Southern Rebellion, by Orville J. Victor, i. 70

* A. P. Hayne to Captain S. Y. Tupper, Charleston, November 20, 1860. Charleston *Mercury*, December 1

Governor Moore, of Alabama, was decidedly authoritative in advising the people of his State of the necessity of Secession. In an address sent forth early in November, he set before them this solemn asseveration: "In full view and, I trust, just appreciation of all my obligations and responsibilities, official and personal, to my God, my State, and the Federal Government, I solemnly declare that, in my opinion, the only hope and future security for Alabama and other slaveholding States is in secession from the Union." Alabama was ripe for revolt. In October, Governor Herschel V. Johnson, in a speech at New York, had coupled her with South Carolina in a sketch of the programme of disunion. "Alabama," said he, "is pledged to withdraw from the Union, and has appropriated two hundred thousand dollars for military contingencies."*

Governor Pettus, of Mississippi, on the 26th November, met the legislature of that State with advice not less uncompromising. Florida, the least important of the Southern States, the most dependent upon the Union for her prosperity, bound to the National Government through every stage of her history by every claim of gratitude and allegiance for benefits received, was among the loudest and least considerate in these pretensions of revolt. Governor Perry, in his Message of November 26, proclaimed, "the only hope the Southern States have for domestic peace and safety, or for future respectability and prosperity, is dependent on their action now, and that the proper action is secession from our faithless, perjured confederates." The arguments and appeals which he used to hasten the work of revolt were no better and no worse, though more candidly avowed, than those of his more powerful confederates. They present a curious and very instructive specimen of the logic of the rebellion "But some Southern men, it is said, object to secession until some overt act of unconstitutional power shall have been committed by the general government; that we ought not to secede until the President and Congress unite in passing an act unequivocally hostile to our institutions, and fraught with immediate danger to our rights of property and to our domestic safety. My countrymen, if we wait for such an overt act, our fate will be that of the white inhabitants of St. Domingo. "But why wait for this overt act of the general government? What is that government? It is but the trustee, the common agent of all the States, appointed by them to manage their affairs according to a written Constitution, or power of attorney. Should the sovereign States then—the principal and the partners in the association—for a moment tolerate the idea that their action must be graduated by the will of their agents? The idea is preposterous."

The remaining cotton States were equally ripening for revolt, and a dangerous sympathy was exhibited in the border slave States. There was considerable disaffection already manifested in Virginia, where, under the auspices of Governor Letcher, the leaders were coolly calculating the resources of rebellion. Ex-Governor Henry A. Wise, adopting an intermediate course, could not at once bring himself to forego the benefits of Union, but ingeniously hit upon a plan of "fighting in the Union," —what Governor Quitman, ten years before, when reviewing the materials for rebellion, called "the system in Virginia of petty hostilities within the Union." Writing to a gentleman in Georgia, who wished an explanation of this phrase, Governor Wise said truly enough, "the Union is not an abstraction; it is a real, substantial thing, embracing many essential and vital political rights and properties. Is it not cowardly to renounce one right to save another? Are these rights not as precious as the mere right of property in negroes?"* Kentucky, with but little inclination at the time to revolt, implored, by the mouth of her Governor Magoffin, the forbearance of the Gulf States. "If you secede," was his cry, "your Representatives will go out of Congress and leave us at the mercy of a Black Republican Government." North Carolina exhibited a loyal disposition. Tennessee, as yet, influenced by past traditions and the patriotism of her democratic senator, Andrew Johnson, was faithful to her allegiance; and Governor Hicks in Maryland had taken that stand for Union which was destined to save the State.

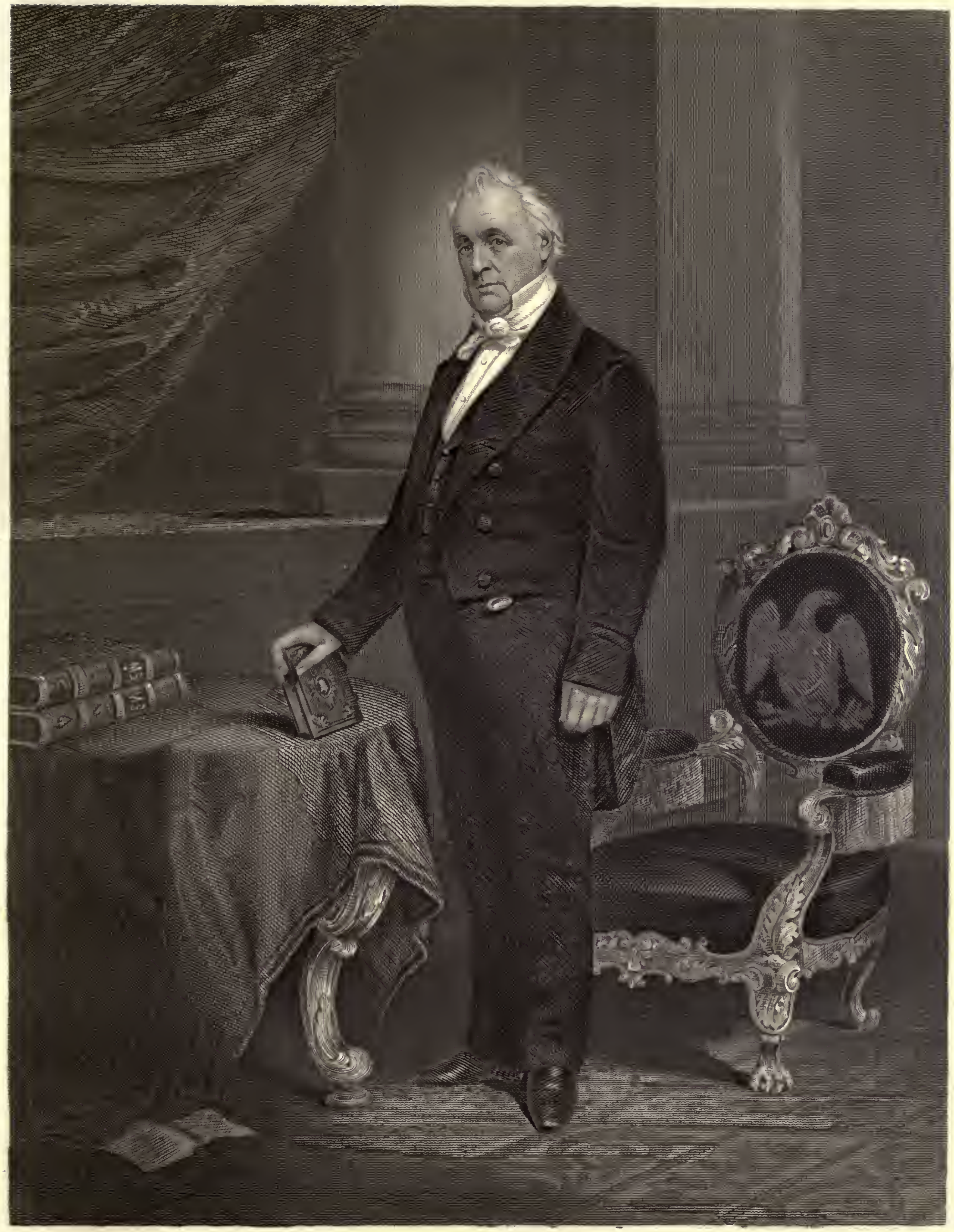
---

* Speech at the Cooper Institute, New York, October 24, 1860, reported in *The World* of the following day.

In this condition of the public mind at the South, while the North was calmly contemplating the prospects and responsibility of its unexpected political triumph, Congress met at Washington in its usual session, in December. President Buchanan, in his opening Message, took occasion to review the existing political condition of the country. His tone on the occasion was that of the leader or follower of a party long accustomed to power suddenly and unexpectedly checked in its enjoyment. There was an evident look of suspicion cast upon the new incumbent who had been chosen by the people to administer the government. Some of the President's expressions were certainly very peculiar, and perhaps, in this respect, better represented the state of feeling in a large portion of the country than would the usual more courteous and conventional terms of public documents. There was a certain air about the Message of stinted allowance or forbearance, as if the incoming Republicans were creeping into power surreptitiously, or were in some measure, as yet, spite of the authoritative voice of the people, on trial. Nor was this very much to be wondered at in so facile a chief magistrate, when it was commonly asserted out of doors by members of his party, that the inauguration of the new President would never be suffered to take place! Indeed, Mr. Buchanan was reported about this time to have said, that he would probably be the last President of the United States. How clearly was this remarkable condition of opinion represented in such apologetic utterances as this in the Message. "The election of any one of our fellow citizens," said Mr. Buchanan, with a simplicity which would be amusing were it not the index of a coming tragedy, "to the office of President, does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union"—adding to this enormous platitude and startling intimation of treasonable intentions somewhere, the soothing declaration: "this is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality, and not a majority of the people, and has resulted

---

* N. Y. *Herald*, December 19, 1860.



James Buchanan

Engraved by permission from the original in the possession of J.C.Buttre,Esq.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers New York

Entered according to Act of Congress, A.D. [illegible] in the District Court of the Southern District [illegible]

from transient and temporary causes which may probably never again occur." One would hardly have thought that a people so accustomed during two generations to the method of representative government, would now, in the third, need such an exposition of their conduct at the polls. With the shadow of rebellion curiously haunting his mind, he then proceeded: "In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal government must be guilty of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of powers not granted by the Constitution. The late Presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President elect, before resorting to such a remedy."

"It is said, however," continues this document, the first formal announcement to the world, we believe, of any authority, of the disaffection or treason that was working in the veins of the body politic, preparing to break out in the manifest leprosy of revolt, "that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office and its high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the government. His province is not to make, but to execute the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history that notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing in the slightest degree, the rights of the South to their property in slaves. And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spake, that 'sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves."

Further, in deprecation of any secession on the part of the Southern States, and in answer to their assertions that they were denied equal rights with the other States in the common territories they were reminded, that no acts impairing those rights had been passed by Congress, or were likely to be passed; while the Supreme Court, had positively "decided that slaves are property, and like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common territories and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution." As for the execution of the fugitive slave law, another ground of uneasiness, the South was told, that "all the courts, both State and National, before whom the question has arisen, have, from the beginning, declared the fugitive slave law to be constitutional. It has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present Administration."

With assurances like these, all, it will be observed, relating to the protection of slave property as the only alleged ground of variance, Mr. Buchanan sought to smooth the ruffled temper of the South. "Gentlemen," said he, in effect, and, on this question no one could speak from more abundant evidence, or with less probability of being disturbed by a Northern bias, "gentlemen, you have really no just occasion for alarm. The evil which you speak of has not happened, nor is there any rational probability of its happening. At any rate, it will be time enough for revolutionary resistance when you have exhausted all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress."

He then entered upon an examination of the recently bruited doctrine of secession, and in an easy demonstration proved it to have no warrant in the letter or spirit of the Constitution. "In order," said he, "to justify secession as a Constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the Confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner our thirty-three States* may resolve themselves into so many petty, jarring, and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course. By this process, a Union might be entirely broken into fragments in a few weeks, which cost our forefathers many years of toil, privation and blood to establish."

This, the *reductio ad absurdum*, perhaps as strong and convincing an argument as any on the subject, was followed by sound historical references to the opinions of Madison and Jackson, and a cogent enforcement of the whole, drawn from an examination of the particular exclusive and sovereign powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. "This Government, therefore," he concluded—and we take the argument from him in preference to others, as well from the peculiar relation in which he stood to those who maintained the contrary, as from the authority of his high position,—"this Government is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they at its creation guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air; but a substantial and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and of defying the storms of ages."

Thus far all was well. The Government being intended, by its framers and the evident purport of the Constitution, to be perpetual, and there being no right existing in any of its members to break it up, the only thing left, in face of the resolves at Charleston, was to maintain it accordingly. To do this, to execute the laws in the rebellious States in the ordinary course of the administration of justice, would be impossible. The forts and other public property of the country should be defended, undoubtedly,—on this point the message was explicit; but taking the evil in the aggregate, in the withdrawal of a State, there was no power known to the Constitution to bring it back by force to its allegiance. "Without descending to particulars," was his language, "it may be safely asserted that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution." Nor, granting the employment of such force, did he think the object aimed at could be secured. "Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State, how are we to govern it afterward? Shall we hold it as a province, and govern it by despotic power? In the nature of things we could not, by physical force, control the will of the people, and compel them to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and to perform all the other duties depending upon their own volition, and required from the free citizens of a free State as a constituent member of the Confederacy. But, if we possessed this power, would it be wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? The object would, doubtless, be to preserve the Union. War would not only present the most effectual means of destroying it; but would banish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Besides, in the fraternal conflict a vast amount of blood and treasure would be expended, rendering future reconciliation between the States impossible. In the mean time, who can foretell what would be the sufferings and privations of the people during its existence? The fact is, that our Union rests upon public opinion, and can never be cemented by the blood of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Congress possesses many means of preserving it by conciliation; but the sword was not placed in their hands to preserve it by force."

---

* Kansas making the number thirty-four, had not then been admitted.

The policy of President Buchanan is fully indicated in these passages of his Message. We see him in the toils of a position in which he is apparently inextricably involved, the peril of which he beholds, but from which he has not the strength, or hardly the hope, to escape. He saw the dissolution of the States more than threatened by the course of South Carolina; and knowing the character of the men who were the authors of that revolt, and their motives, must have felt that the ruin, if unchecked, would be fully accomplished. He proclaimed the fatal result of disunion in a body of "petty, jarring, and hostile republics." and told his countrymen and the world at the same time, in effect, that the cause was hopeless. You may parley with the evil, says he, but if, as is not unlikely, it will not be reasoned with, you cannot meet it with force. The practical inconsistency of the President's position was at once, on the delivery of the Message, pointed out by a Southern Senator, an advocate of the Secession pretences, Clingman of North Carolina. Why, said he, in effect, if you treat a seceded State as sovereign in one way, do you still insist upon collecting taxes and levying tribute from her, a proceeding intolerable to any foreign state? The embarrassment arose from talking of the rebel States as such, and not of the rebellious people within them, citizens of the United States, pledged to and answerable to her authority. The assumption involved in the phrase, "coercion of a State," was the cause of much unnecessary difficulty.

Jefferson Davis, also, on the floor of the Senate, rebuked the diplomatic uncertainty of the paper. It was, in his view, neither one thing nor the other, neither fish nor flesh, a kind of political medley,— a Federal head ill assorted with a State Rights tail. "It had," said he, "all the characteristics of a diplomatic paper, for diplomacy is said to abhor certainty, as nature abhors a vacuum; and it was not within the power of man to reach any fixed conclusion from that Message. When the country was agitated, when opinions were being formed, when we were drifting beyond the power ever to return, this was not what we had a right to expect from the Chief Magistrate. One policy or the other he ought to have taken. If a Federalist, if believing this to be a government of force, if believing it to be a consolidated mass and not a confederation of States, he should have said: No State has a right to secede; every State is subordinate to the Federal Government, and the Federal Government must empower me with physical means to reduce to subjugation the States asserting such a right. If not, if a State Rights man and a Democrat, as it has been for many years my pride to acknowledge our venerable Chief Magistrate to be, then another line of policy should have been taken. The Constitution gave no power to the Federal Government to coerce a State; the Constitution gave an army for the purposes of common defence, and to preserve domestic tranquillity; but the Constitution never contemplated using that army against a State. A State exercising the sovereign functions of Secession is beyond the reach of the Federal Government, unless we woo her with the voice of fraternity, and bring her back to the enticements of affection. He should have brought his opinion to one conclusion or another, and to-day our country would have been safer than it is."*

No public document ever fell more heavily on the ear of the people of the United States, and the friends of our National Union throughout the world, than this Message. At a moment when, if ever, strength and resolution were needed in the Executive, he voluntarily came forward to announce the weakness of his position. The lame and impotent conclusion was utterly at war with the premises. If there could be no destruction, there surely ought to be preservation. If the body could not die, it certainly was entitled to live. If the States ought not to go, and yet would go, they should be made to stay. Why, it might have been asked, should that Constitution, founded by the wisdom of our ancestors, firmly knit in the affections of the people, well adapted to maintain their common interests, preservative of principles of society and government — the beneficent fruits of which we were just beginning to enjoy—be so tamely relinquished? Jackson, when a similar question arose in his administration, took no counsel from parliamentary fears, but actively employed the means at hand to stay the evil. It was not his humor to present to his countrymen a scene of disaster, and tell them they had no means of escaping from it. He took care that the Southern forts should be well manned, and that the navy should be on hand to protect the national property and interests. He, in the spirit of his military policy at New Orleans, went forth to meet the enemy on the road, knowing that when he was once seated and established in our territory, the work of expulsion would be a thousand-fold more difficult. Mr. Buchanan, when it came to his turn to act, mildly announced, with an uncertainty strongly indicative of his convictions,—"It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property (the forts, arsenals, etc., in South Carolina) by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act strictly on the defensive. In such a contingency, the responsibility for consequences would rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants." To act on the defensive with the interpretation given to the word by President Buchanan's Administration, was, in fact, not to act at all; for it was a policy which suffered the enemy to grow so powerful in his means of assault, that any adequate action, as was proved at Sumter, would, for a time, become impossible. Not to protect the public property, was to lose it. Every hour's inaction was a premium on rebellion.

---

* Speech of Jefferson Davis on the State of the Union, in the Senate, January 10, 1861.

It is but justice, however, to say, that whatever weakness was displayed by President Buchanan—and nothing could well be more culpable than weakness of any kind or degree in the Executive in such an emergency—yet that he apparently had some hopes of a peaceful adjustment of all difficulties by a resort to the remedy offered in extreme cases by the Constitution. He recommended an "Explanatory Amendment" of that instrument to be made in due form, originating either with Congress or the State Legislatures, which should be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points, namely: "an express recognition of the right of property in slaves in the States where it now exists or may hereafter exist; the duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitutions may prescribe; a like recognition of the right of the master to have his slave, who has escaped from one State to another, restored and 'delivered up' to him, and of the validity of the fugitive slave law enacted for this purpose, together with a declaration, that all State laws impairing or defeating this right, are violations of the Constitution, and are consequently null and void. Such an Explanatory Amendment (he added) would, it is believed, forever terminate the existing dissensions, and restore peace and harmony among the States."

The Convention of South Carolina met according to appointment, on the 17th of December, at Columbia, but the small pox prevailing there, was immediately adjourned to Charleston, where it held its sessions in Institute Hall. General D. F. Jamison, a gentleman of intelligence and literary cultivation, from the Barnwell District, was chosen President. "We have entered," said he, in taking his seat, "on a great work, and God, who holds in his hands the destinies of nations, only knows what may be the results."

Though meeting but a fortnight after the delivery of President Buchanan's Message, the Convention did not appear at all governed in its deliberations by the conciliatory terms of that remarkable document. The neglect was not complimentary to the politician whom Southern votes had raised to power, and who was now destined to experience the ingratitude of the party which he had served but too devotedly. The last months in office of James Buchanan teach a lesson which should not be lost upon rising politicians. It is, that subservience to party may secure a position for a time, but that, of all tyrannies and exactions, its unfeeling despotism is the most insupportable. When its end is gained, and new servants are needed for other purposes, the old are thrown away, neglected and despised. But to the true patriot who sees only his country and her just cause, the statesman superior to party, there is no termination of his honorable career but with life. Washington was never out of office in the thoughts and affections of his countrymen; nor were Marshall, Webster, Jackson, and Henry Clay, who thought it better to be right than President.

Two days after the meeting of the Convention, the act of secession was passed by the unanimous vote of its one hundred and sixty-nine members. It was entitled "An Ordinance to dissolve the union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America," and in a single sentence, pretending to repeal the solemn acts adopting and ratifying the Constitution of the United States, declared the separation :—" We, the people of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the 23d day of May, in the year of our Lord 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the General Assembly of this State ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed, and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved."

The Ordinance was accompanied by a "Declaration of Causes which induced the secession." In this the public was treated to a brief disquisition on the doctrine of State Rights, the Government of the United States being regarded as a compact between independent powers which might be broken up by any one of the partners, on the failure of any other to fulfil his obligations, the aggrieved party being entitled to determine for himself "the fact of failure with all its consequences." In accordance with this convenient principle, utterly ignoring the powers of Congress, the uses of the Executive, and the judgments of the Supreme Court, South Carolina, deciding the case for herself, proceeded to arraign no less than fourteen of the States for their "deliberate refusal for years past to fulfil their Constitutional obligations." Having proved to her own satisfaction, that the Fugitive Slave clause in the fourth article of the Constitution had been thus in a greater or less degree violated, she pronounced this summary judgment: "Thus the Constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States; and the consequence follows, that South Carolina is released from her obligation." Having by this easy demonstration argued herself out of the Union, this free and independent State condescended to a further enumeration of grievances, all of which, it is noticeable, related to this one topic of interference, real or supposed, with slavery. Among other points of this nature, it was asserted that a geographical line had been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have been united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to Slavery." To this was added, without any show of proof, "He is to be intrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that that 'government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free,' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction. . . On the 4th of March next, this party will take possession of the government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory, that the judicial tribunal shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States." To this extraordinary statement, which if it had been true, it is needless to say, would have rendered the success of the Republican party impossible, was added the still more startling declaration, fact it was called, "that the public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanctions of a more erroneous religious belief."

From this document then it appears that the only ostensible reasons thought to be worth giving to the world in a Declaration of Independence by South Carolina were that an interference with the sacred institution of slavery by the Republican party was to be dreaded. In vain had she just been told by President Buchanan that the fugitive slave law had always been maintained and that the new President, even if he desired to do so, would be unable to rule contrary to the provisions of the Constitution.

Another document, however, an "Address to the People of the Slaveholding States," was put forth by the Convention, at the same time, which varied somewhat the grounds of appeal. It dwelt upon the resemblance between the present position of the Southern States towards the Government at Washington and that of the colonies toward Great Britain at the period of the War of Independence. With an unparalleled hardihood of assertion it maintained that the Constitution being overthrown, the government of the United States was "no longer a free government but a despotism;" that the Northern majority in Congress controlling Southern interests was in effect the same with the ancient no-representation in Parliament; that the taxation of that body found its parallel in the tariffs of our own day, and as Great Britain would have expended the sums which she proposed to exact, at home, so the South was impoverished by paying duties which were lavished upon the North; in fact, that the cities of the South were "provincialized" under the operation. The dangers to the institution of slavery in the States were then insisted upon as inevitably flowing from the will of a people who thought themselves bound to exclude it, if possible, from the virgin soil of the Territories. "If," was the argument, "African slavery in the Southern States be the evil their political combinations affirm it to be, the requisitions of an inexorable logic must lead them to emancipation." On such gratuitous suppositions, in advance of any acts of aggression, while the Government was subservient to their policy and the Supreme Court was pronouncing its decisions in their favor, it was thought fitting to declare :—" We but imitate the policy of our fathers in dissolving a Union with nonslaveholding confederates, and seeking a confederation with slaveholding States."

That there might be no doubt of the principles upon which the secession was organized, the demand for sympathy was enforced with the appeal "to be one of a great slaveholding confederacy stretching its arms over a territory larger than any power in Europe possesses." Nor was this urged as a simple concession to a state of things already existing,—something to be accepted of necessity; but that state was put forward as a ground of glory and rejoicing. Comparing the enforced servitude of the South with the free labor of other countries, preference was given to the former. As a clear indication of an important element in the future struggle, which subsequently engaged the attention of President Lincoln in one of his Messages, we give the very words of the passage in the South Carolina Address :—" We rejoice that other nations should be satisfied with their institutions. Self-complacency is a great element of happiness with nations as with individuals. We are satisfied with ours. If they prefer a system of industry in which capital and labor are in perpetual conflict—and chronic starvation keeps down the natural increase of population—and a man is worked out in eight years—and the law ordains that children shall be worked only ten hours a day—and the sabre and bayonet are the instruments of order—be it so. It is their affair, not ours. We prefer, however, our system of industry, by which labor and capital are identified in interest, and capital, therefore, protects labor, by which our population doubles every twenty years; by which starvation is unknown and abundance crowns the land; by which order is preserved by an unpaid police and the most fertile regions of the world, where the Caucasian cannot labor, are brought into usefulness by the labor of the African, and the whole world is blessed by our own productions. All we demand of other people is to be let alone to work out our own high destinies. United together, and we must be the most independent as we are the most important amongst the nations of the world. United together, and we require no other instrument to conquer peace than our beneficent productions. United together, and we must be a great, free, and prosperous people, whose renown must spread throughout the civilized world, and pass down, we trust, to the remotest ages." With a renewal of the appeal thus flippantly and confidently sent forth the address ended :—" We ask you to join us in framing a confederacy of slaveholding States." The South, subduing all interests to one devouring passion, were acting under the impulse of the "inexorable logic" which they fancied was driving on to "the inevitable conflict" the people of the North.

CHAPTER III.

PRELIMINARIES TO SUMTER.

South Carolina thus placed herself at the head and front of the rebellion. Many months afterward, her Governor Pickens in one of his messages proudly asserted the fact. "From the 20th of December last," said he, "until the 9th of February, this State acted alone. She was entirely separate and independent."* That interval between the declaration of independence by South Carolina, and the organization of the rebel Confederacy at Montgomery, was by no means lost to the cause of revolt. It was filled with a series of uniform, resolute acts of aggression, and preparation for an impending conflict.

The Convention of South Carolina assumed for the State the powers of the General Government, taking under its control the management of the custom house and collection of the revenue, the judicial authority of the United States, made treason to the new rule punishable with death, regulated the appointment and reception of foreign ambassadors, and in general began to provide for all the acts of independent sovereignty. The military property of the General Government at Charleston, the forts in the harbor and the arsenal were already, by an arrangement or understanding between the Congressional Representatives of the State and the Secretary of War at Washington, and the President, virtually in the safe keeping and at the mercy of the South Carolinians. An agreement had been made, under pretence of giving time for adjustment and reconciliation of difficulties, by which the forts were not to be attacked or molested by the one party, nor reinforced by the other. The effect of this was, that a handful of United States soldiers, two partly-filled companies of artillerymen, under the command of Major Robert Anderson of Kentucky, an officer who had served with distinction in the Mexican war, at Vera Cruz, at El Molina del Rey, at Chapultepec, kept feeble guard of Fort Moultrie, while an ever-increasing force of rebels, as the conspiracy gained strength, threatened them on all sides. It was a policy which was far from being understood or appreciated at the North. Constantly was it asked by the people, in view of the impending danger, Why are not the forts fully occupied? Why is not a sufficient naval guard in the harbor? When the subject was discussed in the Cabinet on the 13th of December, and decided against the reinforcement of Fort Moultrie, General Cass, unable longer to endure the postponement of patriotic duty, resigned his office of Secretary of State.

Meanwhile the work of disorganization was proceeding in the cotton States with rapidity. The familiarity of the people with the machinery of conventions, and all the subsidiary forms of political action, assisted them greatly in the enterprise. At short notice they were everywhere ready to meet and resolve, assume to themselves all the prerogatives of legislation, pronounce their decrees, and extemporise a new form of government. Accustomed to their separate State jurisdiction, there was little to shock the habitual feelings of the people, in setting up a parliamentary authority arrogating to itself the powers belonging only to the United States. The very simplicity and perfection of the government was thus turned to its destruction. At the instigation of the Governors and State legislatures, conventions were called to take what action they thought necessary. Elections were held and delegates appointed. Their deliberations in all cases ended in the resolve of separation. Before the close of January five States, in addition to South Carolina, had thus formally seceded from the Union in the following order: Mississippi on the 9th of January, Florida and Alabama on the 11th, Georgia on the 19th, Louisiana on the 26th. On the 1st of February, Texas was added to the number. The laws and ordinances binding these several States to the General Government were repealed; the obligations of the people to observe the same were withdrawn; the State was pronounced henceforth free, sovereign, and independent.

---

* Message to the Senate and House of Representatives of South Carolina. Charleston *Courier*, November 6, 1861.

As a sequence of these pronunciamentos, the public property of the United States was taken possession of. Forts and arsenals, with their supplies of ammunition, were seized in all quarters. By concert with Floyd of Virginia, the Secretary of War at Washington, and through the inaction of the President, the forts in Charleston harbor, as we have stated, were left at the command of the rebels. It was not to be expected, however, that they could long remain in that position. The South Carolina Convention, shortly after its assembling, had sent commissioners to Washington to treat for their delivery or surrender,—an unparalleled act of effrontery in face of the obligations of the State to the Union, and the express declaration of the President in his Message, that he would discharge the duty imposed upon him by his oath of office in the protection of the public property.

The exact terms of this extraordinary commission of the sovereign State are worthy of remembrance as a curiosity in diplomacy. They authorized and empowered the embassadors, "to treat with the government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines light-houses, and other real estate with their appurtenances, in the limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States, as agent of the Confederated States, of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington." The Commissioners to carry this decree into effect, Messrs. R. W. Barnwell, J. H. Adams, and James L. Orr arrived in Washington on the 26th of December. On the night of that very day, before they had opportunity to open communication with the President, an act took place at Charleston which materially affected the conditions of their embassy.

Major Anderson, at Fort Moultrie, restive under the threats of the people of Charleston, in his comparatively defenceless position, which he had in vain endeavored to make tenable, and which he felt assured, from the menacing preparations for assault around him, could not probably be held for more than forty-eight or sixty hours longer, resolved to remove his command to the more secure protection of Fort Sumter, in the harbor. Accordingly, under cover of the night, having spiked his larger guns and burnt the carriages, by the aid of the boats of the garrison, he transported his little force, with the exception of a nominal guard left behind, to the new position. He also carried with him the stores of provision and ammunition.

A letter written from Fort Moultrie a fortnight before, by the wife of one of the officers of the garrison, which was published in the Northern papers, with no little effect upon public opinion at the time, will exhibit the perils to which the post was exposed, the spirit of its defenders, and a woman's just appreciation of the shortcomings of the government. "I feel too indignant," was its language, —"I can hardly stand the way in which this weak little garrison is treated by the head of the government. Troops and proper accommodation are positively refused, and yet the commander has orders to hold and defend the fort. Was ever such a sacrifice—an intentional one—known? The Secretary has sent several officers, at different times, to inspect here, as if that helped. It is a mere sham to make believe he will do something. In the mean time, a crisis is very near. I am to go to Charleston the first of the week. I will not go further if I can help it. Within a few days, we hear—and from so many sources that we cannot doubt it—that the Charlestonians are erecting two batteries, one just opposite us, at a little village—Mount Pleasant—and another on this end of the island and they dare the commander to interfere while they are getting ready to fight sixty men. In this weak little fort, I suppose President Buchanan and Secretary Floyd intend the Southern Confederation to be cemented with the blood of this brave little garrison. Their names shall be handed down to the end of time. When the last man is shot down, I presume they will think of sending troops. The soldiers here deserve great credit, though they know not but that an unequal number is coming to massacre them, yet they are in good spirits, and will fight desperately. Our commander says he never saw such a brave little band. I feel desperately myself. Our only hope is in God."

Such was the character of the neglected handful of men at Fort Moultrie and their gallant officer, who, with a full consciousness of their imperiled position, stealthily removed themselves to Fort Sumter, in the hope that the government yet would be roused to aid them. The spirit in which this was done, the sober sense of duty, the religious conscientiousness which bound the commanding officer, Major Anderson, to his country, may be gathered from many incidental expressions in his correspondence — in which, at the same time, he showed himself sensibly touched by all proper considerations of friendship and humanity —but especially from a solemn act of devotion at the raising of the flag in Fort Sumter. It was the national standard which he had brought with him from Moultrie. At noon, on the day following his entry of the place, he caused the whole of the small garrison, and the laborers who were employed at the fort to assemble in the area within, around the flag-staff. "The national ensign was attached to the cord, and Major Anderson, holding the end of the lines in his hands, knelt reverently down. The officers, soldiers and men clustered around, many of them on their knees, all deeply impressed with the solemnity of the scene. The chaplain made an earnest prayer—such an appeal for support, encouragement and mercy as one would make who felt that 'man's extremity is God's opportunity.' As the earnest, solemn words of the speaker ceased, and the men responded Amen, with a fervency that, perhaps, they had never before experienced, Major Anderson drew the 'Star Spangled Banner' up to the top of the staff, the band broke out with the national air of 'Hail Columbia,' and loud and exultant cheers, repeated again and again, were given by the officers, soldiers and workmen."

The people of Charleston, disappointed of their easy prey, were greatly excited at the occupation of Sumter. The State authorities immediately entered the deserted Moultrie, took possession also of Fort Pinckney, which had no force to offer resistance, and seized the Government offices in the city. News of these transactions at once reached Washington by telegraph. The South Carolina Commissioners in exercise of their extraordinary authority immediately addressed a letter to the President in which, after announcing that the State had "resumed the powers she delegated to the Government of the United States and declared her perfect sovereignty and independence," they stated that it would have been their duty to enter upon a negotiation in reference to "all such questions as are necessarily raised by the adoption of the Ordinance," with a view to an amicable adjustment, but that the events of the last twenty-four hours had made such assurance impossible. "We came here," said they, "the representatives of an authority which could at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner which we cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor rather than to its own power." In conclusion, they urged the immediate withdrawal of the troops from the harbor.

To this request the President calmly replied by reminding the Commissioners of the language of his Message in regard to his resolution to defend the property of the United States in South Carolina, and setting forth the nature of the alleged agreement or pledges, which he represented as little, if anything, more than the mutual expression of a desire that nothing should be done in the way either of attack on the one side or reinforcements on the other, till time was given for reflection. From the written memorandum which he presented of the South Carolina Members of Congress, the mediators in this affair, it appeared that they, at least, had promised nothing, only "expressed their strong convictions that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston, previously to the act of the Convention, and we hope and believe not until an offer has been made through an accredited representative, to negotiate for an amicable arrangement of all matters between the State and the Federal Government, provided that no reinforcements shall be sent into those forts, and their relative military status shall remain as at present."*

The signers of the memorandum, in fact, could hardly have asked the President of the United States to bind the Government to inaction while the uncertain forbearance of the other side might be terminated at any moment by a hostile act of the Convention. "It is well known," says the President "that it was my determination, and this I freely expressed, not to reinforce the forts in the harbor and thus produce a collision, until they had been actually attacked, or until I had certain evidence that they were about to be attacked." He then recited the instructions of the War Department to Major Anderson, which required him to hold possession of the forts in the harbor, and if attacked defend himself to the last extremity, while it was left to his discretion, in case of an attack or "tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act," to put his command into any one of the forts which he might think best adapted to increase its power of resistance. Under these circumstances, said the President, Major Anderson, as "a brave and honorable officer should not be condemned without a fair hearing."

The President however, would even then have been disposed, in spite of discouragements to such a course, to recall Major Anderson from Sumter to Moultrie. "My first promptings," he wrote, "were to command him to return to his former position, and there to await the contingencies presented in his instructions. This would only have been done with any degree of safety to the command by the concurrence of the South Carolina authorities. But before any step could possibly have been taken in this direction, we received information that the 'Palmetto flag floated out to the breeze at Castle Pinckney, and a large military force went over last night (the 27th) to Fort Moultrie.' Thus the authorities of South Carolina, without waiting or asking for any explanations, and doubtless believing, as you have expressed it, that the officer had acted not only without but against my orders, on the very next day after the night when the removal was made, seized by a military force two of the Federal forts in the harbor of Charleston, and have covered them under their own flag instead of that of the United States. At this gloomy period of our history, startling events succeed each other rapidly. On the very day, the 27th instant, that possession of these two forts was taken, the Palmetto flag was raised over the Federal Custom-house and Post-office in Charleston; and on the same day every officer of the Customs—Collector, Naval Officer, Surveyor and Appraiser—resigned their offices. And this, although it was well known from the language of my Message that, as an executive officer, I felt myself bound to collect the revenue at the port of Charleston, under the existing laws. In the harbor of Charleston we now find three forts confronting each other, over all of which the Federal flag floated only four days ago; but now, over two of them, this flag has been supplanted, and the Palmetto flag has been substituted in its stead."

The President was touched to the quick, and would be trifled with no longer. "It is under all these circumstances," said he, "that I am urged immediately to withdraw the troops from the harbor of Charleston, and am informed, that without this negotiation is impossible. *This I cannot do—this I will not do.* Such an idea was never thought of by me in any possible contingency. At this point of writing," he adds, in a concluding paragraph, "I have received information by telegraph from Captain Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that 'it has to-day (Sunday, the 30th) been taken by force of arms.' It is estimated that the munitions of war belonging to this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars. Comment is needless. After this information, I have only to add, that whilst it is my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a portion of the public property of the United States, against hostile attacks, from whatever quarter they may come, by such means as I may possess for this purpose, I do not perceive how such a defence can be construed into a menace against the city of Charleston."*

---

* Messrs. McQueen, Bonham, Boyce and Keitt to President Buchanan, Washington, December 9, 1860.

This spirited reply, which certainly appears the most moderate which could have been presented under the circumstances, was met by a second letter from the commissioners, dwelling in no friendly mood upon various concessions already made by the President in reference to the forts, and seeking to entangle him in a breach of good faith in his present declarations. As a specimen of its temper, we present a few sentences where the President is most ungratefully upbraided with an enumeration of the favors he had already yielded—as if, because he had given so much, he was to yield everything. "Some weeks ago," wrote these unfeeling and insatiate remonstrants, "the State of South Carolina declared her intention, in the existing condition of public affairs, to secede from the United States. She called a Convention of her people to put her declaration in force. The Convention met and passed the Ordinance of Secession. All this you anticipated, and your course of action was thoroughly considered in your Annual Message. You declared you had no right, and would not attempt, to coerce a seceding State, but that you were bound by your constitutional oath, and would defend the property of the United States within the borders of South Carolina, if an attempt was made to take it by force. Seeing very early that this question of property was a difficult and delicate one, you manifested a desire to settle it without collision. You did not reinforce the garrison in the harbor of Charleston. You removed a distinguished and veteran officer from the command of Fort Moultrie because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send additional troops to the same garrison when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your Cabinet, rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened. You compelled an officer stationed at Fort Sumter to return immediately to the arsenal forty muskets which he had taken to arm his men. . . . You have decided, you have resolved to hold by force what you have obtained through our misplaced confidence ; and by refusing to disavow the act of Major Anderson have converted his violation of orders into a legitimate act of your executive authority. Be the issue what it may, of this we are assured, that, if Fort Moultrie has been recorded in history as a memorial of Carolina gallantry, Fort Sumter will live upon the succeeding page as an imperishable testimony of Carolina faith. By your course, you have probably rendered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you choose to force this issue upon us, the State of South Carolina will accept it, and relying upon Him who is the God of Justice as well as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to perform the great duty which lies before her hopefully, bravely, and thoroughly."* The letter was returned with the endorsement, "This paper just presented to the President is of such a character that he declines to receive it." The President of the United States had spoken at last. The mission of the South Carolina Commissioners was at an end.

---

* President Buchanan to Messrs. Barnwell, Adams and Orr, December 30, 1860.

Simultaneously with this correspondence, the Hon. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, on the 27th of December, in the presence of the Cabinet, read to the President a paper denouncing the removal from Moultrie by Major Anderson, as a violation of "the solemn pledges of the Government," which had left "but one remedy to vindicate our honor and prevent civil war, and that is, to withdraw the garrison from the harbor of Charleston." Two days after, he followed this up by another communication to the President, in which he stated, that the refusal or even the delay of the Government "to place affairs back as they stood under our agreement, invites a collision, and must inevitably inaugurate civil war;" that he could not "consent to be the agent of such a calamity," and that he was, therefore, under the necessity of tendering his resignation as Secretary of War, "because I can no longer hold it under my convictions of patriotism, nor with honor, subjected as I am to a violation of solemn pledges and plighted faith." To this, President Buchanan replied briefly and coolly on the 31st:—"My dear Sir, I have received and accepted your resignation of the office of Secretary of War; and not wishing to impose upon you the task of performing its mere routine duties, which you have so kindly offered to do, I have authorized Postmaster-General Holt to administer the affairs of the Department until your successor shall be appointed."

The change was accepted by the public with the profoundest satisfaction. It was, indeed, high time for Mr. Floyd to depart, and a citizen of unquestioned loyalty and honor to be put in his place. His fidelity to the Government was doubted, and there were various unpleasant suspicions afloat of his participation in certain transactions, recently brought to light, of enormous army acceptances, connected with which an immense sum of government securities in State Stocks had been feloniously withdrawn from the Department of the Interior. So strong ran the current against him, that a presentment was shortly after made by the Grand Jury of the city of Washington, charging him with maladministration in office, complicity in the abstraction of the bonds, and conspiracy against the Government. A few days before his departure from the War Department, he addressed a communication to the House of Representatives, offering an explanation of his course in reference to the acceptances. The letter was referred to a committee, which, after a careful investigation of the circumstances, pointed out

---

* Messrs. Barnwell, Adams and Orr to President Buchanan, Washington January 1, 1861.

"the recklessness of his official conduct, his inattention, and the ignorance of the details of his affairs," and characterized his conduct as "not to be reconciled with purity of private motives and faithfulness to public trusts."*

Under these circumstances, Secretary Floyd immediately left for Virginia, to re-appear in due time upon the public stage as a brigadier-general of the army of the so-called Confederate States of America. It was then mentioned with peculiar satisfaction in Richmond that, by a single order, made in his last year of office as Secretary of War, he had transferred one hundred and fifteen thousand improved muskets and rifles from the Springfield armory and Watervleit arsenal, to five depositories at the South.† All of them were, as a matter of course, seized by the State authorities at the opening of the Rebellion.

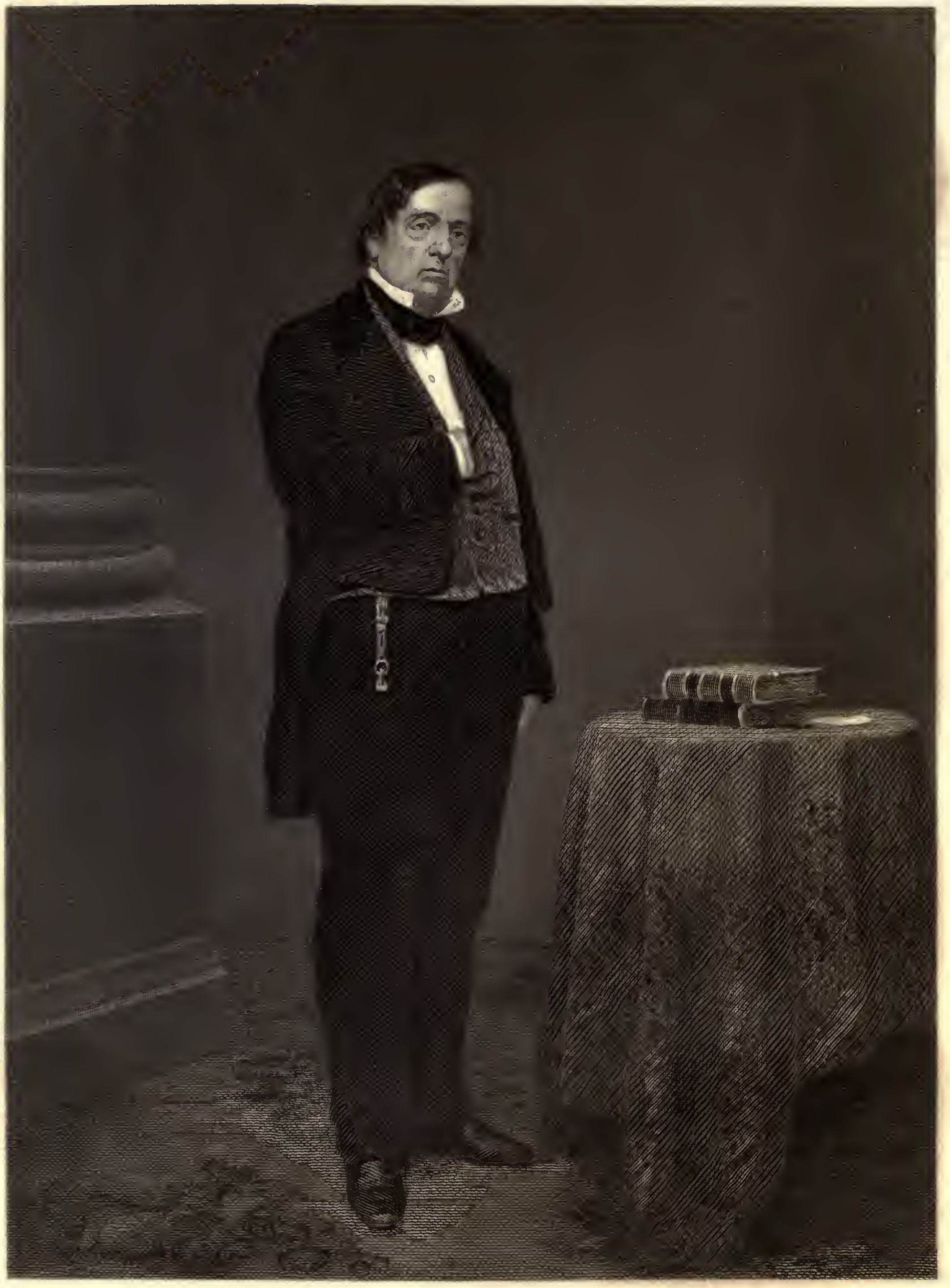
The departure of Floyd was not the first important change in President Buchanan's Cabinet. Howell Cobb, the Secretary of the Treasury, a politician of the Southern school, took leave of the President shortly after the opening of Congress. He had accomplished his work at Washington, though he had failed in his department. An empty treasury and depreciated public funds were his legacy to his successor. He turned from his seat in the government to agitate rebellion in his native State of Georgia. He was succeeded for a time by the Commissioner of Patents, Mr. Philip F. Thomas, of Maryland. General Cass, as we have seen, moved to sadness at the prospects of the times, left the Cabinet a few days after Mr. Cobb, from very different motives, when his place was taken by the Attorney-General, Mr. Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania. The vacant Attorney-Generalship was then conferred on another citizen of that State, Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, a man of energy in his profession of the law, and a zealous patriot of whom we shall hear much hereafter under another dispensation.

In a special Message, on the 8th of January,—a day to recall the memory of a previous Executive who scented treason from afar, and who never hesitated in the performance of duty,—President Buchanan briefly reviewed the condition of affairs, and urged upon Congress the necessity of prompt interposition to avert the threatened calamities. He pictured the state of the country, its gloom and despondency, the paralysis which had fallen upon trade and commerce, the universal depreciation of property, and the rapid decline of the credit of the public securities. These evils he justly attributed to the susceptibility or exposure of the State to the threatened danger from within. "In a government organized like ours," said he, "domestic strife, or even a well-grounded fear of civil hostilities, is more destructive to our public and private interests than the most formidable foreign war." Recurring to his late Annual Message, he reiterated his convictions of the inadequate pretensions made for secession, and again declared his inability to acknowledge the independence claimed for any State under its assumptions. Of the war-making power, he said, "I certainly had no right to make aggressive war upon any State, and I am perfectly satisfied that the Constitution has wisely withheld that power even from Congress.

---

* Report of the Select Committee appointed to investigate the frauds in the Department of the Interior, to the House of Representatives, February 12, 1861.

† Richmond *Examiner*, cited in the New York *Evening Post*, May 15, 1861.



Lew Cass

From the original painting by Chappel, in the possession of the publishers

Johnson Fry & Co Publishers, New York

Entered [illegible] the Clerk's office [illegible] Southern district of N. York

But the right and the duty to use military force defensively against those who resist the Federal officers in the execution of their legal functions, and against those who assail the property of the Federal Government, is clear and undeniable." Recognizing the magnitude of the evils which threatened the state—for "the fact," said he, "cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution"—he appealed to Congress, and cast the entire responsibility of action upon that body. "The Union," was his language in words worthy of the occasion, and the sentiment, though familiar, cannot be too often repeated, "is a sacred trust, left by our revolutionary fathers to their descendants; and never did any other people inherit so rich a legacy. It has rendered us prosperous in peace and triumphant in war. The national flag has floated in glory over every sea. Under its shadow American citizens have found protection and respect in all lands beneath the sun. If we descend to considerations of purely material interest, when, in the history of all time, has a confederacy been bound together by such strong ties of mutual interest? Each portion of it is dependent on all, and all upon each portion, for prosperity and domestic security. Free trade throughout the whole supplies the wants of one portion from the productions of another, and scatters wealth everywhere. The great planting and farming States require the aid of the commercial and navigating States, to send their productions to domestic and foreign markets, and to furnish the naval power to render their transportation secure against all hostile attacks."

He turns, then, to the disappointment of these obvious provisions of the beneficence of nature and Providence in the threatened destruction of the government. "The calamity," said he, "would be severe in every portion of the Union, and would be quite as great, to say the least, in the Southern as in the Northern States;" adding,—what was of the utmost value as the testimony of an unquestionable witness in the case about to be submitted to the judgment of the world—"The greatest aggravation of the evil is, as I am firmly convinced, that the secession movement has been chiefly based upon a misapprehension at the South of the sentiments of the majority in several of the Northern States." He urged peaceful but decided action, and advised that the questions at issue should be "transferred from political assemblies to the ballot box," that the people themselves might redress the grievances which the South had suffered. "I appeal through you," he said to Congress, "to the people of the country to declare in their might that the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means." In furtherance of this end, he recommended the compromise line which had been proposed, as though, perhaps, not entirely satisfactory, yet to be preferred by "the patriotism of Congress" to the destruction of the Union. After vindicating the action of Major Anderson in transferring his command from Moultrie to Sumter, and promising to preserve peace in the District of Columbia, concerning which there was now a growing uneasiness, he said: "In conclusion, it may be permitted to me to remark, that I have often warned my countrymen of the dangers which now surround us. This may be the last time I shall refer to the subject officially. I feel that my duty has been faithfully, though it may be imperfectly, performed; and, whatever the result may be, I shall carry to my grave the consciousness that I at least meant well for my country."

With the infusion of new life into the departments, the Government exhibited some signs of action, but it was altogether too feeble and uncertain to arrest, in any considerable degree, the strong tide of rebellion which was now setting in at the South. An effort was made, though quite inadequate to the purpose in view, to reinforce and provision Fort Sumter. The commercial steamer Star of the West was prepared at New York, and on the night of the 5th of January, loaded with supplies, and with a picked body of two hundred United States troops on board, left the harbor for Charleston. The preparations were made with secrecy, but not with such privacy as to prevent some friend of the South sending news of the movement in advance by the telegraph, which was then uninterrupted, to her place of destination. When the vessel arrived off the port, early on the morning of the 9th, she found a steamer ready to signal her appearance. "The soldiers," to continue the narrative in the words of the official report of the captain of the steamer, John McGowan, "were now all put below, and no one allowed on deck except our own crew. As soon as there was light enough to see, we crossed the bar, and proceeded on up the channel, (the outer bar buoy having been taken away,) the steamer ahead of us sending off rockets and burning lights until after broad daylight, continuing on her course up nearly two miles ahead of us. When we arrived about two miles from Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter being about the same distance, a masked battery on Morris Island, where there was a red Palmetto flag flying, opened fire upon us at the distance of about five-eighths of a mile. We had the American flag flying at our flagstaff at the time, and soon after the first shot, hoisted a large American ensign at the fore. We continued on under the fire of the battery for over ten minutes, several of the shots going clear over us. One shot just passed clear of the pilot house, another passed betwen the smoke stack and walking beam of the engine, another struck the ship just abaft the fore-rigging and stove in the planking, while another came within an ace of carrying away the rudder. At the same time there was a movement of two steamers from near Fort Moultrie, one of them towing a schooner, (I presume an armed schooner,) with the intention of cutting us off. Our position now became rather critical, as we had to approach Fort Moultrie to within three-quarters of a mile before we could keep away for Fort Sumter. A steamer approaching us with an armed schooner in tow, and the battery on the island firing at us all the time, and having no cannon to defend ourselves from the attack of the vessels, we concluded that to avoid certain capture or destruction, we would endeavor to get to sea. Consequently we wore round and steered down the channel, the battery firing upon us until the shot fell short."*

Major Anderson, in consequence of the espionage upon his movements by the authorities at Charleston, was not allowed a knowledge of the sailing of the steamer. As she approached, however, beset by the batteries of the harbor, her purpose to render him assistance became evident, and he was prepared to second her advance by opening fire upon the assailants, when she was driven back. His interpretation of the act was shown in a letter which he immediately addressed to Governor Pickens, asking if the firing of the batteries "upon an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of my Government," was authorized, and notifying the Governor, that if it were not disclaimed "he must regard it as an act of war, and that he should not, after a reasonable time for the return of his messenger, permit any vessel to pass within range of the guns of his fort."* To this menace, Governor Pickens replied with assertions of the Independence of South Carolina, an interpretation of the visit of the Star of the West, as evidence of a desire to coerce the State by the armed forces of the United States, and his consequent approval of the firing from the batteries. "The act," he wrote, "is perfectly justified by me. In regard to your threat in regard to vessels in the harbor, it is only necessary to say, that you must judge of your responsibility. Your position in this harbor has been tolerated by the authorities of the State; and while the act of which you complain is in perfect consistency with the rights and duties of the States, it is not perceived how far the conduct which you propose to adopt, can find a parallel in the history of any country, or be reconciled with any other purpose of your Government, than that of imposing upon this State the condition of a conquered province."*

---

* Captain McGowan to M. O. Roberts, Star of the West New York, January 12, 1861.

The resolution shown by the President, in this attempt to preserve the public property in the harbor of Charleston, was attended by further withdrawals from the Cabinet of members whose Southern sympathies or political scruples would not permit them to acquiesce in this exercise of authority. Mr. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, the Secretary of the Interior, resigned on the 8th of January, while the Star of the West was yet on her way, and three days after, when her mission had proved unsuccessful, Mr. Thomas abandoned his post as Secretary of the Treasury. Greatly to the satisfaction of the mercantile and financial classes, the place of the latter was occupied by the Hon. John A. Dix, of New York. This spirited citizen, a member of the Democratic party, who had made every exertion to maintain the revolted States in the Union, entered vigorously on the work of repairing the disasters which had been incurred, or at least, of preserving what could be maintained of the rights of the nation. The entire property of the Union at the South was being pillaged or destroyed. The commercial, no less than the military operations, were suspended by the occupation of harbors, the plundering of custom houses, the desertion of their officers and the seizure of the public vessels. Two revenue cutters at New Orleans and Mobile, which were in especial danger, it was thought, if vigilantly looked after, might yet be preserved. On the 19th of January, four days after Secretary Dix took charge of his Department, he sent Mr. William Hemphill Jones, Chief Clerk in the First Comptroller's Office, to save this property. Arriving at New Orleans, this officer, according to his instructions, ordered Captain Breshwood, in command of the cutter Robert McClelland, to proceed with her to New York; to which the summary answer was returned, "I refuse to obey the order." Upon this, Jones telegraphed to Secretary Dix for further instructions. The answer sent by telegraph, ordered the arrest of Breshwood, with this pithy injunction:—"If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." The message did not at once reach its destination; it was intercepted at the telegraph offices of the South, and was too late to be put in execution. But it did not fail in another direction. It was accepted as the first energetic utterance of the powers of government, and was echoed by thousands of tongues, glad to give voice to one burst of indignant feeling at the gross and repeated insults to the national ensign. The few emphatic words were not forgotten by the public. They helped to make Secretary Dix, Major-General of the United States armies. The people wanted a watchword, and in the midst of the prevailing despondency, were thankful that it proceeded from a high officer of the Government.

---

* Major Anderson to Governor Pickens, Fort Sumter, January 9, 1861.

* Governor F. W. Pickens to Major Anderson, January 9, 1861.

The deliberate act of hostility and assault upon the national flag, in the attack upon the Star of the West, strange to say, was attended with no immediate important consequences, though it no doubt had its influence in bringing the public mind toward the conclusion, that the rebellion was something more than a wordy altercation to be settled at leisure by conventions, resolutions, and debates. The Administration, indeed, and the people of the North generally, were reluctant to accept any other than a peaceful interpretation of whatever might occur. Had they not been indisposed to admit an unfriendly conclusion, the assault on the Star of the West would in its effects have anticipated that on Sumter. Certainly, nothing was wanting in it of injury and defiance on the part of the South Carolinians.

In spite of the deliberate avowal by Governor Pickens of the firing on the Star of the West, Major Anderson, from humane and kindly motives, with the hope of the so long-deferred interposition of peaceful counsels, still hesitated, unwilling to assume the responsibility which his judgment dictated, and pursue the course which he had marked out for himself. Resolving to seek further instruction from the Government, he asked and obtained from Governor Pickens his consent to the passage of Lieutenant Talbot, an officer of the garrison, on the errand. The messenger was permitted to depart, and only two days afterward, before he could return, on the 11th of January, a formal application was made by Governor Pickens to Major Anderson for the surrender of the fort. This, of course, he refused, but again expressed his desire to refer the matter to Washington.

Governor Pickens, in consequence, immediately deputed the Hon. J. W Hayne, Attorney-General of the State, to proceed to the National Capital as the bearer of a letter to the President, in which he renewed the demand for the surrender. "The demand," was its language, "I have made of Major Anderson and which I now make of you, is suggested because of my earnest desire to avoid the bloodshed which a persistance in your attempt to retain the possession of that fort will cause, and which will be unavailing to secure you that possession, but induce a calamity most deeply to be deplored."* An interval of about three weeks occurred after Colonel Hayne's arrival in Washington, while an effort was made by certain Southern Senators, including Davis, Wigfall, Slidell, and others, to prolong the negotiation, when the answer of the Government was given, through the Secretary of War, Mr. Holt, to the final demand, which was somewhat modified by an offer on the part of South Carolina to purchase Sumter and its contents as property of the United States, with the alternative of taking it by force in case this novel negotiation were refused. Mr. Holt's reply, one of the most admirable of his excellent State papers, combatted this strange proposition, pointed out its inadmissible character, and while it asserted his resolve to maintain the fort in its present position, and make every effort, if the occasion arose—for it was now represented by Major Anderson that he stood in no need of immediate aid—to reinforce it also, renewed the President's declarations of his pacific policy and intentions. "If," was its conclusion, "with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace, and of the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of South Carolina shall assault Fort Sumter, and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and thus plunge our country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them and those they represent must rest the responsibility."*

---

* Governor Pickens to President Buchanan, January 11, 1861.

Whilst this was the condition of affairs at Sumter and at Charleston, the public property in the other Southern States was also suffering spoliation. Under plea of danger from popular violence, Forts Pulaski and Jackson, the fortifications of the harbor of Savannah were taken possession of for the State by Governor Brown on the 3d of January. Fort Morgan, at the entrance to the bay of Mobile, with the arsenal and its supplies at that city, were similarly occupied the next day. Forts Johnson and Caswell were seized by the State troops of North Carolina a few days later. On the 10th, Louisiana seized Forts St. Philip and Jackson on the Mississippi, and the arsenal at Baton Rouge. The Floridians secured Fort Barrancas and the navy yard at Pensacola, on the 12th. The last day of the month the United States Mint and Custom-house, at New Orleans, with about half a million of dollars of the public money, passed by a bold act of confiscation, into the keeping of the State. The arsenal at Little Rock, in Arkansas, and the military posts and property of Texas, fell into rebel hands a short time after. The spoliation of the Texas forts was particularly discreditable, since it was accomplished by a prominent officer of the United States service. Brigadier-General Twiggs, who had gained deserved distinction in Mexico under the flag of his country, first deserted his troops who were guarding the frontier, and not content with this "infamy of treason to his flag, added the crowning crime of deliberately handing over to the armed enemies of his government all the public property intrusted to his charge, thus even depriving the loyal men under his command of all means of transportation out of the State."* The United States soldiers, as they arrived from their distant posts at the seaboard, were made prisoners, and though urgently solicited, not a man of them would follow the example of their general and abandon their allegiance to their country. After suffering various hardships, and a portion of them making an ineffectual attempt to escape by sea, they were all compelled to lay down their arms. They finally gave their parole and were allowed to return to the North.

---

* Hon. J. Holt to Hon. J. W. Hayne, War Department, February 6, 1861.

* Report of the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, July 1, 1861.

More than a million of dollars' worth of property—mules, horses, wagons and various materials of war—was directly transferred by General Twiggs to the Rebel Commissioners. The loss of the government property of various kinds at the forts and stations in the State was estimated at about three millions. On the 1st of March, one of the last few days of the retiring Administration, the following Order, signed by Secretary Holt, was issued from the War Department at Washington:—"By the direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Brigadier-General David E. Twiggs be, and is hereby dismissed from the army of the United States, for his treachery to the flag of his country, in having surrendered on the 18th of February, 1861, on the demand of the authorities of Texas, the military posts and other property of the United States in his department and under his charge."

CHAPTER IV.

SECESSION IN CONGRESS.

THE speeches and proceedings of the National Congress offered, meanwhile, a curious reflection of the disordered state of the public mind. On the part of the Southern members, there was a singular tone of assurance as to the progress and triumph of the Secession movement. They appeared to regard it from the first as an established fact, something which could neither be gainsayed nor refuted, which was proof equally against argument and arms, which they had but to assert to maintain. Looking into those two remarkable volumes of the Congressional Globe in which the acts and debates of the session are recorded, and which will be eagerly studied, with mingled feelings of sorrow and astonishment by posterity, to pluck out the heart of this mystery, we know not which most to wonder at;—the reckless, wanton conduct of the secessionists, or the patient submissiveness with which their language was listened to by the patriotic members. Bold assailants of the nation, the very audacity of the course of the Southerners was their safety. The loyalty of the people had hitherto been so well preserved, that the Government for a while appeared incapable of receiving the deadly blow, and made no defence against the stroke.

The debate on the President's Message in the Senate at once called forth the most decided expressions. The language of Iverson of Georgia was sufficiently direct and treasonable, if treason had been understood. The right of secession, he frankly admitted, was not given in the Constitution either expressly or by reservation; it was simply an act of revolution. With equal candor, he proclaimed that the repeal of the personal liberty bills of the North would be of no consequence in stopping the progress of disunion. "It is not because," said he, "that in their practical operation they ever do any harm." Nor did he look for any overt act of injury upon the part of Mr. Lincoln. The danger to be dreaded was in the disposition of the North on the subject of slavery, and the influence which could be exerted by the dominant party for its extinction. "Why, sir," was his language, "the power of this Federal Government could be so exercised against the institution of slavery in the Southern States as that, without an overt act, the institution would not last ten years. We know that, sir; and seeing the storm which is approaching, although it may be seemingly in the distance, we are determined to seek our own safety and security before it shall burst upon us and overwhelm us with its fury, when we are not in a situation to defend ourselves." This, at least, was a candid admission of the motives of the course to be pursued.

"Now, sir," he added defiantly, "we intend to go out of this Union. I speak what I believe upon this floor, that before the 4th of March, five of the Southern States at least—" he had already enumerated them, with a glowing panegyric of their progress in secession—"will have declared their independence; and I am satisfied that three others of the Cotton States will follow as soon as the action of the people can be had." There was "a clog," he admitted, in the case of Texas, whose aged Governor Houston had shown considerable reluctance so lightly to abandon the old flag; but for that he had a remedy in this classic intimation: "If he does not yield to public sentiment some Texan Brutus will arise to rid his country of the hoary-headed incubus that stands between the people and their sovereign will." A prompt and vigorous method, surely, of expediting the good work of secession by the assassination of a governor.

But the Senator from Georgia said something further of the calculations of rebellion, of what it intended, and upon what it relied. "We intend, Mr. President," he continued, "to go out peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must; but I do not believe with the Senator from New Hampshire, (Mr. Hale,) that there is going to be any war. If five or eight States go out, they will necessarily draw all the other Southern States after them. That is a consequence that nothing can prevent. If five or eight States go out of this Union, I should like to see the man who would propose a declaration of war against them, or attempt to force them into obedience to the Federal Government at the point of the bayonet or the sword. If one State alone was to go out, unsustained by her sister States, possibly war might ensue, and there might be an attempt made to coerce her, and that would give rise to civil war; but, sir, South Carolina is not to go out alone. In my opinion she will be sustained by all her Southern sisters. They may not all go out immediately; but they will in the end join South Carolina in this important movement; and we shall, in the next twelve months, have a Confederacy of the Southern States, and a government inaugurated and in successful operation, which, in my opinion, will be a government of the greatest prosperity and power the world has ever seen."* Such was the well-calculated description of the destruction of his country, presented to John C. Breckenridge, the Vice President of the nation, in the chair, and which, for aught that appears on the record, was suffered to pass without remonstrance or rebuke.

---

* Remarks of Mr. Iverson in the Senate, December 5 1860.

The remarks of Louis T. Wigfall, Senator from Texas, jocosely uttered, were to the same effect. "I know," said he, "that there is much truth, there is much philosophy in Dogberry's saying, 'An two men ride of a horse, one must ride behind;' and if we proposed to remain in this Union, we should undoubtedly submit to the inauguration of any man who was elected by a constitutional majority. We propose nothing of that sort. We simply say, that a man who has been distasteful to us has been elected, and we choose to consider that as a sufficient ground for leaving the Union, and we intend to leave the Union. Then, if you desire it, bring us back. When you undertake that, and have accomplished it, you may be like the man who purchased the elephant—you may find it rather difficult to decide what to do with the animal."

The House of Representatives began the discussions of the session in a more promising mood. Their first act, on the reception of the Message was, on motion of Mr. Boteler, of Virginia. "to refer so much of it as related to the present perilous condition of the country to a special committee of one from each State." By the side of this committee of thirty-three, a similar committee of thirteen was presently appointed in the Senate, with the design of devising some plan of reconciliation, to relieve the country of the threatening disunion. Mr. Corwin, of Ohio, was at the head of the House Committee, which included Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, Nelson of Tennessee, Rust of Arkansas, and others of note. Mr. Powell of Kentucky, the mover of the Resolution, presided over the Senate Committee, of which, Hunter of Virginia, Crittenden of Kentucky, Seward of New York, Toombs of Georgia, Douglas of Illinois, Collamer of Vermont, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Wade of Ohio, Bigler of Pennsylvania, Rice of Minnesota, Doolittle of Wisconsin and Grimes of Iowa, were members. To these committees various propositions involving more or less of compromise were referred. They were taken into consideration, and nothing came of them but further dissatisfaction. The Senate Committee, after ten days' discussion, reported their inability to agree upon any general plan of adjustment.

The House Committee held out longer, though with little better result. After more than a month's anxious deliberation. a majority report was submitted by Mr. Corwin, proposing various recommendations, such as a request to the non-slaveholding States to repeal all laws in conflict with the laws for the recovery of fugitives, and on the other hand, a modification of the fugitive slave law itself; an amendment to the Constitution, denying for ever to Congress any power to interfere with slavery in the States till every State in the Union shall consent to its exercise; and a settlement of the question of slavery in the territories by at once admitting New Mexico as a State "on an equal footing with the original States." A minority report of Washburn of Wisconsin and Tappan of New Hampshire, scouted the proposed palliatives. "South Carolina," was its language, "is our 'sick man,' that is laboring under the influence of the most distressing of maladies. A morbid disease which has been preying upon that State for a long series of years has at last assumed the character of acute mania, and has extended to other members of the Confederacy, and to think of restoring the patient to health by the nostrums proposed, is, in our judgment, perfectly idle." It closed with a resolution, "that the provisions of the Constitution are ample for the preservation of the Union and the protection of all the material interests of the country; that it needs to be obeyed rather than amended, and our extrication from present difficulties is to be looked for in efforts to preserve and protect the public property and enforce the laws, rather than in new guarantees for particular interests, or compromises or concessions to unreasonable demands."

The most important or best known of the many propositions submitted to Congress were, doubtless, the Resolutions offered by the venerable Senator Crittenden, of Kentucky, who, with the most patriotic intentions and unwearied zeal, sought to reconcile all differences by a comprehensive system of concession and compromise. He proposed several articles of Amendment to the Constitution, providing for the prohibition of slavery in all territory north of the line 36 degrees 30 minutes, and its protection to the south of that line, leaving the admission of all future new States out of any portion of the territory, north or south, to be uncontrolled in respect to the peculiar institution; denying to Congress the power to abolish slavery in places, (the forts, dockyards, &c.) under its exclusive jurisdiction, and situate within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves; restricting the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while it exists in Virginia and Maryland, or either, or without the consent of the inhabitants or remuneration to owners; and further, that Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or to a Territory in which slaves are, by law, permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or by the sea. By a fifth article, Congress was to provide for the payment to the owner of the value of a fugitive slave whose return was prevented by violence or intimidation. A sixth article provided that these provisions should never be affected by any future amendment of the Constitution. An accompanying series of Resolutions recommended the enforcement of the existing fugitive slave law, its improvement to the extent of making the commissioner's fee equal in amount in the cases decided by him, whether his decision be in favor of or against the claimant, and the repeal by the States of the personal liberty bills, and that the laws forbidding the African slave trade, be made effectual. Arguments and debates were held on these Resolutions during the greater part of the session. Other resolutions and amendments were offered. There were caucuses of members from the Border States outside of Congress; there were conferences within; there were ingenious schemes of individuals, by Johnson, in the Senate, and others. No less than seventeen members of the House, at different times proposed Amendments to the Constitution, beside the labors of the Committee of thirty-three, and other simple resolutions, deprecating hostilities and suggesting terms of adjustment of existing difficulties. There was a Peace Conference of commissioners from twenty-one States, sitting at Washington during the month of February. It was held at the instance of Virginia, and was presided over by Ex-President Tyler, who presented to Congress a series of Amendments to the Constitution, similar to the Crittenden Resolutions. Every form of guarantee which could be thought of was agitated, to assure the South of the full preservation of its rights under the Constitution. Beyond this, the majority was not willing to go ; nor did it appear that any concession which could be proposed, would satisfy the Southern temper which was sternly bent on independence, and the consequent destruction of the Government.

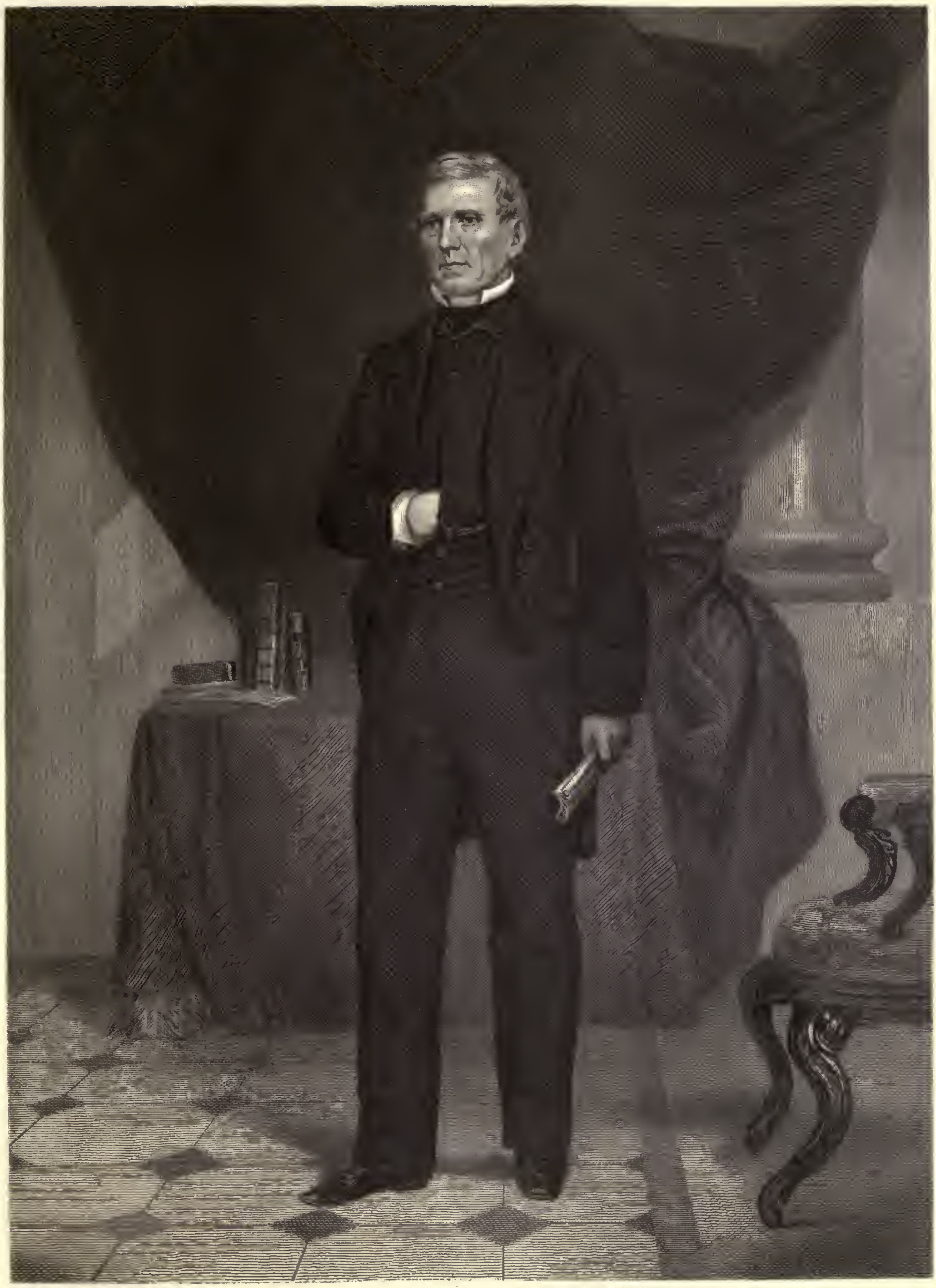
On one of the last days of the session, in a final effort, Mr. Crittenden raised his voice in the Senate, "We are about to adjourn. We have done nothing. Even the Senate of the United States, beholding this great ruin around them, beholding dismemberment and revolution going on, and civil war threatened as the result, have been able to do nothing ; we have done absolutely nothing. . . . This will make a strange sound in the history of Governments, and in the history of the world. Some are for coercion ; yet no army has been raised, no navy has been equipped. Some are for pacification ; yet they have been able to do nothing ; the dissent of their colleagues prevents them ; and here we are in the midst of a falling country, in the midst of a falling State, presenting to the eyes of the world the saddest spectacle it has ever seen. Cato is represented by Addison as a worthy spectacle, 'a great man falling with a falling State ;' but he fell struggling. We fall with the ignominy on our heads of doing nothing, like the man who stands by and sees his house in flames, and says to himself, 'perhaps the fire will stop before it consumes all.'"*

At last, at the end of the term, a few propositions were passed by which nothing essential was yielded or conceded. The Corwin resolutions were stripped of their important provision of a permanent boundary line for the protection of Slavery ; and Mr. Crittenden's Resolutions were lost in the Senate by a single vote. All, in fact, that could be obtained from the Senate or the House, was a recommendation to the States that the spirit of the Constitution should be respected, and the laws on the subject of slavery observed. In consonance with this willingness to abide by the existing terms of the Constitution, was the joint resolution for an article of amendment to that instrument, providing, "that no amendment shall be made to the Constitution, which will authorize or give Congress power to abolish or interfere within any State with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or servitude by the laws of said State." The passage of this resolution required a two-thirds vote in both houses. It had the full number in the House of Representatives, and two-thirds of those remaining, not of the entire body, of the Senate. It was decided, however, that the vote of the latter was sufficient, so that when ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the several States, the amendment will be part of the Constitution of the United States.

The patience, "the melancholy assiduity," as it was subsequently characterized by Mr. Everett, with which these topics were discussed by the loyal members, in face of the startling evidences of

---

* Speech in the Senate, March 2, 1861.



J. J. Crittenden.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1863 by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the clerks office of the district court for the southern district [illegible].

revolt which were brought into their midst, could only have been maintained by the most friendly and earnest desire to preserve the blessings of peace for the whole country. States which had fully determined upon revolt, up to the time of the actual resolve of their Conventions pronouncing the act of secession, were represented in Congress. As word came of the final defection, the members of the revolted States, deliberately and without impediment, took leave of their brethren, in various humors, according to individual tempers, from the pathetic to the defiant. The first of these withdrawals was of the South Carolina delegation of the House of Representatives, on the 21st of December, which was communicated in a brief letter to the Speaker. So far as the occasion admitted, it was courteously worded. A similar announcement was made by the Mississippi members, on the 12th of January. Two days after, her Senator, Albert G. Brown, intimated his resignation. The formal leave-taking of his associate, Jefferson Davis, was delayed by illness till the 21st, when he made the act the occasion of a remarkable declaration of his sentiments.

It was a notable day in the Senate as the representatives of three States, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, pronounced their farewells. David L. Yulee of Florida, led the way in a few temperately expressed remarks, in which he assigned sectional aggrandizement as the cause of the defection of his State. "She sees fast rising above all others," said he, "the great issue of the right of the people of the States to sovereignty and self-government within their respective territorial boundaries; and in such an issue she is prepared to devote the lives and fortunes of all her people." His associate, Stephen R. Mallory, followed in a gentle strain, "more in sorrow than in anger," invoking a peaceful separation.

The two representatives of Alabama, Clement C. Clay and Benjamin Fitzpatrick next took their leave. Clay spoke for his colleague and himself in an harangue steeped with bitterness, the burden of which was the invasion by the North of the rights of slavery. He mentioned no other ground of difference. "It is now nearly forty-two years," said he, "since Alabama was admitted into the Union. She entered it, as she goes out of it, while the Confederacy was in convulsions, caused by the hostility of the North to the domestic slavery of the South. Not a decade or scarce a lustrum has elapsed since her birth, that has not been strongly marked by proofs of the growth and power of that anti-slavery spirit of the northern people, which seeks the overthrow of that domestic institution of the South, which is not only the chief source of her prosperity, but the very basis of her social order and State polity." The indignant speaker then presented this fearful bill of indictment, all the items of which, it will be observed, have but one source and issue. "It (the anti-slavery spirit) denied us Christian communion, because it could not endure what it styles the moral leprosy of slaveholding; it refused us permission to sojourn, or even to pass through the North, with our property; it claimed freedom for the slave if brought by his master into a northern State; it violated the Constitution and treaties and laws of Congress, because designed to protect that property, it refused us any share of lands acquired mainly by our diplomacy and blood and treasure; it refused our property any shelter or security beneath the flag of a common government; it robbed us of our property and refused to restore it; it refused to deliver criminals against our laws, who fled to the North with our property or our blood upon their hands; it threatened us, by solemn legislative acts, with ignominious punishment if we pursued our property into a northern State; it murdered southern men when seeking the recovery of their property on northern soil; it invaded the borders of southern States, poisoned their wells, burnt their dwellings, and murdered their people; it denounced us by deliberate resolves of popular meetings, of party conventions, and of religious and even legislative assemblies, as habitual violators of the laws of God and the rights of humanity; it exerted all the moral and physical agencies that human ingenuity can devise, or diabolical malice can employ, to heap odium and infamy upon us, and to make us a by-word of hissing and of scorn throughout the civilized world." Yet this climax, virulent and intolerable as it would seem, might, said Mr. Clay, have been endured some time longer, but for the republican platforms of 1856 and 1860, and the election of a President who promised "to disregard the judgments of your courts, the obligations of your Constitution, and the requirements of his official oath, by approving any bill prohibiting slavery in the Territories of the United States."

After a few words from Mr. Fitzpatrick, Jefferson Davis closed the melancholy procession of departing senators. With calmness, with courtesy, with an approach even to the language of tenderness, he informed his brother senators of the separation of his State, by her own act, from the Union; he expressed his approval of the measure, and reminded the members that he had in that house, in their presence, for many years, advocated the doctrine of secession, "as an essential attribute of State sovereignty." It might be inferred, that assuming the right, he would give some adequate reason for its exercise. It could hardly be supposed that one who had held such high offices under the government, could be ignorant of the import and responsibility of the measure he had in hand. An explanation was certainly due from him for his course. He gave it in these words:—"It has been a conviction of pressing necessity, it has been a belief that we are to be deprived in the Union of the rights which our fathers bequeathed to us, which has brought Mississippi into her present decision." Simply the notion or fear that "*we are to be* deprived." For three score and ten years and more the government of the United States had performed its functions with paternal kindness, without one single imputed act of trespass upon the privileges or prerogatives of any one of the States, and now, on the mere supposition that she may at some unknown time, in some unknown way, do otherwise, an act of withdrawal constituting a child of the household, from whom love, honor and obedience might be challenged, an alien, is avowed and justified.

This senator, whose words are made more memorable by his subsequent position, proceeded: "I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility to you, senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well; and such, I am sure, is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent. I therefore feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceful relations with you, though we must part. They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it. The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of the country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers, who delivered them from the power of the lion, to protect us from the ravages of the bear; and thus, putting our trust in God, and in our own firm hearts and strong arms, we will vindicate the right as best we may." And with such words as these on his lips, with his hand on the doors of the closed temple of Janus, in the very act of letting loose upon a continent the unutterable woes and sufferings of civil war, this plotter and accomplisher of sedition walked forth in peace from the sacred precincts of the capitol, and made his way in safety, unchallenged, to perfect his impious work in the banded rebellion of the South.

A week later, Alfred Iverson, of Georgia, treated the Senate to another of these lugubrious farewells. His mood, as we have seen, at the opening of the session, was the truculent and defiant. He had now the satisfaction, of looking upon the accomplishment of two months of treasonable conspiracy, of reasserting, with fuller confidence, the imminent approach of the great slaveholding Confederacy of the South. Again he calculated the chances of war. "You may," he said, with an anticipation of coming evils, the necessity of which few were then disposed to contemplate, even in imagination, "you may possibly overrun us, desolate our fields, burn our dwellings, lay our cities in ruins, murder our people, and reduce us to beggary; but you cannot subdue or subjugate us to your government or your will. Your conquest, if you gain one, will cost you a hundred thousand lives and more than a hundred million dollars. Nay, more, it will take a standing army of a hundred thousand men and millions of money, annually, to keep us in subjection. You may whip us, but we will not stay whipped. We will rise again and again to vindicate our right to liberty, and to throw off your oppressive and accursed yoke, and never cease the mortal strife until our whole white race is extinguished and our fair land given over to desolation. You may have ships of war and we may have none. You may blockade our ports and lock up our commerce. We can live, if need be, without commerce. But when you shut out our cotton from the looms of Europe, we shall see whether other nations will not have something to say and something to do on that subject. 'Cotton is king,' and it will find means to raise your blockade and disperse your ships."

On the 4th of February, two other memorable men, the representatives of Louisiana, John Slidell and Judah P. Benjamin, pronounced their valedictories on the floor of the Senate. Slidell spoke in a plausible vein, of the course of the new Confederacy in the adjustment of its relations with the government, the division of the public property, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and other matters of negotiation. All this was on the presumption of a peaceable separation. If, however, on the other hand, there were any attempts at enforcing the laws, the Senator, in the same easy rhetoric, sketched the conditions of that emergency. "You will find us," said he, in a careless manner, "ready to meet you with the outstretched hand of fellowship, or in the mailed panoply of war, as you may will it. Elect between these alternatives." In cool, insulting phraseology, he travestied the maintenance of the government, representing its acts as hostilities, and pictured, in glowing colors, the means of resistance. "We will not permit the introduction or consumption of any of your manufactures; every sea will swarm with our volunteer militia of the ocean, with the striped bunting floating over their heads, for we do not mean to give up that flag without a bloody struggle; it is ours as much as yours; and although, for a time, more stars may shine on your banner, our children, if not we, will rally under a constellation more numerous and more resplendent than yours." Again, danger to slavery was put forth. The election of Lincoln, the Senator asserted, was conclusive evidence of the determined hostility of the northern masses to our institutions, and this presumption was given as "the cause of our action."

Senator Benjamin brought his eminent legal faculty to the occasion. He was argumentative and astute, and ingeniously presented the doctrine of the right of secession, as an element of strength rather than weakness. "Nothing," said he, "can be more obvious to the calm and candid observer of passing events, than that the disruption of the Confederacy has been due, in great measure, not to the existence but to the denial of this right. Few candid men would refuse to admit that the Republicans of the North would have been checked in their mad career, had they been convinced of the existence of the right and the intention to assert it. The very knowledge of its existence, by preventing occurrences which alone could prompt its exercise, would have rendered it a most efficient instrument in the preservation of the Union. But if the fact were otherwise—if all the teachings of experience were reversed—better, far better, a rope of sand, aye, the flimsiest gossamer that ever glistened in the morning dew, than chains of iron and shackles of steel; better the wildest anarchy, with the hope, the chance, of one hour's inspiration of the glorious breath of freedom, than ages of the hopeless bondage and oppression to which our enemies would reduce us."

Toombs of Georgia, who was speedily to be appointed to a chief seat in the Rebel Confederacy, unlike his comrades, took no formal leave of the Senate: though shortly before his final disappearance he left on record a speech which may serve well enough for the purpose. It was delivered on the 7th of January, immediately after a calm, earnest, expostulatory address by Senator Crittenden, in support of his joint resolution on the subject of slavery. The tone of the Georgia Senator seemed doubly outrageous by contrast. Bold, truculent, reckless, defiant, extreme in his demands, he argued the territorial question with a copy of the Constitution in one hand and a sword in the other. "But," he roughly exclaimed, in words no doubt sufficiently astounding to the calm, venerable statesman he was addressing, "no matter what may be our grievances, the honorable Senator from Kentu ky, Mr. Crittenden, says we cannot secede. Well.

what can we do? We cannot revolutionize. He will say that is treason. What can we do? Submit? They say they are the strongest and they will hang us. Very well; I suppose we are to be thankful for that boon. We will take that risk; we will stand by the right; we will take the Constitution; we will defend it by the sword with the halter round our necks. Will that satisfy the honorable Senator from Kentucky? You cannot intimidate my constituents by talking to them about treason. They are ready to fight for the right with the rope round their necks, and meet the black Republicans and their allies upon whatever ground they may select. Treason! bah!"

Again, in reference to Mr. Crittenden's proposed extension of the line of the Missouri Compromise, "I am willing," said he, "to take the proposition of the Senator as it was understood in committee, putting the North and the South on the same ground, prohibiting slavery on the one side, acknowledging slavery and protecting it on the other, and applying that to all future acquisition, so that the whole continent to the north pole shall be settled upon the one rule, and to the south pole under the other. I will not buy a shameful peace. I will have equality or war. Georgia is on the war path and demands a full and final settlement this time." The Georgia Senator was evidently not in a proper mood for adjusting a disputed question. In fact he had already prejudged the case, and cared little what heed might be paid either to his arguments or his denunciations—for certainly no sane man could hope to convince a body of Senators by hurling his assumptions at them in this fashion. A fortnight before, indeed, he had telegraphed from Washington an address to the people of Georgia, in which, after informing them of the fate of certain propositions which he had submitted to the Committee of Thirteen, he had openly invited them to revolt. "I tell you," said he in this missive,—an extraordinary paper to proceed from a Senator sitting in his seat the sworn defender of the Constitution, "upon the faith of a true man, that all further looking to the North for security for your constitutional rights in the Union should be instantly abandoned. It is fraught with nothing but ruin to yourselves and your posterity. Secession by the fourth day of March next, should be thundered from the ballot-box, by the unanimous vote of Georgia, on the second day of January next. Such a voice will be your best guarantee for liberty, security, tranquility and glory."* In this key United States Senators pitched their public correspondence in Washington, in the winter of 1860.

The next that we hear of Senator Toombs is from his native State of Georgia, not long after his speech in the Senate, when we find him engaged in another characteristic telegraphic correspondence. On the 24th of January, a few days after the State had adopted the Secession Ordinance, he addressed this interrogatory from Milledgeville, to His Honor Mayor Wood at New York:—"Is it true that any arms, intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia, have been seized by public authorities in New York? Your answer is important to us and to New York. Answer at once. R. Toombs." To which His Honor, Fernando Wood, something more than apologetically replied: "I regret to say that arms intended for and consigned to the State of Georgia, have been seized by the police of this State, but that the City of New York should in no way be made responsible for this outrage. As Mayor, I have no authority over the police. If I had the power I should summarily punish the authors of this illegal and unjustifiable seizure of private property." The very day Senator Toombs made this indignant inquiry, Governor Brown of Georgia helped himself to the property of the United States arsenal at Augusta. The correspondence is most curious, as a picture of the time when people's ideas at the North were as yet undetermined in relation to what constituted treasonable communications; though few, if they had looked into the matter, would have had much doubt of the treason.

---

* Address of Senator Toombs by telegraph, December 23, 1860.

With a single exception, the House of Representatives was spared the uncomfortable leavetakings with which the seceders afflicted the Senate. The members from the several revolting States, in most cases, were content with sending in a brief notice of withdrawal, generally stating their resolve to share the fortunes of their State whatever they might be, and, in one or two instances, adding a few words of courtesy addressed to the Speaker. The card or document was laid on the table without action or debate. The signers disappeared from their accustomed seats and that was all. What may have been the motive for this concerted silence with men certainly not accustomed to let such excellent opportunity of airing their eloquence pass by, we cannot say. It may have been, that coming directly from the people to the popular branch of the national legislature, they may have had some reluctance unnecessarily to wound the generous mother of States in whose embrace they had been raised to honor. It may have been, that while they were willing to place their act upon record as one of obedience to the authority of their respective State governments, they were loth, in view of possible future reconciliation, to brand themselves with the stigma of unforced expressions of treason. Or it may have been that they feared the temper of the House as less forbearing than the courteous indifference of the Senate.

One of the retiring members, however, broke the silence, Miles Taylor, a representative from Louisiana. His speech was noticeable for its expositions of the hopes and reliance of the Southern Confederacy should the North endeavor to maintain the authority of the government and the integrity of the Union. He spoke particularly of the dependence of the seceding States in that event upon the power which they held in their hands in the possession of cotton; how in supplying a consumption in manufactures at the North of eight hundred thousand bales annually, which by capital and industry ensured a value of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars, and in Europe of nearly three millions of bales, expanding in like manner to an aggregate of four hundred millions of dollars, this staple article controlled the interests and policy of the great manufacturing States at home and abroad. He looked particularly to England and France to interfere in breaking the threatened blockade. As he proceeded, he was more than once interrupted by members who felt these minatory intimations as insults to the government which they were all alike pledged by a solemn oath to maintain. Francis E. Spinner, from the Mohawk district of New York, chafed at the language of the speaker, and would, if he had not been overruled, have arrested his speech at its beginning by denying a hearing. "I think," said he, "it is high time to put a stop to this countenancing of treason in the halls of legislation." Later, when the member for Louisiana, in the continuance of his remarks, had been drawn by a pertinent query of Daniel E. Sickles, another New York representative, into a defence of the seizure of the public property by his State, Spinner again indignantly interposed. "I make a point of order upon the gentleman from Louisiana. I want to know whether it is competent for a member, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to stand upon the floor of the House of Representatives and boldly avow, advocate and justify treason to the United States, and to defend the stealing of United States forts, United States arsenals, United States hospitals and United States ships. The gentleman from Louisiana avows, I believe, that he is no longer a member of this House; yet he justifies in this House the spoliation of property to this government. Is it competent for him to stand here and defend acts of insult and disgrace to this government?" The Chair indulgently permitted the orator to go on. "I have said," continued he, in words strangely prophetic of the subsequent event, "if the United States send ships to blockade our ports, and if the armies of the United States invade the soil of the seceding States, that would be war; and that when the first blow is struck, the spirit of Southern nationality will leap from the hearts of the Southern people, 'like Pallas all armed;' and that State after State will array themselves under her guidance, until every Southern State will be banded together to maintain that independence which all will have declared, and to vindicate the right of their people to exercise for themselves all the powers of self-government. When that blow is struck, gentlemen, let me tell you, whatever you may think to the contrary, that the people of the State of Maryland, in which the first act was done which led to the formation of the existing government, will come to the rescue. The sons of Virginia, the mother of States and of statesmen, will come to the rescue. And the children of Kentucky, the dark and bloody ground, will come to the rescue. When that blow is struck, North Carolina will awake; and from her mountains and her valleys will stream that people who have never yet failed to hear the calls of duty, or the demands of honor. Tennessee will send forth her thousands filled with the memories of the patriotic dead whose remains now repose in her soil—the hero of the last war—Andrew Jackson. And even the hardy pioneers of Missouri, one of the younger of the sisters, will, like their own mighty river when at the flood, rush to the assistance of their Southern brethren; and then such a conflict as this world has never yet witnessed, will be upon us. Fields which are now filled with men engaged in the employments of ordinary life, will be trenched with the march of war, and every hillside will be the scene of combat, and the streams of every valley will run with blood. But I will not look upon the horrid picture which a swift-coming future may but too soon, perhaps, force upon the unwilling gaze."

Notwithstanding, however, the general secession drift of Mr. Taylor's remarks, it might have been observed that, unlike the virulent representatives of his State in the Senate, he admitted and even dwelt upon the prospect of future adjustment. He saw in the distance the Union again restored under one flag, provided constitutional amendments and changes in the organic law should be made, "which will meet the changes that have taken place in the situation of a portion of our people, and in the feelings and views of a portion of the States, and restore the Union to the condition in which it was when it was framed, by erecting positive barriers which will restrain the action of the people and of the departments of the Federal Government, within the boundaries set to that action by the public sentiment of the country, when the Government went into operation."* The speaker's associate in the House John E. Bouligny, declined to follow the example of his colleague in retiring. He had received no direction to leave, from the legislature of Louisiana, and if he had, he would not obey it. He had been elected by the people. If they recalled him, he would go. "Then, and not till then," said he, "I shall resign ; and after resigning my position here, I shall yet be a Union man, and stand under the flag of the country which gave me birth."

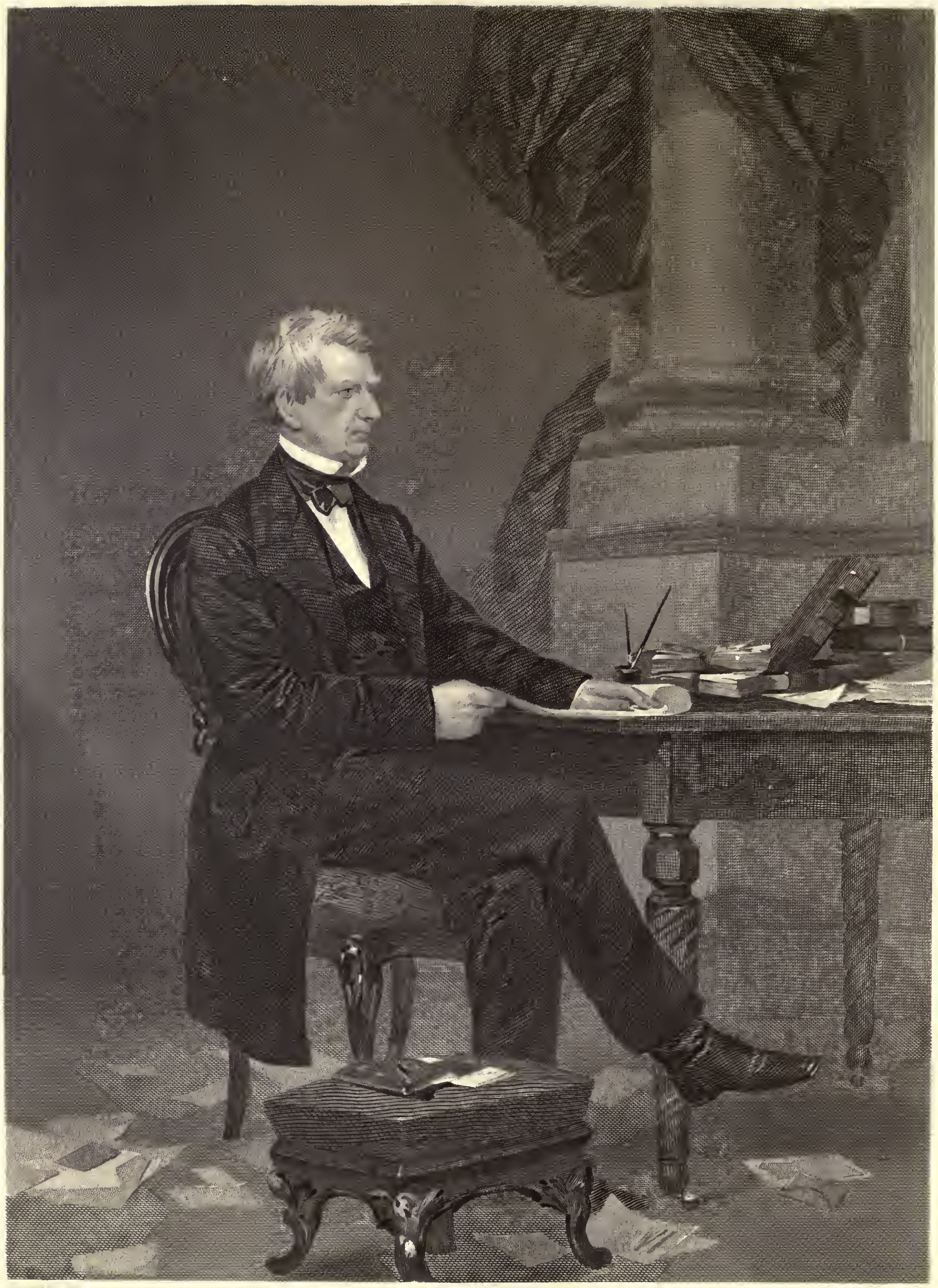
In the midst of these ill omened voices of secession, there were not wanting resolute words of good cheer, animated by a sense of duty. It was the fashion, indeed, to speak contemptuously of the government ; that was the tone of political society in Washington at the time ; if the Constitution was not directly assailable, it was despised. Yet good men and true rallied to its defence. Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee, supported by Emerson Etheridge in the House of Representatives, did generous service in the cause, reminding the people that the region which had cherished Jackson and Clay, was not yet barren of patriots. He was instant in season and out of season, in defence of the beleaguered Union. Planting himself on the firm basis of popular rights, secured by the national Government, rights which he saw were endangered by the dreams and pretensions of the Southern oligarchy, he exclaimed, in one of the ablest of his speeches, "I have an abiding faith, I have an unshaken confidence in man's capability to govern himself. I will not give up this Government that is now called an experiment, which some are prepared to abandon for a constitutional monarchy. No! I intend to stand by it, and I entreat every man throughout the nation, who is a patriot, and who has seen and is compelled to admit the success of this great experiment, to come forward, not in heat, not in fanaticism, not in haste, not in precipitancy, but in deliberation, in full view of all that is before us, in the spirit of brotherly love and fraternal affection, and rally round the altar of our common country, and lay the Constitution upon it as our last libation, and swear by our God and all that is sacred and holy, that the Constitution shall be saved and the Union preserved."*

Emerson Etheridge exhibited the inoperative character of the personal liberty bills of the North, testified to the very inconsiderable losses of the South from fugitives, and warned the slaveholding secessionists of their condition when the Canada line should be brought down to the banks of the Ohio. His speech of

---

* Remarks of Mr. Taylor in the House of Representatives, February 6, 1861.

* Speech on the state of the Union, December 19, 1860



William H. Seward

the 23d of January, in which these and similar topics were candidly presented, was well calculated to dispel Southern prejudice, if reason could have been heard. He asked for time, for the voice of the people, for the compromises before the House, but should all these measures fail, he said, "I will not then abandon the Union of these States and the untold blessings it lavishes upon the votaries of civil liberty throughout the world. I will return home and link my destinies with those who are ready to confront disunion." Reviewing the successive annexations to the country, by purchase and conquest, he paused to contemplate the boundaries of the nation as enlarged to the Pacific by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. With the prospect brought vividly before the minds of his hearers, he exclaimed with powerful effect: "This is the country which party madness would suspend upon the passions of the hour. Behold it, with all its vast resources, its rivers and lakes, its mountains and mineral wealth. Though in its infancy, it is greater in all the elements of enduring power and more advanced in a high civilization than was the Roman empire, when her imperial eagles were hovering around the pillars of Hercules. The hand of disunion *must* be stayed. Our country must not perish while its monuments are yet unfinished and the soldiers of the Revolution survive."

Senator Baker of Oregon, a kindred spirit with Johnson, also a man of the people, who had learnt to value the government in its life-imparting principles, in the elevating rewards which it conferred upon all honest efforts, warmed with fervent eloquence as he waived high aloft the dishonored flag of his adopted country. Douglas, forgetful of the contest at the ballot-box for the Presidency, generously lent his efforts to preserve the Union over which his antagonist must preside. Seward gave his best powers to the work before him, willing, in view of the imminent peril of the nation, to concede all for peace, except principle. His speech on the state of the Union, remains perhaps the most noticeable of the session. It was calm, philosophical, almost skeptical in its tone as various modes of approaching the subject were passed in review, pronounced ineffectual and, to the disappointment of the public, not supplanted by anything more potent from the lips of the orator. There was a tone of sadness throughout, pervading and overpowering his most assuring arguments. The value of the Union was exhibited not as in other days by glittering eulogium, but by the representation of what its loss would be. The listener could not but feel the altered circumstances and share the burden of anxiety feelingly presented in an illustration drawn from a familiar scene of the Senate chamber:

"While listening to these debates," said the speaker, "I have sometimes forgotten myself in marking their contrasted effects upon the page who customarily stands on the dais before me, and the venerable Secretary who sits behind him. The youth exhibits intense but pleased emotion in the excitement, while at every irreverent word that is uttered against the Union the eyes of the aged man are suffused with tears. Let him weep no more. Rather rejoice, for yours has been a lot of rare felicity. You have seen and been a part of all the greatness of your country, the towering national greatness of all the world. Weep only you, and weep with all the bitter ness of anguish, who are just stepping on the threshold of life; for that greatness perishes prematurely and exists not for you, nor for me, nor for any that shall come after us."

Nor were the words in which he recited the sad items of the catalogue of disasters which would afflict the broken and dismembered State, less affecting. The enumeration is one of the finest passages in the orator's many rhetorical speeches—thoughtful, compact, energetic, picturesque in illustration, varied in detail, philosophical in the comprehensive grasp of the whole. Every sentence, as the orator appeals to our different passions, our pride, our interest, our love of power, our pursuit of happiness, closing with the grand image of, the national greatness, seems to sound the knell of a departing blessing. "The public prosperity," was his language, "how could it survive the storm? Its elements are, industry in the culture of every fruit; mining of all the metals; commerce at home and on every sea; material improvement that knows no obstacle and has no end; invention that ranges throughout the domain of nature; increase of knowledge as broad as the human mind can explore; perfection of art as high as human genius can reach, and social refinement working for the renovation of the world. How could our successors prosecute these noble objects in the midst of brutalizing civil conflict? What guarantees will capital invested for such purposes have, that will outweigh the premium offered by political and military ambition? What leisure will the citizen find for study, or invention, or art, under the reign of conscription; nay, what interest in them will society feel, when fear and hate shall have taken possession of the national mind? Let the miner in California take heed, for its golden wealth will become the prize of the nation that can command the most iron. Let the borderer take care; for the Indian will again lurk around his dwelling. Let the pioneer come back into our denser settlements; for the railroad, the post road, and the telegraph advance not one furlong further into the wilderness. With standing armies consuming the substance of our people on the land, and our Navy and our postal steamers withdrawn from the ocean, who will protect or respect, or who will even know by name our petty confederacies? The American man-of-war is a noble spectacle. I have seen it enter an ancient port in the Mediterranean. All the world wondered at it and talked of it. Salvos of artillery, from forts and shipping in the harbor, saluted its flag. Princes, and princesses, and merchants, paid it homage, and all the people blessed it as a harbinger of hope for their own ultimate freedom. I imagine now the same noble vessel again entering the same haven. The flag of thirty-three stars and thirteen stripes has been hauled down, and in its place a signal is run up, which flaunts the device of a lone star, or a palmetto tree. Men ask, "Who is the stranger that thus steals into our waters?" The answer contemptuously given is, "She comes from one of the obscure republics of North America. Let her pass on."*

---

* Speech in the Senate, January 12, 1861.

CHAPTER V.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

On the 4th of February, the same day that John Tyler's Peace Congress assembled at Washington, the delegates of six seceding States, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana,—met in convention at Montgomery, Alabama. Texas, completing the original "seven," sent her delegation some days after. The members were not chosen by the people, but by the Seceding conventions of the States; it being a prominent characteristic of the whole movement, that it was carried on as far as possible out of the reach of popular discussion. A few leading schemers, in fact, kept control of the entire affair. That they succeeded in exciting the enthusiasm of the people, and secured, as the experiment went on, an extraordinary degree of support, is not inconsistent with the original usurpation. Forty-one delegates, in unequal numbers from the different States, were present at the opening and formed the convention. Of these, the members best known to the country were the Georgia representatives, Robert Toombs, late United States Senator, and Howell Cobb, late United States Secretary of the Treasury. The latter, on motion of R. B. Rhett, Senior, of South Carolina, was called to the chair.

In his address on taking his seat, after the usual complimentary sentence of thanks and expression of good intentions, he alluded briefly to the dissolution of the political associations with the national government, by "the sovereign and independent States" which they represented, and waiving all discussion of the causes which led to the act, pronounced it sufficient that, in the judgment of their constituents, they were ample and sufficient. "It is now," said he, "a fact, an irrevocable fact; the separation is perfect, complete, and perpetual. The great duty is now imposed on us to provide for these States a government for their future security and protection. We can and should extend to our sister States—who are identified with us in interest, feeling, and institutions—a cordial invitation to unite with us in a common destiny; desirous, at the same time, of maintaining with the rest of our late confederates, as with the world, the most peaceful and friendly relations, both political and commercial. Our responsibilities, gentlemen, are great; and I doubt not we shall prove equal to the occasion. Let us assume all the responsibility which may be necessary for the successful completion of the great work committed to our trust, placing before our countrymen and the world our acts and their results, as the justification of the course which we may pursue and adopt. With a consciousness of the justice of our cause, and with a confidence in the guidance and blessings of a kind Providence, we will this day inaugurate for the South a new era of peace, security, and prosperity." Of the assumption of the responsibility the public was not left long in doubt; the "new era" of peaceful felicity was not so abundantly realized.

The first step of the Convention was the preparation of a Constitution, which, as it was mainly a transcript of that of the United States, caused little delay. It was brought forward on the 8th, and unanimously adopted. It was ordained to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent confederation of the States whose delegates were assembled, should be put in operation. In the few new terms of this Provisional Constitution two politic clauses were introduced; one intended to ingratiate the government with foreign powers, the other to appeal to the interests of the border States. By the first, the importation of African negroes "from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States of the United States" was forbidden; and by the other, power was given to Congress "to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy." The intimation was significant enough. It was addressed to Virginia and the other more northern slave States, which derived a large income from the raising and exportation of negroes to the southern markets. As for the prohibition of the foreign slave trade, there were, doubtless, not a few in the South to whom the provision was decidedly unpalatable; but it might be submitted to as a good stroke of policy which could be amended thereafter. A stringent fugitive slave law was included, and an article adopted requiring the Government to "take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and the public debt, at the time of their withdrawal from them, these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities, and common obligations of that Union, upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith."

On the following day, the 9th, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, was chosen President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice President of the Confederation. The former, as a master spirit of the conspiracy, an agent of undoubted ability, calm, polished, sagacious, of great concentration of purpose, versed in political intrigue, of experience in the most arduous affairs of State, in war and finance and executive administration, in the cabinet and the field, was well qualified to take the lead. About fifty-four years old, a native of Kentucky, carried by his father to Mississippi in his boyhood, he had entered West Point by the favor of President Monroe, and passed from that institution to a career of honorable distinction in the Black Hawk war. On his retirement from this duty he married the daughter of Colonel Taylor, afterward the President, with whom he had served, and became a cotton planter in Mississippi. He was sent to Congress from that State in 1845, and resigned his seat to take part in the Mexican war, again by the side of General Taylor, with whom, at the head of his famed Mississippi Rifles, he acquired new laurels at Buena Vista. His coolness and gallantry in the battle, where, though wounded, he still kept the field, and powerfully assisted in turning the wavering fortunes of the day, were specially commended in the official dispatch. In 1848 he was chosen to the United States Senate, but did not complete his term, retiring in 1851, to be a candidate for Governor of Mississippi as an advocate of disunion principles. He was not successful, but soon reappeared in public life as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce. When Mr. Buchanan succeeded, he again entered the Senate, from which, as we have seen, he retired to take part in the seceding movement. In person he is described by an intelligent observer who saw him during the session of the Convention at Montgomery, as "a man of slight, sinewy figure, rather over the middle height, and of erect, soldierlike bearing. His features are regular and well defined, but the face is thin, and marked on cheek and brow with many wrinkles, and is rather careworn and haggard. One eye is apparently blind; the other is dark, piercing and intelligent."*

His associate, Stephens, was of a somewhat different disposition and force of mind; more conservative in his tastes: less politic and determined in his councils; of a more genial flow of oratory. Born in Georgia in 1812, his youth had been passed in poverty, from which he had struggled upward to eminent success at the bar of his native State. He had served in Congress with distinction, for many years, at first, as a member of the old whig party, and afterwards as a leader of the Southern democracy. Since 1858, he had lived in retirement. Like Jefferson Davis, he had suffered from disease, which had left its mark in his weak and attenuated frame.

He was chosen, doubtless, to conciliate his somewhat refractory State, which had shown some reluctance to follow in the footsteps of South Carolina and the more ardent of her revolting brethren. Indeed, Stephens himself, in one of his excellent speeches, had, but a few months before, strongly resisted any act of secession. In the previous November he had, in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the capital of Georgia, demonstrated to his fellow-citizens that the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, was by no means an adequate cause of withdrawal from the Union. "Let us," said he, "not anticipate a threatened evil. If he violates the Constitution, then will come our time to act. Do not let us break it, because, forsooth, he may. If he does, that is the time for us to strike. I think it would be injudicious and unwise to do this sooner. I do not anticipate that Mr. Lincoln will do anything to jeopard our safety or security, whatever may be his spirit to do it; for he is bound by the constitutional checks which are thrown around him, which at this time render him powerless to do any great mischief. This shows the wisdom of our system. The President of the United States is no emperor, no dictator; he is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against him. In the Senate he will also be powerless. He cannot appoint an officer without the consent of the Senate; he cannot form a Cabinet without the same consent. He will be in the condition of George III., the embodiment of Toryism, who had to ask the Whigs to appoint his ministers, and was compelled to receive a cabinet utterly opposed to his views; and so Mr. Lincoln will be compelled to ask of the Senate to choose for him a cabinet, if the Democracy of that body choose to put him on such terms."

---

* W. H. Russell, Correspondent of the London *Times*, Montgomery, May 8, 1861.

From arguments and considerations like these, he rose to the contemplation of the Government of the United States. "I am not," said he, "one of those who believe this Union has been a curse up to this time. True men, men of integrity, entertain different views from me on this subject. I do not question their right to do so; I would not impugn their motives in so doing. Nor will I undertake to say that this Government of our fathers is perfect. There is nothing perfect in this world of a human origin; nothing connected with human nature, from man himself to any of his works. You may select the wisest and best men for your judges, and yet, how many defects are there in the administration of justice? You may select the wisest and best men for your legislators, and yet how many defects are apparent in your laws? And it is so in our Government." In full view, nothwithstanding, of these philosophical disparagements, he deliberately asserted his "settled conviction" that "this government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good governments than any other on the face of the earth. . . . Where will you go, following the sun in its circuit around our globe, to find a government that better protects the liberties of its people, and secures to them the blessings we enjoy. I think that one of the evils that beset us, is a surfeit of liberty, an exuberance of the priceless blessings for which we are ungrateful."

Nor was this said of the North merely, or of the country generally, but of the State of Georgia, in particular—a State which might and should have controlled the entire rebellion movement. He presented a glowing picture of its growing wealth and improvements. Its taxable property had doubled since 1850—a year when many of its inhabitants had longed to carry the State out of the Union. "Do you believe," said he, "that if that policy had been carried out at that time, we would be the same great people that we are to-day? . . . When I look around," he added, with a prophetic intimation, casting a shadow over the scene, "and see our prosperity in everything, agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as moral advancement, and our colleges, I think, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to do so. Let us not too readily yield to this temptation. Our first parents, the great progenitors of the human race, were not without a like temptation when in the garden of Eden. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered—that their eyes would be opened, and that they would become as Gods. They in an evil hour yielded. Instead of becoming gods, they only saw their own nakedness. I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world, the paradise of the Universe. It may be that out of it we may become greater and more prosperous, but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear if we evince passion, and without sufficient cause shall take that step—a disruption of the ties that bind us to the Union—that, instead of becoming gods, we will become demons, and at no distant day commence cutting one another's throats."* About the same time he wrote to a friend, "When this Union is dissevered, if of necessity it must be, I see at present but little prospect of good government afterwards. At the North, I feel confident anarchy will soon ensue. And whether we shall be better off at the South, will depend upon many things that I am not now satisfied that we have any assurance of. Revolutions are much more easily started than controlled, and the men who begin them, even for the best purposes and objects, seldom end them."* Yet, in spite of his own convictions, and his contentment with present good and fear of future evil, with nothing in the elements of political life and action at Washington to exasperate further, but, on the contrary, with much to conciliate, we now find this sagacious, thoughtful, feeling orator enlisted as the Vice President of a rebel government. It was an unnatural position for such a man to be placed in, but not an uncommon choice for such emergencies, when bolder men, whose objects would be suspected, keep behind the scenes and thrust forward an image of mildness and gentleness. Moderate men are the tools of revolutionists; they gain favor and conciliate, while they are worked for sterner purposes than they conceive of.

---

* Speech at Milledgeville, November 14,1860.

On the evening of his election Mr. Stephens addressed a few words to the citizens of Montgomery, breathing of peace and a prosperous future, with one special and remarkable reference to the prominent motive of the revolt. "With staples," said he, "and productions which contest the commerce of the world; with institutions, so far as regards our organic and social policy, in strict conformity to nature and the laws of the Creator, whether read in the Book of Inspiration, or the great Book of Manifestations around us, we have all the natural elements essential to attainment in the highest degree of power and glory. These institutions have been much assailed, and it is our mission to vindicate the great truth on which they rest, and with them exhibit the highest type of civilization which it is possible for human society to reach." This Utopia, to which the admiration of the world was invited, was in other words an ideal state of society built upon the foundations of slavery. The following month the principle was still more distinctly annunciated by Vice President Stephens in a speech at Savannah, on the blessings and advantages of the new Constitution. "This," said he, "has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him, is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands, may be doubted. The prevailing ideas entertained by him and most of the leading statesmen at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of nature; that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically. It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institutions would be evanescent and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guarantee to the institution while it should last, and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guarantees thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a Government built upon it—when the 'storm came and the wind blew, it fell.' Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. This, our new Government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."*

---

* Alexander H. Stephens, Crawfordsville, Ga., November, 25, 1860; *N. Y. Herald*, December 6, 1860.

Mr. Stephens was now duly inaugurated and pending the arrival of Jefferson Davis, from his home in Mississippi, the Convention went on with its work of organization and preparation for civil and military life, of which it had now become the supreme director for the Confederate States. On the 16th the President reached Montgomery, having been heralded along the way by the shouts of applauding assemblies of the people. His words in reply were full of resolution, and ominous of an impending conflict. "He expressed," we are told, on one of these occasions, "an earnest desire for peace, and a determination to act on the defensive; but if war must come, if it is forced upon us, he pledged the best energies of his whole nature—relying upon a brave people and a just God for support, to defend to every extremity the rights and honor of his country. He compared the capacities of the two sections for sustaining a war, both offensive and defensive, expressing the opinion that the North was greatly the most vulnerable, both because of its great commerce, which would be destroyed by privateers, and its highly cultivated and densely settled territory—in which a hostile army could do irreparable damage." On his arrival at evening at the new capital, he addressed the people at the railway station, and again near midnight from the balcony of his hotel. "Fellow citizens and brethren of the Confederate States of America," he exclaimed, "for now we are brethren not in name merely, but in fact—men of one flesh, one bone, one interest, one purpose, and of an identity of domestic institutions. We have hence, I trust, a prospect of living together in peace, with our institutions subject to protection, not defamation. It may be our career will be ushered in in the midst of storm. It may be, that as this morning opened, with clouds, mist and rain, we shall have to encounter inconvenience at the beginning. But, as the sun rose, it lifted the mist and dispelled the clouds, and left the pure sunlight of Heaven; so will the progress of the Southern Confederacy carry us safe to the harbor of constitutional liberty and political equality. Thus, we have nothing to fear at home, because at home we have homogeneity. We will have nothing to fear abroad, because, if war should come, if we must again baptize in blood the principles for which our fathers bled in the Revolution, we shall show we are not degenerate sons, but will redeem the pledges they gave, preserve the sacred rights they transmitted to us, and show that Southern valor still shines as brightly as in 1776, in 1812, and in every other conflict. . . . I will devote to the duties of the high office to which I have been called, all I have of heart, of head, of hand. If, in the progress of events, my services shall be needed in another position; if, to be plain, necessity shall require that I shall again enter the ranks as a soldier, I hope you will welcome me there." Thus the President elect, with his thoughts intent on war, sought to arouse a martial ardor in his susceptible countrymen.

---

* Speech at Savannah, Ga., March 21, 1861.

The Inauguration ceremonies which took place on the 18th, followed the custom observed at Washington by the Presidents of the United States. The President elect seated in a carriage drawn by six horses was escorted from his lodgings in a military and civic procession to a platform in front of the portico of the State Capitol. A prayer was made by the Rev. Dr. Manley, the address by the President elect delivered, after which the oath was administered by the President of the Convention. At night the town was illuminated, and the President shared the festivities of the citizens, mingling with them at the balls given in honor of the occasion.

The Inaugural address, like other compositions of its author, was dexterous, smooth, and plausible, with some gloomy intimations under its superficial calmness. The speaker's glance at the political antecedents of the country; his mingled appeal to the conscience and intelligence of the world and the omniscience of heaven, in the same sentence; the talk of peace, blended with ever recurring words of war; the candid avowal of the social policy of the new Government, looking to Slavery for its principle of homogeneity; the tone of pious exultation at the conclusion; all are so blandly presented, that their novel characteristics and startling significance are not at once perceived. The document, which we print entire, as a prominent landmark of the times, will repay an attentive perusal.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA:

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:—Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned me, with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people. Looking forward to the speedy establishment of a permanent Government to take the place of this, and which, by its greater moral and physical power, will be better able to combat with the many difficulties which arise from the conflicting interests of separate nations, I enter upon the duties of the office to which I have been chosen, with the hope that the beginning of our career as a Confederacy may not be obstructed by hostile opposition to the enjoyment of our separate existence and independence which we have asserted, and which, with the blessing of Providence, we intend to maintain. Our present condition, achieved in a manner unprecedented in the history of nations, illustrates the American idea that Governments rest upon the consent of the governed, and that it is the right of the people to alter and abolish Governments whenever they become destructive to the ends for which they are established. The declared compact of the Union from which we have withdrawn, was to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity ; and when, in the judgment of the sovereign States now composing this Confederacy, it has been perverted from the purposes for which it was ordained, and ceased to answer the ends for which it was established, a peaceful appeal to the ballot-box declared that, so far as they were concerned, the Government created by that compact should cease to exist. In this they merely asserted the right which the Declaration of Independence of 1776 defined to be inalienable. Of the time and occasion of its exercise they, as sovereigns, were the final judges, each for itself. The impartial, enlightened verdict of mankind will vindicate the rectitude of our conduct, and He who knows the hearts of men, will judge of the sincerity with which we labored to preserve the Government of our fathers in its spirit.

"The right, solemnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, and which has been affirmed and reaffirmed in the Bills of Rights of the States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, undeniably recognizes in the people the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of Government. Thus, the sovereign States, here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by the abuse of language that their act has been denominated 'revolution.' They formed a new alliance ; but, within each State, its Government has remained. The rights of person and property have not been disturbed. The agent through whom they communicated with foreign nations is changed ; but, this does not necessarily interrupt their international relations. Sustained by the consciousness that the transition from the former Union to the present Confederacy has not proceeded from a disregard, on our part, of our just obligations, or any failure to perform every constitutional duty, moved by no interest or passion to invade the rights of others, anxious to cultivate peace and commerce with all nations, if we may not hope to avoid war, we may at least expect that posterity will acquit us of having needlessly engaged in it. Doubly justified by the absence of wrong on our part, and by wanton aggression on the part of others, there can be no cause to doubt that the courage and patriotism of the people of the Confederate States will be found equal to any measures of defence which their security soon may require. An agricultural people, whose chief interest is the export of a commodity required in every manufacturing country, our true policy is peace, and the freest trade which our necessities will permit. It is alike our interest, and that of all those to whom we would sell, and from whom we would buy, that there should be the fewest practicable restrictions upon the interchange of commodities. There can be but little rivalry between ours and any manufacturing or navigating community, such as the Northeastern States of the American Union. It must follow, therefore, that mutual interest would invite good-will and kind offices. If, however, passion, or lust of dominion, should cloud the judgment, or influence the ambition of those States, we must prepare to meet the emergency, and maintain, by the final arbitrament of the sword, the position which we have assumed among the nations of the earth.

"We have entered upon a career of independence which must be inflexibly pursued through many years of controversy with our late associates of the Northern States. We have vainly endeavored to secure tranquility and obtain respect for the rights to which we are entitled. As a necessity, not a choice, we have resorted to the remedy of separation, and henceforth our energies must be directed to the conduct of our own affairs, and the perpetuity of the Confederacy which we have formed. If a just perception of mutual interest shall permit us peaceably to pursue our separate political career, my most earnest desire will have been fulfilled. But if this be denied us, and the integrity of our Territory and jurisdiction be assailed, it will but remain for us, with firm resolve, to appeal to arms, and invoke the blessing of Providence on a just cause. As a consequence of our new condition, and with a view to meet anticipated wants, it will be necessary to provide a speedy and efficient organization of the branches of the Executive Department having special charge of Foreign Intercourse, Finances, Military Affairs, and Postal Service. For purposes of defence, the Confederate States may, under ordinary circumstances, rely mainly upon their militia; but, it is deemed advisable, in the present condition of affairs, that there should be a well-instructed, and disciplined army, more numerous than would usually be required on a peace establishment. I may also suggest, that, for the protection of our harbors, and commerce on the high seas, a navy adapted to those objects will be required. These necessities have doubtless engaged the attention of Congress.

"With a Constitution differing only from that of our fathers in so far as it is explanatory of their well-known intent, freed from sectional conflicts which have interfered with the pursuits of the general welfare, it is not unnatural to expect that the States from which we have recently parted may seek to unite their fortunes with ours, under the Government we have instituted. For this, your Constitution makes adequate provision; but, beyond this, if I mistake not, the judgment and will of the people are, that union with the States from which they have separated is neither practicable nor desirable. To increase the power, to develop the resources and promote the happiness of a confederacy, it is requisite there should be so much of homogeneity that the welfare of every portion would be the aim of the whole. Where this does not exist, antagonisms are engendered, which must and should result in separation. Actuated solely by a desire to preserve our own rights, and to promote our own welfare, the separation of the Confederate States has been marked by no aggression upon others, and followed by no domestic convulsion. Our industrial pursuits have received no check; the cultivation of our fields progresses as heretofore; and, even if we should be involved in war, there would be no considerable diminution in the production of the staples which have constituted our exports, in which the commercial world has an interest scarcely less than our own. This common interest of producer and consumer can only be intercepted by an exterior force which should obstruct its transmission to foreign markets—a course of conduct which would be detrimental to manufacturing and commercial interests abroad. Should reason guide the action of the Government from which we have separated, a policy so detrimental to the civilized world, the Northern States included, could not be dictated even by a strong desire to inflict injury upon us ; but, if it be otherwise, a terrible responsibility will rest upon it, and the sufferings of millions will bear testimony to the policy and wickedness of our aggressors. In the mean time there will remain to us, besides the ordinary remedies before suggested, the well-known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy.

"Experience in public stations of a subordinate grade to this which your kindness has conferred, has taught me that care, and toil, and disappointments, are the price of official elevation. You will see many errors to forgive, many deficiencies to tolerate, but you shall not find in me either want of zeal or fidelity to the cause that is to me the highest in hope and of most enduring affection. Your generosity has bestowed upon me an undeserved distinction, one which I neither sought nor desired. Upon the continuance of that sentiment, and upon your wisdom and patriotism, I rely to direct and support me in the performance of the duty required at my hands. We have changed the constituent parts, but not the system, of our Government. The Constitution formed by our fathers is that of these Confederate States. In their exposition of it, and in the judicial construction it has received, we have a light which reveals its true meaning. Thus instructed as to the just interpretation of that instrument, and ever remembering that all offices are but trusts held for the people, and that delegated powers are to be strictly construed, I will hope, by due diligence in the performance of my duties, though I may disappoint your expectations, yet, to retain, when retiring, something of the good-will and confidence which will welcome my entrance into office. It is joyous, in the midst of perilous times, to look around upon a people united in heart, where one purpose of high resolve animates and actuates the whole ; where the sacrifices to be made are not weighed in the balance against honor, right, liberty, and equality. Obstacles may retard, but they cannot long prevent, the progress of a movement sanctioned by its justice and sustained by a virtuous people. Reverently let us invoke the God of our fathers to guide, and provide, and protect us, in our efforts to perpetuate the principles which, by His blessing, they were able to vindicate, establish, and transmit to their posterity, and with a continuance of His favor, ever gratefully acknowledged, we may hopefully look forward to success, to peace, to prosperity."

Thus inaugurated the Confederacy began it career. The President appointed his Cabinet and the machinery of the new State was set in motion. The officers of the administration were Robert Toombs of Georgia, Secretary of State ; G. C. Memminger of South Carolina, Secretary of the Treasury ; Leroy Pope Walker of Alabama, Secretary of War, and Stephen R. Mallory of Florida, Secretary of the Navy. To these were afterward added John H. Reagan of Texas, Postmaster-General, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, Attorney-General. Three of these officials, beside the President,—Toombs, Mallory and Benjamin, had just resigned their seats in the Senate of the United States. Mr. Walker, a member of an influential family in Alabama, was a lawyer residing at Huntsville in the northern part of the State, and was well known as a democratic politician. Mr. Memminger was also known as an accomplished lawyer, and Mr. Reagan had previously served in Congress.

Among the most important measures of the Provisional Congress were the steps taken to open negotiations abroad and the acts passed to raise money and provide an army, the appointment of a Judiciary and of Commissioners to negotiate at Washington. The first agents or commissioners appointed to proceed to Europe to obtain the recognition of the independence of the Confederate States and make such commercial arrangements as might be practicable, were the Hon. William L. Yancey of Alabama, Judge P. A. Rost of Louisiana, and Col. Dudley A. Mann and T. Butler King of Georgia. Col. Mann was thought to have peculiar fitness for his duties as ambassador, having been employed by the United States Government in several special missions abroad, to the German States, to Hungary, in the troubled times of 1849; and to Switzerland, the year after. He had also been employed as Assistant Secretary of State in President Pierce's Administration. Mr. Yancey was a native of South Carolina. He had for many years his home in Alabama. A cotton planter, lawyer, a State Rights politician, and thorough and persistent advocate of Secession, he had served in the State legislature and in Congress, and, fully prepared for the event, had been one of the most active members of the recent revolutionary convention of Alabama.

The first attempt at financiering was the creation of a loan of fifteen millions of dollars, a portion of which, in the early ardor of the rebellion, was taken by various capitalists and moneyed institutions in the larger cities; but the enthusiasm was hardly sufficient to call forth so considerable an amount from the pockets of the people, and it was found to be a much readier way of getting along to resort to the old expedient in such cases, namely, to utter extraordinary quantities of paper promissory notes, which in the absence of any thing better —for gold and silver speedily disappeared—supplied the place of a more solid currency. By the army act the President was authorized and directed to assume control of all military operations in every State, having reference to a connection with questions between the said States, or any of them, and powers foreign to them, and to receive from the States the arms and munitions of war which they had taken from the forts and arsenals of the United States. This act relieved South Carolina of the military responsibility of the proceedings hitherto under the supervision of Governor Pickens in Charleston Harbor. Provisions were made for the regular military establishment of the Confederate States, and for a Provisional army, by receiving into the service of the Government such forces then in the service of the separate States as might be tendered or who might volunteer by consent of their State, in such numbers as the President might require, for any time not less than twelve months, unless sooner discharged.

In this proceeding, followed by speedy preparations for the field, more than a month before Sumter and the Proclamation of President Lincoln, the Confederate Government took a decided step toward "inaugurating" the war for which, when it broke out, the National Government was so inadequately prepared. In consideration of the border and western States, and as an appeal to their sympathy the free navigation of the Mississippi river was granted by a special act.

The choice of a flag as a symbol of the new Confederacy was naturally an early subject of the deliberations of the Convention. The matter excited considerable interest in the Southern community, and numerous plans and designs were presented to the congress, in several of which the familiar American eagle figured, while there was a strong disposition to retain the old colors. The discussion of the topic created no little excitement, and seemed in some danger of awakening old associations not altogether in keeping with the business of the Convention. The ladies took the affair in hand, and forwarded various plans, exhibiting more or less fancy and ingenuity. As a characteristic memorial of the times, we present a letter gallantly introduced to the Convention by Mr. Chilton of Alabama. It was from two young ladies, Rebecca C. Ferguson and Mollie A. D. Sinclair, pupils of a seminary in Alabama, and read:—"The Undersigned, pupils in the art department of the Tuskegee Female College, conscious of weakness, but ardently desirous to do something for their country, have employed their pencils to produce various designs for a flag for the Southern Republic. They have found a pleasure in trying to mix the patriot's with the artist's flame. You will appreciate the difficulties of their task when you reflect, that amidst all their efforts at originality, there have ever danced before them visions of the star-gemmed flag, with its parti-colored stripes, that floated so proudly over the late United States. In the designs submitted, we have endeavored to secure simplicity with an intelligible symbolism and striking conspicuousness of color. Let us snatch from the eagle of the cliff our idea of independence, and cull from the earth diamonds and gems from the heavens to deck the flag of the Southern Confederacy. With cotton for king, there are seven States bound by a chain of sisterly love that will be strengthened by time, as onward, right onward they move up the glorious path of Southern independence. No. 1. The seven seceding States represented by seven rings, bound together by golden links. No. 2. The opposite side of the above, a large cotton bale. No. 3. Field gules, eagle in or, on a blue shield, bearing in its beak a scroll with our representative political ideas. No. 4. Eagle's nest, seven eaglets, representing seven seceding States. No. 5. An eagle perched upon a lone rock, in the midst of a tempestuous ocean, stars in semicircle, sun rising. No. 6. Eagle on a field of blue, diamond shaped, olive branch in one claw, arrows in the other, scales in his beak. No. 7. A circle, within it seven diamonds, tangent, forming a seven pointed star; in the centre a cotton bale."

After due consideration, Mr. Miles of South Carolina submitted an elaborate report of the Committee on the national flag which was adopted. An immense number of designs had been brought before them, some preserving the principal features of the United States flag with slight modifications; others "very elaborate, complicated or fantastical." The objection to the first was obvious; a flag, too, like the old was like to be confounded with it. As for any attachment to "the stars and stripes," the Committee confessed that they did not all share in the sentiment. There was no propriety, they thought, in retaining the ensign of a government which had become so oppressive and injurious to their interests as to require their separation from it. It is idle, they said, "to talk of 'keeping' the flag of the United States when we had voluntarily seceded from them." Their revolutionary forefathers had not retained the flag of Great Britain, though the youthful Washington had won his spurs under it, and it was "good to imitate them in this comparatively little matter, as well as to emulate them in greater and more important ones." Besides Liberia and the Sandwich Islands were found to have flags very similar to that of the United States, a circumstance which afforded special and peculiar reasons for a new choice:—"They felt no inclination to borrow at second hand what had been pilfered and appropriated by a free negro community and a race of savages." Notwithstanding this embarrassment, however, the Committee thought that something might be conceded "to what seemed so strong and earnest a desire to retain at least a suggestion of the old 'stars and stripes.' Accordingly, passing over a great variety of contrivances foreign to the purpose,—"pretty when made up by the cunning skill of a fair lady's fingers in silk, satin and embroidery, but not appropriate as flags,"—they hit upon a design with a certain resemblance to the old ensign. "A flag," they considered, "should be simple, readily made, and, above all, capable of being made up in bunting; it should be different from the flag of any other country, place or people; it should be significant; it should be readily distinguishable at a distance; the colors should be well contrasted and durable; and, lastly, and not the least important point, it should be effective and handsome. The committee," the report proceeded, "humbly think that the flag which they submit combines these requisitions. It is very easy to make. It is entirely different from any national flag. The three colors of which it is composed—red, white and blue—are the true republican colors. In heraldry they are emblematic of the three great virtues—of valor, purity and truth. Naval men assure us that it can be recognized at a great distance. The colors contrast admirably and are lasting. In effect and appearance it must speak for itself. Your Committee therefore recommend that the flag of the Confederate States of America shall consist of a red field, with a white space extending horizontally through the centre, and equal in width to one third the width of the flag; the red space above and below to be of the same width as the white; the union, blue, extending down through the white space and stopping at the lower red space; in the centre of the union a circle of white stars, corresponding in number with the States of the Confederacy." The report was adopted and the new flag of Secessia given to the breeze.

On the 11th of March, a permanent Constitution for the Confederate States was adopted. There were several new provisions engrafted upon the Constitution of the United States in addition to those which we have noticed in the Provisional instrument on the importation of negroes. The principle of State sovereignty was distinctly recognized in the preamble which read—"We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to form a permanent Federal Government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity—invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America." In recollection, perhaps, of the old New England Fishery grievance it was provided that no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury, nor were any duties to be laid on foreign importations to foster any branch of industry. The Post-office Department was required to pay its expenses out of its own revenue. There were several regulations looking to economy and responsibility in the appropriation of money. To give directness to legislation and check a dangerous practice, it was ordained that every law shall relate to but one subject that shall be expressed in the title. The President and Vice President were to hold office for six years and the former was not to be eligible for reëlection. Provision was made for governing new territories which might be acquired, in all of which slavery was to be recognized and protected. No law, it was provided, "denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves" should be passed. The opportunity for amendment of the Constitution was given at the demand of any three States legally assembled in their several conventions. At their request Congress was to summon a Convention of all the States to take the suggested amendment into consideration and if it was there agreed upon it was, upon ratification by the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, or by Conventions in two-thirds thereof, to become a part of the Constitution.

Several of these provisions, particularly that enlarging the Presidential term, that in reference to the greater simplicity of legal enactments, and those of an economical character, on their promulgation, were commented upon with favor at the North.

On the 16th of March the Provisional Congress adjourned to meet again in Montgomery the second Monday of May.

CHAPTER VI.

INAUGURATION OF LINCOLN.

Whilst these proceedings of the rebel Confederacy were going on at Montgomery, Abraham Lincoln, President elect of the United States, was travelling from his home at Springfield, Illinois, toward the National Capital. Before accompanying him on his journey, it may not be amiss to pause for a moment and glance at the previous circumstances of a career which was now to be crowned by the highest honor in the gift of the people. The success, it will be found, was far more due to native intelligence, integrity of character and resolute perseverance, than to what is usually called education or the gifts of fortune.

Abraham Lincoln was now just closing his fifty-second year, having first seen the light in Hardin County, Kentucky, in February, 1809. His grandfather was one of the early settlers of the country, and like many worthy men who in those days made their home in that frontier territory, had laid down his life, a victim to the warfare with the Indians. It is as good a title in the West to the gratitude of posterity as if he had fallen at Bunker Hill, or Monmouth. The ill-fated frontiersman left a family of three sons, the youngest of whom, Thomas, the father of the future President, growing up without education in a life of rugged labor, emigrated to Indiana. He carried his son, Abraham, with him, then in his eighth year, and the youth well grown and strong, was of much assistance in clearing the forest for the farm. The axe was oftener in his hands than the spelling-book, his school discipline altogether not exceeding a years' instruction and that of the most elementary character. What he learned from books he afterwards acquired by himself; but his education was for a long time in a rough, practical school undecorated by the Muses. At nineteen he laid the foundation for his knowledge of the strategic importance of the Mississippi, by a trip down that river to New Orleans in the capacity of a hired hand upon a flat-boat. At the age of twenty-one, he accompanied his father's family in a new emigration to Illinois, where his axe was again brought into requisition in building a log cabin and splitting rails to fence the new farm—the rails which gave him his popular designation of "the rail-splitter" in the canvass for the Presidency, the first time, probably, this vehicle of popular vengeance ever rode its victim to any honorable political exaltation. Another turn on the Mississippi in the trading flat-boat voyaging followed by employment in charge of a mill at New Salem, Indiana, brings the young man to a new stage in his career, as Captain of a volunteer company in the Black Hawk war of 1832, where Jefferson Davis and other celebrities on both sides of the present struggle were taking their first lessons in military life. He was three months in the service, which he left at the close of the campaign with a stock of popularity which encouraged him to try his fortune in politics. He ran for the Legislature as a Whig candidate; but the county being democratic he was beaten, while the people of his vicinity were for him almost to a man. This, it is said, is the only time he was ever defeated in a direct vote of the people. He was next engaged in a country store, which did not prove profitable; when he turned his attention to the study of the law, borrowing the requisite books from a neighbor in the evening to return them in the morning. Something was thrown in his way at this time by the surveyor of the county, who gave him a share of his employment, for which Lincoln rapidly qualified himself. In 1834, he was sent to the Illinois Legislature, where his success is proved by the fact of his reëlection for three successive terms. He was admitted to the bar in 1836, and in the following year removed to Springfield, where he formed a legal partnership with Major John F. Stuart. His acuteness and shrewd sense soon made him known in the profession as a master of forensic argument. He at no time, however, entirely withdrew from politics, being earnestly devoted to the whig cause and an active champion of Henry Clay, for whom he canvassed the State in 1844. Two years afterwards he was elected to Congress from the central district of Illinois, and became distinguished in the House of Representatives during his term by his advocacy of the questions—such as domestic improvements, and a protective tariff—with which the whig party was identified, while he signalized his course by a marked devotion to the free soil principles, then rapidly rising in national importance. He was a candidate for the United States Senate in 1849, when General Shields was chosen by the Legislature, and subsequently, in the summer of 1858, canvassed the State as a rival candidate of the late Senator Douglas for the same high office. By an arrangement between the two, they frequently spoke on the same day at the same place. Their speeches, delivered on these occasions, published together in a single volume, have been largely circulated and certainly form a series of the best sustained and instructive political debates of the kind on record. From no other source can better information be obtained, of the nature and essential principles of the present momentous political conflict.

Having now brought Mr. Lincoln to the period of his election to the Presidency, the facts connected with which we have already given, we may properly add to this personal notice an interesting sketch of the man and his associations as he appeared surrounded by his friends, at his home, on the eve of his departure for his Inauguration at Washington. An intelligent correspondent at Springfield writing at the end of January presents this interesting description of the simple scene, with the good humored host and bustling throng of visitors. "All," says this observer, "meet a hearty welcome and depart impressed with the good humor, if not good looks, of the 'tall man eloquent.' He has an exceedingly happy faculty in receiving all manner of men, on every conceivable business, from that prompted by the 'low vice curiosity' to that involving the vital interests of the republic. The Springfield White House is placed on the north-east corner of Eighth and Jackson streets, and is a plain wooden structure of two stories, painted brown, with green blinds. Its appearance is more modest than that of many houses in its vicinity. No one would suspect it of illustrious associations. Yet it is unquestionably at this writing the most notable building and important centre in Springfield, for since Governor Yates took possession of the Executive chamber at the Capitol, Mr. Lincoln is only to be seen at 'his warm but simple home.' A polite mulatto servant, 'William,' answers the bell and ushers all callers into the front parlor, at the left of the hall, a comfortable though severely plain room, with a pine mantel, an ingrain carpet, low ceilings and a wood stove. The head of the house, if not already present, soon enters from his office on the second floor, and is instantly in close and familiar conversation with the visitor whoever he may be. The flat-boatman and the statesman, the beggar and the millionaire, are treated with equal courtesy, and all heard with marvellous patience. Honors have not changed the manners of 'Honest Old Abe.' Every state and territory sends its representatives. A day or two since a gentleman from Central Georgia made a long visit. Several have come from Mississippi; and yesterday a Texan had a most agreeable interview. 'Lincoln is a fine man' said a burly Virginian to me at the hotel; 'he will never intentionally harm any one.'

"There can be no doubt that Mr. Lincoln's rare social qualities have contributed much to his political success. Frank, fluent and sparkling in conversation, with a keen relish for humor,

> 'Forever foremost in the ranks of fun,
> The laughing herald of the harmless pun,'

he has always been a favorite at the fireside, and the life of the court-room. A volume might be filled with his original and witty sayings, as fondly treasured by the community of which he has so long been the pride. A few days since, I happened to be present when several old friends, rough prairie farmers, called to see him, announcing as their sole purpose a desire to see a rail-splitter turned President. The occasion was adapted to call forth his best humor, and it did so to the great entertainment of his rustic visitors and your correspondent. Old laughter-provoking stories of other days were rehearsed with inimitable zest, and the details of early western life and adventure dwelt upon with unfeigned delight. No one who knows Mr. Lincoln thoroughly can be surprised at his great popularity in this part of the country. He is possessed of all the elements composing a true western man, and his purity of character and indubitable integrity of purpose add respect to admiration for his private and public life. His word 'you may believe, and pawn your soul upon it.' It is this sterling honesty (with utter fearlessness), even beyond his vast ability and political sagacity, that is to command confidence in his administration.

"'A good fame is better than a good face.' So the proverb tells us, and it has been gladly accepted by the friends of Mr. Lincoln, who have not dared to deny his forbidding visage. They may now, however, do so without hesitation, for a vigorous growth of comely whiskers has entirely changed his facial appearance. The improvement is remarkable. The gaunt, hollow cheeks, and long, lank jawbones are so developed as to give fulness and rotundity to the entire face, and if he escapes the barbers, Mr. Lincoln will go to Washington an exceedingly presentable man. His stature is truly towering. Gen. Scott will alone, of all the official dignitaries, be able to compare inches with him."*

On the morning of the 11th of February, Mr. Lincoln parted with his friends at the railway station in Springfield, addressing them a few words from the platform, marked by personal feeling and a sense of the gravity of the position to which he was called. "My friends," said he, "no one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I can not succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him; and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. Again I bid you all an affectionate farewell." The assembly responded to this burst of emotion with tears, and the country accepted it as a good indication of the future that he who was to guide the destinies of the nation through so important a period should approach his work with a profound religious earnestness.

---

* Correspondence of the N. Y. *Evening Post*, Springfield, Ill., January 28, 1861.

Mr. Lincoln travelled with his wife and son, and was accompanied by a number of friends in military and civil life, some of whom were afterward distinguished in the events which rapidly followed. Among these was Major Hunter, of the United States Army, and a young Colonel of the militia service, Elmer E. Ellsworth, then engaged in studying law at Springfield, with his thoughts, however, more intent on military equipments and organizations. A soldier's life was his passion. We shall see him chivalrously hurrying to a soldier's death. Dr. Wallace, the family physician of Mr. Lincoln, was with him. Various local political celebrities gathered in his train as he proceeded.

At Cincinnati, the next day, Mr. Lincoln, evidently addressing himself to an audience other than that before him, took occasion to recall a speech which he had made a year before the election in that place to the Kentuckians, who were then among his auditors. He had, at that time, he said, prophesied that the Republicans would be placed in power, and had told them by what principles, in that event, the incoming party would be guided. This he now repeated as an indication of his own future policy. "We mean to treat you," he said, "as near as we possibly can as Washington, Jefferson and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution, and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you so far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson and Madison. We mean to remember," he added, with a homely earnestness, which, sure of his own honest meaning, he employed, with confidence that it would be interpreted simply as it was meant, "that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly." This was not the ordinary conventional language of politicians, but the direct expression of a man unused to artifice, who was willing to say a plain thing in a plain way.

At Indianapolis, on the same day, he touched more intimately the wound which was afflicting the national life. In a series of tentative questions, uttered as if he were thinking aloud, in a rude vigorous way, not without a certain humor tinging the sagacity, he proposed the problem, rising in all men's minds, and which all felt and knew it was the business of the coming Administration to solve. In this way, in a Socratic mood, he stripped the disguises from words and showed the realities lying beneath them. "The words 'coercion' and 'invasion,'" said he, "are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. What is 'coercion?' what is 'invasion?' Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be invasion? I certainly think it would be 'coercion' if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all these things be 'invasion' or 'coercion'? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these, on the part of the United States, would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homœopathist would be much too large for them to swallow. In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of free love arrangement, to be maintained on passional attraction. By the way," he continued, brushing away all obstructions in a manner calculated to dismay a Virginia politician, "in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that by the bond we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and to ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a country, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory, and equal in numbers of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the country? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of rights? Upon principle, on what rightful principle, may a State, being no more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce a proportionally larger subdivision of itself in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country, with its people by merely calling it a State? Fellow citizens," he concluded, "I am not asserting anything. I am merely asking questions for you to consider."

The next day, at Columbus, Ohio, he addressed the people again, still prudently abstaining from declaring any fixed line of policy, not knowing what future events might dictate, and reserving to himself the liberty to act accordingly. His course was then pursued by way of Cleveland, Buffalo, and Albany to the city of New York, while he was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm on the way. He reached New York on the nineteenth, and was escorted from the terminus of the Hudson River Railroad through the Avenues and Broadway to his quarters at the Astor House, where he responded to the congratulations of an immense throng from the balcony. He was received by Mayor Wood the next day at the City Hall, and in the few words of reply which he made to a species of civic lecture on the crisis, used this illustration on the subject of the preservation of the Union. He compared it to a ship "made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo," which should never be abandoned so long as it can be saved with cargo, but which, he seemed to admit, it might be necessary according to circumstances to lighten or desert. "So long," he added, in application of this illustration, "as it is possible that the prosperity and liberties of the people can be preserved in this Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to use all my power to aid in its perpetuation."

From New York Mr. Lincoln proceeded by way of Trenton to Philadelphia, where, on the twenty-second, Washington's birthday, with appropriate ceremonies, he raised the national flag on Independence Hall. The State of Kansas having recently been admitted to the Union, the occasion was marked by the addition of a new star, the thirty-fourth, to the field of the banner. Previous to this act he had responded to an address in the Hall, when, in reference to the principles which had been consecrated on the spot, he said, with feeling: "I have often pondered over the dangers which were incurred by the men who assembled here and framed and adopted that Declaration of Independence. I have pondered over the toils that were endured by the officers and soldiers of the army who achieved that Independence. I have often inquired of myself, what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together? It was not the mere matter of the separation of the Colonies from the mother land; but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but, I hope, to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that, in due time, the weight should be lifted from the shoulders of all men. This is a sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. Now, my friends, can this country be saved upon this principle? If it can, I will consider myself one of the happiest men in the world, if I can help to save it. If it cannot be saved upon that principle, it will be truly awful. But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it." Circumstances soon occurred which called attention to this last sentence. Its import, at the time, was not suspected.

Thus far, indeed, the tour of the President elect had proceeded without any serious difficulty. There had been some embarrassment from the crowd, in the absence of an adequate police to maintain order at the station at Buffalo, where the arm of Major Hunter was dislocated in the effort to protect the party, and there had been some criticisms by the politicians, of the style and matter of the occasional speeches; but nothing had occurred to mar the general harmony or justify the apprehensions which had been expressed of a violent interruption of the journey. It was not to be denied, however, that there was some uneasiness in the public mind. There were dark intimations that Mr. Lincoln would not be allowed to proceed to Washington in safety, and assassination even was vaguely hinted at. His friends, however, were on the alert, and it was evident from the thorough police arrangements along the line of the procession in New York that his movements were guarded. There was nothing definite, however, to create any particular anxiety, and the suspicion was passing away, with many other fiendish threats which had been uttered in bravado after the recent election, as the gossip of the hour. Suddenly, however, the public was startled by the intelligence that the contemplated line of Mr. Lincoln's tour had been broken up, and that, to avoid the imminent danger of assassination he had made his way in disguise by night, in a special railway train to Washington.

The circumstances of this remarkable affair, as they were related at the time, were these. We take the account as it was published in the Albany *Evening Journal*, the editor of which paper, Mr. Thurlow Weed, we may mention, was spoken of as one of the persons to whom the plot was first communicated by the police :—

"Some of Mr. Lincoln's friends having heard that a conspiracy existed to assassinate him on his way to Washington, set on foot an investigation of the matter. For this purpose they employed a detective of great experience, who was engaged at Baltimore in the business some three weeks prior to Mr. Lincoln's expected arrival there, employing both men and women to assist him. Shortly after coming to Baltimore, the detective discovered a combination of men banded together under a solemn oath to assassinate the President elect. The leader of the conspirators was an Italian refugee, a barber, well known in Baltimore, who assumed the name of *Orsini*, as indicative of the part he was to perform. The assistants employed by the detective, who, like himself, were strangers in Baltimore City, by assuming to be secessionists from Louisiana and other seceding States, gained the confidence of some of the conspirators, and were intrusted with their plans. It was arranged in case Mr. Lincoln should pass safely over the railroad to Baltimore, that the conspirators should mingle with the crowd which might surround his carriage, and by pretending to be his friends, be enabled to approach his person, when, upon a signal from their leader, some of them would shoot at Mr. Lincoln with their pistols, and others would throw into his carriage hand-grenades filled with detonating powder, similar to those used in the attempted assassination of the Emperor Louis Napoleon. It was intended that in the confusion which should result from this attack, the assailants should escape to a vessel which was waiting in the harbor to receive them, and be carried to Mobile, in the seceding State of Alabama.

"Upon Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Philadelphia upon Thursday, the 21st of February, the detective visited Philadelphia, and submitted to certain friends of the President elect, the information he had collected as to the conspirators and their plans. An interview was immediately arranged between Mr. Lincoln and the detective. The interview took place in Mr. Lincoln's room, in the Continental Hotel, where he was staying during his visit to Philadelphia. Mr. Lincoln, having heard the officer's statement, informed him that he had promised to raise the American flag on Independence Hall on the next morning—the morning of the Anniversary of Washington's Birthday—and that he had accepted the invitation of the Pennsylvania Legislature to be publicly received by that body in the afternoon of the same day. 'Both of these engagements,' said he, with emphasis, 'I will keep if it costs me my life. If, however, after I shall have concluded these engagements, you can take me in safety to Washington, I will place myself at your disposal, and authorize you to make such arrangements as you may deem proper for that purpose.'

"On the next day, in the morning, Mr. Lincoln performed the ceremony of raising the American flag on Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, according to his promise, and arrived at Harrisburg on the afternoon of the same day, where he was formally welcomed by the Pennsylvania Legislature. After the reception he retired to his hotel, the Jones House, and withdrew with a few confidential friends to a private apartment. Here he remained until nearly 6 o'clock in the evening, when, in company with Col. Lamon, he quietly entered a carriage without observation, and was driven to the Pennsylvania Railroad, where a special train for Philadelphia was waiting for him. Simultaneously with his departure from Harrisburg, the telegraph wires were cut, so that his departure, if it should become known, might not be communicated at a distance. The special train arrived in Philadelphia at 10¾ o'clock at night. Here he was met by the detective, who had a carriage in readiness into which the party entered, and were driven to the depot of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad. They did not reach the depot until 11¼ o'clock; but, fortunately for them, the regular train, the hour of which for starting was eleven, had been delayed. The party then took berths in the sleeping car, and without change of cars, passed directly through to Washington, where they arrived at the usual hour, 6½ o'clock, on the morning of Saturday the 23d. Mr. Lincoln wore no disguise whatever, but journeyed in an ordinary travelling dress.

"It is proper to state here that, prior to Mr. Lincoln's arrival in Philadelphia, General Scott and Senator Seward, in Washington, had been apprised from independent sources, that imminent danger threatened Mr. Lincoln in case he should publicly pass through Baltimore; and accordingly a special messenger, Mr. Frederick W. Seward, a son of Senator Seward, was despatched to Philadelphia, to urge Mr. Lincoln to come direct to Washington, in a quiet manner. The messenger arrived in Philadelphia late on Thursday night, and had an interview with the President elect, immediately subsequent to his interview with the detective. He was informed that Mr. Lincoln would arrive by the early train on Saturday morning, and, in accordance with this information, Mr. Washburn, member of Congress from Illinois, awaited the President elect at the depot in Washington, whence he was taken in a carriage to Willard's Hotel, where Senator Seward stood ready to receive him."

Little more than a week now intervened before the inauguration of the new President. It was spent in social courtesies, and in the study of the momentous interests which the old Administration and the old Congress were leaving to their successors. "After me, the deluge," might have been adopted as the motto of the retiring President, who shook off the cares of office as a heavy burden which he would willingly part with.

Owing to the excellent provisions for the safety of Washington, made under the directions of General Scott, who, from the scanty resources of the army as it was then distributed, had assembled with difficulty some six hundred national troops in the city, there was but little danger of any interference with the inauguration ceremonies. They took place according to the usual programme. There was a procession composed of the customary official personages. President Buchanan left the White House in an open barouche, and at Willard's, received Mr. Lincoln, when they proceeded together to the capitol. The customary address was delivered by the President elect from a platform on the portico of the building, where he was surrounded by the Judges of the Supreme Court, the members of both Houses and the foreign ministers. In front, many thousands of citizens were assembled from all parts of the country—among them those who had labored devotedly for the election of a Republican President, and who went prepared to defend the inauguration if necessary, with their lives. After the reading of the address, which was delivered in a firm, clear tone, the oath was administered by Chief-Justice Taney. Mr. Lincoln was the ninth President who had come into office during his judicial career.

The Inaugural Address was a thoughtful, manly, well-considered paper—firm in the expression of a determination to maintain the laws; kind and conciliatory in the manifest effort to allay prejudice, and, if possible, find a quiet path out of existing embarrassments. Like all the compositions of its author, it bore a marked individual character. It was evidently the result of much anxious thinking, worked out in the writer's own way; and, if it occasionally lacked elegance of style, the frequent striking, pithy phraseology made amends for any want of smoothness. Without unnecessary preamble, the speaker at the very outset, touched upon the ostensible grievance or complaint of the South, as if he would once for all remove a stumbling-block from the threshold of his Administration. "Apprehension," he said, "seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that, by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property and their peace and personal security are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists.' I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so. Those who nominated and elected me did so with a full knowledge that I had made this, and made many similar declarations, and had never recanted them. And, more than this, they placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:—'Resolved, that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.' I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the now incoming Administration. I add, too, that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another."

He then recited the provision of the Constitution requiring the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. "It is scarcely questioned," he said, "that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution—to this provision as well as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause 'shall be delivered up,' their oaths are unanimous. Now, if they would make the effort in good temper, could they not, with nearly equal unanimity, frame and pass a law by means of which to keep good that unanimous oath? There is some difference of opinion whether this clause should be enforced by national or by state authority, but surely that difference is not a very material one. If the slave is to be surrendered, it can be of but little consequence to him or to others by which authority it is done; and should any one, in any case, be content that this oath shall go unkept on a merely unsubstantial controversy as to how it shall be kept? Again, in any law upon this subject, ought not all the safeguards of liberty known in the civilized and humane jurisprudence to be introduced, so that a free man be not, in any case, surrendered as a slave? And might it not be well at the same time to provide by law for the enforcement of that clause in the Constitution which guaranties that 'the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states?' I take the official oath to-day with no mental reservations, and with no purpose to construe the Constitution or laws by any hypercritical rules, and while I do not choose now to specify particular acts of Congress as proper to be enforced, I do suggest that it will be much safer for all, both in official and private stations, to conform to and abide by all those acts which stand unrepealed, than to violate any of them, trusting to find impunity in having them held to be unconstitutional."

Having thus explicitly declared his views on a subject upon which there had been much misrepresentation he proceeded to announce his position in regard to the maintenance of the authority of the Union. "It is seventy-two years," said he, "since the first inauguration of a President under our national Constitution. During that period fifteen different and very distinguished citizens have in succession administered the executive branch of the government. They have conducted it through many perils, and generally with great success. Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I now enter upon the same task, for the brief constitutional term of four years, under great and peculiar difficulties. A disruption of the federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted. I hold that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. Continue to execute all the express provisions of our national Constitution, and the Union will endure forever, it being impossible to destroy it except by some action not provided for in the instrument itself. Again, if the United States be not a government proper by an association of States in the nature of a contract merely, can it, as a contract, be peaceably unmade by all the the parties who made it? One party to a contract may violate it—break it, so to speak—but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? Descending from these general principles we find the proposition that in legal contemplation the Union is perpetual, confirmed by the history of the Union itself. The Union is much older than the Constitution. It was formed, in fact, by the Articles of Association in 1774. It was matured and continued in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. It was further matured, and the faith of all the then thirteen States expressly plighted and engaged that it should be perpetual, by the Articles of Confederation in 1778, and finally, in 1787, one of the declared objects for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if the destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity. It follows from these views that no State upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that acts of violence within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary, or revolutionary, according to circumstances.

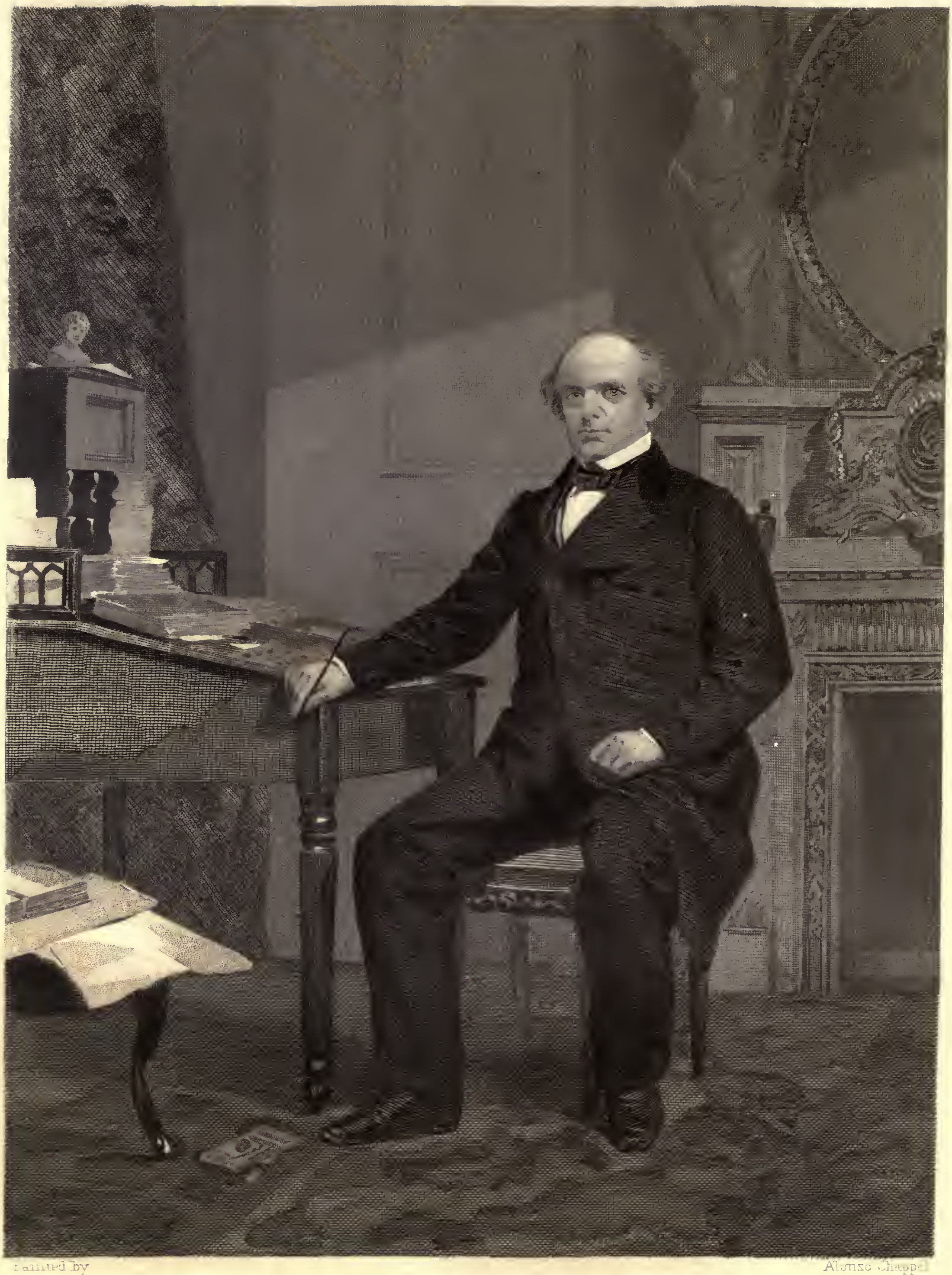
"I therefore consider," continued he, in direct reference to the policy to be pursued under existing difficulties, "that, in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and, to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union shall be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this, which I deem to be only a simple duty on my part, I shall perfectly perform it, so far as is practicable, unless my rightful masters, the American people, shall withhold the requisition, or in some authoritative manner direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but only as the declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintain itself. In doing this there need be no bloodshed or violence, and there shall be none unless it is forced upon the national authority. The power confided to me *will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government*, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for these objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States shall be so great and so universal as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people who object. While the strict legal right may exist of the government to enforce the exercise of the offices, the attempt to do so would be so irritating, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled, will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people everywhere shall have that sense of perfect security, which is most favorable to calm thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, unless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper, and in every case and exigency my best discretion will be exercised according to the circumstances actually existing, and with a view and hope of a peaceful solution of the national troubles and the restoration of fraternal sympathies and affections."

These carefully guarded declarations, which soon became of momentous import in the rapid progress of events were seconded by an earnest, argumentative appeal in behalf of the endangered Union. "That there are persons," he said, "in one section or another, who seek to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any pretext to do it, I will neither affirm nor deny. But if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really love the Union, may I not speak before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories and its hopes? Would it not be well to ascertain why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence? Will you, while the certain ills you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from? Will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union if all constitutional rights can be maintained. Is it true, then, that any right plainly written in the constitution has been denied? I think not. Happily the human mind is so constituted that no party can reach to the audacity of doing this. Think, if you can, of a single instance in which a plainly-written provision of the constitution has ever been denied. If, by the mere force of numbers, a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly-written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution; it certainly would, if such right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of minorities and of individuals are so plainly assured to them by affirmations and negations, guaranties and prohibitions in the Constitution, that controversies never arise concerning them. But no organic law can ever be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practical administration. No foresight can anticipate, nor any document of reasonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions. Shall fugitives from labor be surrendered by national or by state authorities? The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, and we divide upon them into majorities and minorities. If the minority will not acquiesce, the majority must, or the government must cease. There is no alternative for continuing the government but acquiescence on the one side or the other. If a minority in such a case will secede rather than acquiesce, they make a precedent which in turn will ruin and divide them, for a minority of their own will secede from them whenever a majority refuses to be controlled by such a minority. For instance, why not any portion of a new confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secede again, precisely as portions of the present Union now claim to secede from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments are now being educated to the exact temper of doing this. Is there such perfect identity of interests among the states to compose a new Union as to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed secession? Plainly, the central idea of secession is the essence of anarchy.

"A majority held in restraint by constitutional check and limitation, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it, does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The rule of a majority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left. I do not forget the position assumed by some that constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court, nor do I deny that such decisions must be binding in any case upon the parties to a suit, as to the object of that suit, while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration in all parallel cases by all other departments of the government; and while it is obviously possible that such decision may be erroneous in any given case, still the evil effect following it, being limited to that particular case, with the chance that it may be overruled and never become a precedent for other cases, can better be borne than could the evils of a different practice. At the same time, the candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government upon the vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made, as in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions, the people will have ceased to be their own masters, unless having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the court or the judges. It is a duty from which they may not shrink, to decide cases properly brought before them, and it is no fault of theirs if others seek to turn their decisions to political purposes. One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended; and this is the only substantial dispute; and the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for the suppression of the foreign slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases after the separation of the sections than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived, without restriction, in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate—we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

Nor was he unwilling to recognize the desire of a portion of the people, that new provisions should be engrafted on the Constitution to reconcile, if possible, any conflicting interests. "This country," was his language on this subject, "with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact, that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the national Constitution amended. While I make no recommendations of amendment, I fully recognize the full authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself, and I should, under existing circumstances, favor, rather than oppose, a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. I will venture to add, that to me the convention mode seems preferable, in that it allows amendments to originate with the people themselves, instead of only permitting them to take or reject propositions originated by others not especially chosen for the purpose, and which might not be precisely such as they would wish either to accept or refuse. I understand that a proposed amendment to the Constitution (which amendment, however, I have not seen) has passed Congress, to the effect that the federal government shall never interfere with the domestic institutions of States, including that of persons held to service. To avoid misconstruction of what I have said, I depart from my purpose not to speak of particular amendments, so far as to say that, holding such a provision to now be implied constitutional law, I have no objection to its being made express and irrevocable."

In regard to his own especial position in the Government, he said, recalling to the minds of the people that they were the real source of authority:—"The Chief Magistrate derives all his authority from the people, and they have conferred none upon him to fix the terms for the separation of the States. The people themselves, also, can do this if they choose, but the Executive, as such, has nothing to do with it. His duty is to administer the present government as it came to his hands, and to transmit it unimpaired by him to his successor. Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences, is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal, the American people. By the frame of the government under which we live, this same people have wisely given their public servants but little power for mischief, and have with equal wisdom provided for the return of that little to their own hands at very short intervals. While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years."



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

S. P. Chase

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. [illegible] by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the clerk's office of the District Court for the Southern District of N.Y.

"My countrymen," he exclaimed, in a final appeal, closing an address which, while it unequivocally expressed a determination to maintain the Union, breathed peace and moderation throughout, "my countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject. Nothing valuable can be lost by taking time. If there be an object to hurry any of you, in hot-haste, to a step which you would never take deliberately, that object will be frustrated by taking time; but no good object can be frustrated by it. Such of you as are now dissatisfied still have the old Constitution unimpaired, and on the sensitive point, the laws of your own framing under it; while the new administration will have no immediate power, if it would, to change either. If it were admitted that you who are dissatisfied hold the right side in the dispute, there is still no single reason for precipitate action. Intelligence, patriotism, Christianity, and a firm reliance on Him who has never yet forsaken this favored land, are still competent to adjust, in the best way, all our present difficulties. In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend' it. I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

The next day the Senate in extra session confirmed the appointments by the President of his Cabinet. It was thus composed:—William H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster General, and Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney General. The leading position was justly considered by the friends of the Administration to belong to Mr. Seward. He had long been an advocate of the principles of the party, and on the score of the eminent services he had rendered would have been entitled to its highest honors. His former office of Governor of the State of New York, his late career in the Senate, his generally recognized ability as a writer and speaker, his repute as a statesman, justified his appointment in the eyes of the people, who relied upon his politic skill and adaptation in turning events to the best advantage.

The antecedents of Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, were all in his favor. Born in 1808, in New Hampshire, and early deprived of his father, his education had been directed by his uncle, the venerable Bishop of the Episcopal church, at his seminary in Ohio. Returning to his native State, he entered Dartmouth, and became a graduate of that institution, from which he passed to the study of the law in Washington, under the guidance of the distinguished

William Wirt, the most genial and inspiring of legal preceptors. At the capital he gained the means of supporting himself while pursuing his studies by giving instruction to a select school of boys, the sons of Henry Clay, Wirt and other celebrities. He was admitted to the bar in the District of Columbia, in 1829, and immediately after took up his residence in Cincinnati, Ohio. He soon became known in his profession, especially by his engagement in various cases involving the position of the general government in reference to slavery. In all of these his powers were exerted in behalf of freedom. He was prominent in the early free soil political organization in the West, which prepared the way of the Republican party, giving his support in 1848 to the nomination for the Presidency of Mr. Van Buren. He was sent by Ohio, the following year, to the United States Senate, and in 1855 was elected Governor of his State, in which capacity he rendered eminent service at a critical period by his financial skill and integrity. He had just been reëlected to the United States Senate when he was called by President Lincoln to the cabinet.

The Attorney-General, Mr. Bates, was one of the most honored citizens of Missouri, having been identified with its political history since its formation as a State. A native of Virginia, of Quaker descent, he had early shown an impatience of the quiet traditions of his family by seeking a midshipman's warrant in the navy, which he was compelled to relinquish by the solicitations of his mother, who could not endure the trade of war. The youth, however,—he was nineteen at the time,—managed to get off to Norfolk as a volunteer when the British, in 1813 threatened an invasion of the State. He served in the army during that year, and in the ensuing spring followed his brother, the Secretary of the Territory of Missouri, to St. Louis, where he engaged in the study of the law and was admitted to the bar. When the State Government was put in action in 1820 he was appointed the first Attorney-General. He held other offices in the State and was sent to the national House of Representatives in 1826. He was afterward again in office in Missouri in the legislature and in 1833 and the two following years as Judge of the Land Court of St. Louis County. His leading position in his State and in the councils of the Whig party induced President Fillmore to appoint him to a seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of War, which he was impelled from personal and domestic reasons to decline. No one took a profounder interest in the formation and advancement of the Republican party, or was more relied on in its councils for his solidity and intelligence. His support of Mr. Lincoln had greatly aided him in his election to the Presidency.

Simon Cameron, the Secretary of War, was a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. By the death of his father he was thrown in his youth upon his own resources. In 1817 he bound himself as apprentice to the printing business at Harrisburg, whence, on coming of age, he made his way to Washington, where he was employed as a journeyman. He soon became engaged in political life and rose rapidly in influence, becoming Adjutant-General of Pennsylvania in 1828. In 1832 he was elected Cashier of the Middletown Bank and held the position for twenty-seven years. During this period he became widely known by his devotion to some of the most important railway and other industrial improvements of the State which he was instrumental in carrying forward to a successful completion. He was chosen as a United States Senator in 1857, and in the late Congress had proved an active and efficient member of his party.

Mr. Welles of Connecticut, the Secretary of the Navy, was a member of the old Democratic party, had exercised considerable influence as editor of the Hartford *Times*, and held office under the administrations of Van Buren and Polk. On the new territorial questions coming up he had joined the liberals, and in the recent Presidential canvass had taken an active part in the election of Lincoln.

Montgomery Blair was a son of Francis P. Blair, the well known editor and politician in Gen. Jackson's administration. He was a graduate of West Point, went to Missouri, there pursued the profession of the law, and was appointed by President Pierce Judge of the Court of Claims.

Mr. Smith, the Secretary of the Interior, was versed in public affairs, and had formerly been a member of Congress from Indiana.

CHAPTER VII.

FORT SUMTER.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the progress of this struggle than the long-continued forbearance of the government at Washington—a forbearance in an anxiety to conciliate, carried even to the verge of imbecility—to assert its lawful authority in the face of open, stoutly-proclaimed rebellion. While it was a series of plottings, threats, and defiance on one side, it was all delicacy and consideration on the other. The country waited with impatience for the action of the Administration. It is impossible to read the newspapers of those weary weeks continuing beyond the term of Mr. Buchanan's culpable neglect, a full month after the inauguration of his successor, without vividly recalling the painful emotions which loyal citizens experienced as the proud pillars and lofty fabric of the national greatness seemed to be tottering to their fall. Have we a country, a government and laws? Do we live as a nation? Is treason a crime known to the Constitution? Do this much vaunted flag, these foreign treaties which we have made, these laws which we have hitherto obeyed, this President and these Houses of Congress so solemnly established at Washington, these Judges of the Supreme Court, this bond and pledge of States from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico—do these institutions which we have so long reverenced, which our fathers bequeathed to us, for which they bled and died,—do they mean nothing? In this pause of inaction, when fortunes were crumbling on all sides in the dread uncertainty, and men's hearts were failing them for fear, the country was at length roused from its despondency by undoubted intimations from Washington that the hour of action was at hand.

The conduct of the leaders of the Rebellion at the city of Charleston gave the occasion for this display for resolution. After the attempted relief of Fort Sumter, in January, by the Star of the West, the demand of the insurgents for its reduction became still more pressing. In vain had the State pronounced itself sovereign and independent if a foreign power, for so the people affected to regard the United States, were to be allowed to hold possession of the most important defence in its chief harbor, threaten the city and control its foreign commerce. The reduction of Sumter became in fact a necessity of the Rebellion, indispensable to South Carolina, and essential to her influence with the neighboring States whose fortunes she desired to involve in the same evil destiny with her own. "No longer hoping for concessions," was the language of an insolent appeal which appeared towards the end of January in the Charleston *Mercury*, "let us be ready for war, and when we have driven every foreign soldier from our shores, then let us take our place in the glorious Republic the future promises us. Border Southern States will never join us until we have indicated our power to free ourselves—until we have proven that a garrison of seventy men cannot hold the portal of our commerce. The fate of the Southern Confederacy hangs by the ensign halliards of Fort Sumter." Active preparations of defence and attack were going on in the harbor against which General Anderson, in concert with his Government, hoping for a peaceful settlement of the existing difficulties or hesitating to strike the first blow to begin a war of which no man could see the consequences, offered no resistance.

The ingenuity of the people of Charleston was much exercised, in advance of the regular operations of war, as to the best method of capturing the fort. "A variety of plans," says a chronicler of the day, early in January, "have been devised, but, as yet, none have been put in practice. One man thought it might be taken by floating down to the fort rafts piled with burning tar-barrels, thus attempting to smoke the American troops out as you would smoke a rabbit out of a hollow. Another was for filling bombs with prussic acid and giving each of the United States soldiers a smell. Still another supposed that the fort might be taken without bloodshed, by offering to each soldier ten dollars and a speaking to. And still another thought that by erecting a barricade of cotton bales, and arming it with cannon, a floating battery might be made, which, with the aid of Forts Moultrie and Johnson, and Castle Pinckney, together with redoubts thrown up on Morris' and Jones' Islands, and with further assistance of an armed fleet, an attack might be made on the fort, and at some convenient point a party of sharp-shooters might be stationed, who would pick off the garrison, man by man, thus giving an opportunity to a party of infantry to scale the walls of the fort. Such a storming, however, could only be accomplished by an immense sacrifice of life ; and the only practicable mode of taking the fort would seem to be by a protracted siege, and by the unchristian mode of starving them."*

The month of February was passed in this uncertain condition of hostilities, both parties making eager efforts, though with very unequal opportunities, to strengthen their respective works. Early in March, the State of South Carolina having resigned its boasted military prerogative into the supreme hands of the Confederate Government at Montgomery, a new actor appeared upon the scene in the person of a military officer, *pars belli haud temnenda*, sent by President Jefferson Davis to take command of the forces at Charleston. This was General Peter Gustav Toutant Beauregard, late a Major in the United States Service. A native of the State of Louisiana, of Canadian descent, he had entered the Military Academy at West Point at an early age, and after a career of distinguished credit, graduated in 1838, the second of a class of forty-five, with the appointment of Second Lieutenant in the First regiment of Artillery. He was then immediately transferred to the Corps of Engineers, in which he was promoted the following year to be First Lieutenant. He served with great distinction in that capacity with the army of General Scott during the Mexican War, from Vera Cruz to the capital, being brevetted Captain for his gallant conduct at Contreras and Churubusco, and Major for like honorable service at Chapultepec. General Scott handsomely acknowledged his merits in the Official Reports, making particular mention of his share in the brilliant achievements at entering the city of Mexico, where he was wounded at the assault on the Belen Gate. Among his honored companions on that occasion were Lieutenants G. W. Smith and George B. McClellan, both destined to be prominent with him in the Rebellion, one his associate in arms, the other his antagonist. After the war Major Beauregard was employed by the Government in the construction of the fortifications at the entrance to the Mississippi. On the eve of the Rebellion he was appointed in Mr. Buchanan's Administration to the important duty of Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, as the successor of Major Delafield, but had hardly time to think of the office before he was precipitated with his State in the Revolt. He resigned his commission in the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army on the 20th of February, 1861, two days after the inauguration of Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederate States. His exact professional knowledge, united with his energy of character, immediately on his arrival at Charleston, gave increased efficiency to the military preparations for the reduction of Sumter, which now awaited the conclusion of the negotiation at Washington.

---

* The *South Carolinian*, January 7. Moore's Rebellion Record, vol. 1, Diary, p. 11.

One of the first acts of the Confederate Government at Montgomery was to send three distinguished citizens of the South, Messrs. A. B. Roman of Louisiana, formerly Governor of the State; John Forsyth of Alabama, Minister to Mexico in President Buchanan's administration; Martin J. Crawford of Georgia, one of the seceding members of the recent Congress, as commissioners to open negotiations with the Government at Washington concerning all questions growing out of the separation, with a view to their peaceable solution. They arrived at the capital the day after President Lincoln's inauguration, and a week later, on the twelfth, Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford addressed a formal communication to the Secretary of State, setting forth the motive of their visit, and asking the appointment of an early day to present their credentials and the objects of the mission, to the President. To this Mr. Seward wrote an answer, that he was unable to comply with the request, and that he had no authority, nor was he at liberty to recognize them as diplomatic agents, or hold correspondence or other communication with them. The refusal thus decided was courteously expressed, and was accompanied by this explanation of the writer's view of the position of affairs:—"The Secretary of State frankly confesses that he understands the events which have recently occurred, and the condition of political affairs which actually exists in the part of the Union to which his attention has thus been directed, very differently from the aspect in which they are presented by Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford. He sees in them, not a rightful and accomplished revolution and an independent nation, with an established government, but rather a perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement to the inconsiderate purposes of an unjustifiable and unconstitutional aggression upon the rights and the authority vested in the federal government, and hitherto benignly exercised, as from their very nature they always must so be exercised, for the maintenance of the Union, the preservation of liberty, and the security, peace, welfare, happiness, and aggrandizement of the American people. The Secretary of State, therefore, avows to Messrs. Forsyth and Crawford that he looks patiently, but confidently, to the cure of evils which have resulted from proceedings so unnecessary, so unwise, so unusual, and so unnatural, not to irregular negotiations, having in view new and untried relations with agencies unknown to and acting in derogation of the Constitution and laws, but to regular and considerate action of the people of those States, in coöperation with their brethren in the other States, through the Congress of the United States, and such extraordinary conventions, if there shall be need thereof, as the federal Constitution contemplates and authorizes to be assembled."

This reply of Mr. Seward was dated March 15th but, by agreement was not called for or delivered till the 8th of April; a delay for which the Commissioners, in the letter which they wrote on its receipt, thus accounted. They were assured at the outset, they said, "by a person occupying a high official position in the Government, and who, as they believed, was speaking by authority, that Fort Sumter would be evacuated within a very few days, and that no measure changing the existing *status* prejudicially to the Confederate States, as respects Fort Pickens, was then contemplated, and these assurances were subsequently repeated, with the addition that any contemplated change as respects Pickens, would be notified to them. On the 1st of April they were again informed that there might be an attempt to supply Fort Sumter with provisions, but that Gov. Pickens should have previous notice of this attempt. There was no suggestion of any reinforcements. They did not hesitate to believe that these assurances expressed the intentions of the Administration at the time, or at all events of prominent members of that Administration. This delay was assented to, for the express purpose of attaining the great end of their mission, to wit: A pacific solution of existing complications. . . . It was only when all these anxious efforts for peace had been exhausted, and it became clear that Mr. Lincoln had determined to appeal to the sword to reduce the people of the Confederate States to the will of the section or party whose President he is, that they resumed the official negotiation temporarily suspended, and sent their Secretary for a reply to their official note of March 12."

In the same communication, among other threatening intimations, they thus, with a calm confidence in the result, replied to the pacific suggestions of negotiation by Mr. Seward, which we have just cited from his letter :—"The undersigned, like the Secretary of State, have no purpose 'to invite or engage in discussion' of the subject on which their two Governments are so irreconcilably at variance. It is this variance that has broken up the old Union, the disintegration of which has only begun. It is proper, however, to advise you that it were well to dismiss the hopes you seem to entertain that, by any of the modes indicated, the people of the Confederate States will ever be brought to submit to the authority of the Government of the United States. You are dealing with delusions, too, when you seek to separate our people from our Government, and to characterize the deliberate, sovereign act of the people as a 'perversion of a temporary and partisan excitement.' If you cherish these dreams you will be awakened from them and find them as unreal and unsubstantial, as others in which you have recently indulged. The undersigned would omit the performance of an obvious duty were they to fail to make known to the Government of the United States, that the people of the Confederate States have declared their independence with a full knowledge of all the responsibilities of that act, and with as firm a determination to maintain it by all the means with which nature has endowed them, as that which sustained their fathers when they threw off the authority of the British crown."*

The immediate cause of this explosion was that the Government, in accordance with the understanding alluded to by the Commissioners, had announced its intention to provision the garrison of Fort Sumter, which, by an order of General Beauregard of the 5th of April, had been deprived of its carefully regulated daily supply of food from the city. Lieutenant Talbot was sent from Washington to communicate this resolve to Governor Pickens. He arrived in Charleston on the 8th, and delivered his message. On its receipt General Beauregard thus addressed Mr. L. P. Walker, the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, at Montgomery, by telegraph :—"An authorized messenger from President Lincoln, just informed Governor Pickens and myself that provisions will be sent to Fort Sumter peaceably, or otherwise by force." To this the following reply was received, dated the 10th :—"If you have no doubt of the authorized character of the agent who communicated to you the intention of the Washington Government, to supply Fort Sumter by force, you will at once demand its evacuation, and if this is refused, proceed in such a manner as you may determine to reduce it. Answer." Word was sent back the same day :—"The demand will be made tomorrow at twelve o'clock." To this the Secretary of War immediately answered :—"Unless there are especial reasons connected with your own condition it is considered proper that you should make the demand at an early hour ;"—to which urgent message it was responded :—"The reasons are special for twelve o'clock."

---

* Letter of Messrs. Forsyth, Crawford, and Roman to Hon. W. H. Seward, Washington, April 9, 1861.

Two hours later than the time appointed, his military preparations having been carefully made, General Beauregard sent a letter to Major Anderson, stating that "the Government of the Confederate States had hitherto forborne from any hostile demonstration against Fort Sumter, in the hope that the Government of the United States, with a view to the amicable adjustment of all questions between the two Governments, and to avert the calamities of war, would voluntarily evacuate it." There was reason, he asserted, to believe that the Government of the United States would, at the time, have pursued such a course, and, with this impression no demand had hitherto been made for the surrender. Now, however, the Confederate States could "no longer delay assuming actual possession of a fortification commanding the entrance of one of their harbors and necessary to its defense and security." He then communicated in the name of his Government a demand of the evacuation of Fort Sumter, offering "all proper facilities for the removal of yourself and command, together with company arms and property, and all private property, to any port in the United States which you may elect. The flag which you have upheld so long and with so much fortitude, under the most trying circumstances, may be saluted by you on taking it down." This demand was carried by Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee, Aids of General Beauregard. The reply of Major Anderson was immediate, in few words :—"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication demanding the evacuation of this fort; and to say in reply thereto that it is a demand with which I regret my sense of honor and of my obligation to my Government prevent my compliance." An acknowledgement was added of "the fair, manly and courteous terms proposed" and "the high compliment" paid him. There were also some remarks made by Major Anderson to the Aids, to the effect that in the present condition of the fort, his forces would soon be starved out, if they were not in the meantime battered to pieces. This reply presently brought from General Beauregard the following communication to Major Anderson, dated an hour before midnight of the same day :—"In consequence of the verbal observations made by you to my Aids, Messrs. Chesnut and Lee, in relation to the condition of your supplies, and that you would in a few days be starved out if our guns did not batter you to pieces—or words to that effect ;—and desiring no useless effusion of blood, I communicated both the verbal communication and your written answer to my communication to my Government. If you will state the time at which you will evacuate Fort Sumter, and agree that in the meantime you will not use your guns against us, unless ours shall be employed against Fort Sumter, we will abstain from opening fire upon you. Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee are authorized by me to enter into an agreement with you. You are, therefore, requested to communicate to them an open answer." Two hours after it was written, at one o'clock on the morning of the 12th—there was little sleep that night for the military authorities—this missive was presented at the fort by an embassy consisting of four Aids of General Beauregard, Colonel Chesnut, Colonel Chisholm, Captain Lee, and Mr. Pryor of Virginia. The letter was at once considered by Major Anderson and the following reply addressed to General Beauregard, dated half-past two o'clock the same morning, submitted to the embassadors :—" General, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your second communication of the 11th inst., by Colonel Chesnut, and to state, in reply, that cordially uniting with you in the desire to avoid the useless effusion of blood, I will, if provided with the proper and necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon on the 15th instant, should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my Government or additional supplies ; and that I will not, in the meantime, open my fire upon your forces, unless compelled to do so by some hostile act against this fort, or the flag of my Government by the forces under your command, or by some portion of them, or by the perpetration of some act showing a hostile intention on your part against this fort or the flag it bears." In accordance with their instructions this communication was read by Colonel Chesnut and Captain Lee and immediately answered, on the spot, in the following reply, dated twenty minutes past three :—" Sir : By authority of Brigadier-General Beauregard, commanding the Provisional Forces of the Confederate States, we have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries on Fort Sumter in one hour from this time."

The position of the respective forces in this conflict may be thus generally indicated. Entering the harbor of Charleston by the main channel from the Atlantic there were to the right, on the north, Sullivan's Island with the defences of Fort Moultrie and several adjoining batteries commanding the approach from the sea ; within, on the upper end of the island, in an advantageous position for sweeping the left flank of Fort Sumter, a floating battery, constructed of palmetto logs with iron facings, mounting two 42 and two 32-pounders ; while beyond, toward the city, a mortar battery was erected at Mount Pleasant. On the south, at Cummings' Point, a projection of Morris' Island, there was a formidable iron protected battery, and beyond, on another point of land on James Island, a mortar battery at Fort Johnson. In front of the two positions just named, though at unequal distances, commanding the channel and facing Fort Moultrie, stood Fort Sumter.

Before daylight, at half-past four, of Friday, the 12th of April, the hostile proceedings commenced with the firing of a signal shell from Fort Johnson, and in half an hour the fire from the rebel batteries became general. It was not returned, however, from Fort Sumter till a few minutes before seven o'clock, when Major Anderson, having divided his small force into three relief parties, each to serve for two hours, commenced a vigorous, but, as it proved, ineffectual attack upon the iron battery at Cummings' Point. The enemy's aim from that powerful battery and the two others at the Point, as well as from their Enfilade Battery, Floating Battery, and Dahlgren Battery, at Sullivan's Island, was to prevent the working and dismount the barbette guns of Fort Sumter, and so well were these stations taken and their guns handled for the purpose, that the attempt was successful, without any extraordinary difficulty or risk to the assailants, who, well instructed and well protected. skillfully avoided the shot which were poured upon them. "During the day," says General Beauregard, in his report of the engagement, " the fire of my batteries was kept up most spiritedly, the guns and mortars being worked in the coolest manner, preserving the prescribed intervals of firing. Towards evening it became evident that our fire was very effective, as the enemy was driven from his barbette guns, which he attempted to work in the morning, and his fire was confined to his casemated guns, but in a less active manner than in the morning, and it was observed that several of his guns *en barbette* were disabled." The fire of Fort Sumter, beside its assault upon the Cummings' Point Battery, was mainly directed upon Fort Moultrie and its adjoining batteries, and, it is admitted, was skillfully employed. The assailing works of the South Carolinians, however, were too numerous and powerful in comparison, and the well-trained men who occupied them had been suffered too long to make their ample preparations to render the contest anything but an unequal one. The combatants surrounding the beleaguered fort were at least fifty to one, amply furnished with all the munitions of war and with powerful reserves at hand; within, a handful of defenders with a scant supply of food, were not in a position to hold out long, even if the assault were indifferently conducted. But, as it happened, it was attended with some unusual embarrassments. Three times on Friday, the barracks were set on fire and gallantly extinguished by the men. There were many other individual acts of courage, in manning the guns under the heavy assault, performed that day by the little band. One of the workmen, it is said, was found at a gun which from its exposed position had been abandoned. "What are you doing here with that gun?" he was asked. "Hit it right in the centre," was the reply, indicating his successful shot aimed at the floating battery. Another, Sergeant Kearney, an old Mexican war veteran, was struck on the head and knocked down by a portion of the concrete, dashed by the accurate fire of the enemy, from an embrasure. He was asked if he was hurt badly. "No," said he, as he resumed his work, "I was only knocked down temporarily."

The enemy's batteries having readily gained the range of the fort, a steady fire of shell from the mortars was thrown at regular intervals of ten or fifteen minutes within its enclosure, effectually depriving the garrison of rest during the night of Friday, which proved rainy and dark, with a high wind. A guard was kept up by Major Anderson at different points of the work, that he might be ready to repel assailants from the bay or receive the expected reinforcements from the United States vessels of the relieving expedition which had arrived off the bar, and been seen from the fort in the afternoon. The following morning the sun rose in a cloudless sky, and the firing was vigorously resumed on both sides. Presently at nine o'clock, smoke was discovered issuing from Sumter. The wood-work of the quarters was in flames. Upon this the fire of the besieging batteries was plied, if possible, with greater vigor, red hot shot being thrown into the fort. When the smoke was seen, says Beauregard, "the fire of our batteries was increased as a matter of course, for the purpose of bringing the enemy to terms as speedily as possible, inasmuch as his flag was still floating defiantly above him. Fort Sumter continued to fire from time to time, but at long and irregular intervals, amid the dense smoke flying shot and bursting shells. Our brave troops, carried away by their naturally generous impulses, mounted the different batteries, and at every discharge from the fort cheered the garrison for its pluck and gallantry, and hooted the fleet lying inactive just outside the bar."

The flag of Sumter which was raised on a staff in the open parade, had gallantly resisted the perils of the previous day. The halyards had been cut by the bursting shell, but, entangled with the ropes, it still adhered to its position. It was now, however, destined to succumb to the incessant fire when an hour after midday the staff itself was shot away some fifty feet from the truck, it being the ninth time, it was said, that it had been hit. The flag was then nailed to a temporary staff, and planted upon the ramparts. This gallant act was performed by a member of the police force of New York, named Peter Hart, who had accompanied Mrs. Anderson, the wife of the commander, on a visit to the fort soon after its occupation, and who, on her departure, had been suffered to remain. Though not enlisted in the service, he was quite willing to encounter the fiery storm descending upon the area, and peril his life for the maintenance of the flag.

Meanwhile, it being found impossible to extinguish the flames, the efforts of officers and men who were not immediately employed at the guns, were directed to remove the powder from the magazine before the rapid spread of the conflagration should compel it to be closed and rendered inaccessible. Fifty barrels were thus removed and distributed through the casemates, when the heat made it necessary to close the magazine doors and pack earth upon them. As the fire increased, clouds of smoke and cinders were driven into the casemates, exposing the powder in its new situation to great risk of explosion, when, by order of the commanding officer, all but five barrels were thrown out of the embrasures into the water. The supply of cartridges was so short that the men were employed during the bombardment in manufacturing the bags from blankets, shirts, sheets and such accidental materials. Shell lying exposed were exploded by the shot or the flames from the barracks, which it was a vain endeavor of the officers and men to check. The gunners, begrimed, weary, exhausted, oppressed almost to suffocation by the stifling atmosphere, could breathe the infected air only by throwing themselves with their faces to the ground, and protecting their respiration with wet cloths and handkerchiefs. Fortunately the men were few in number or the slaughter would have been fearful. from the inability to secure shelter. This continued for hours, the fire of the assailants being still poured in with increasing fury, while the defenders could reply only at intervals with an occasional shot. It was evident to the combatants on the bay, and to the eager spectators at Charleston, who witnessed the smoke, flames and explosions, that such a scene must soon end in the utter destruction, if not of the fort, at least of its inmates.

At this crisis, when the flag had disappeared from the staff and not yet been seen on the ramparts, a boat was sent in the midst of a heavy fire of shot and shell to the fort from Cummings' Point, bearing Colonel Louis T. Wigfall of Texas, a seceding United States Senator of the late Congress, at present a volunteer aid of General Beauregard. He had been detached by that officer for special duty on Morris' Island and was now crossing by order of Brigadier-General Simons with a flag of truce—a white handkerchief elevated on the point of his sword—"to ascertain from Major Anderson whether his intention was to surrender, his flag being down and his quarters in flames." On arriving outside the fort he announced himself and called for Major Anderson who, immediately, accompanied by Lieutenant Snyder, passed through the blazing gateway to meet him. Before they could reach him, however, Colonel Wigfall had been admitted through an embrasure into the fort where he was met by Captain Foster, Lieutenant Mead and Lieutenant Davis, when the following conversation is reported to have occurred. Hastily asking to see Major Anderson, he added in an excited manner, "Let us stop this firing. You are on fire and your flag is down. Let us quit." To this Lieutenant Davis replied, "No, sir, our flag is not down. Step out here and you will see it waving over the ramparts." "Let us quit this," said Wigfall. "Here's a white flag. Will any body wave it out of the embrasure." One of the officers replied, "That is for you to do, if you choose." Wigfall responded, "If there is no one else to do it, I will," and jumping into the embrasure waved the flag toward Moultrie, while the firing was still continued from that fort and the batteries on Sullivan's Island. Having thus made the act his own, at his request, he was relieved of this hazardous occupation by a corporal who was directed to hold "Colonel Wigfall's flag." The new incumbent, however, soon grew as impatient of the duty as the rebel Senator. When several shots had presently struck around him he started back exclaiming, "D--n it. I won't hold that flag, for they don't respect it. They are firing at it. They struck their colors but we never did." Upon which Wigfall remarked, "They fired at me two or three times and I stood it; and I should think you might stand it once;" adding, "If you will show a white flag from your ramparts they will cease firing." Lieutenant Davis replied, "If you request that a flag shall be shown there while you hold a conference with Major Anderson, and for that purpose alone, it may be done."

At this point Major Anderson came up, having reëntered through an embrasure, when the Colonel introduced himself. "Major Anderson," said he, "you have defended your flag nobly, sir. You have done all that is possible for men to do, and General Beauregard wishes to stop the fight. On what terms, Major Anderson, will you evacuate the fort?" To this Major Anderson replied, "General Beauregard is already acquainted with my only terms." "Do I understand that you will evacuate upon the terms proposed the other day?" "Yes, sir, and on those conditions only." "Then, sir," said Colonel Wigfall, "I understand that the fort is to be ours?" "On those conditions only, I repeat." "Very well," said Wigfall, and he retired. Such was the conversation as it was understood and reported by the inmates of Fort Sumter. The commanding officer understood the conditions to be accepted on the basis spoken of, and the white flag was raised and the United States flag lowered accordingly.

Shortly after this scene a new deputation appeared at the fort, sent by General Beauregard himself, on noticing the change of the flag, to offer assistance to the garrison in their evident extremity. It consisted of three of his Aids, Captains Lee, Roger A. Pryor and W. Porcher Miles. They delivered their message, proffering assistance, and Major Anderson replied, that he had already agreed upon the terms of evacuation, when it appeared that some misunderstanding had arisen, or that Wigfall had acted without the authority of the Commander in Chief. This new embarrassment, however, was cured by the prompt arrival of another embassy sent by General Beauregard, consisting of Major D. R. Jones, the chief of his Staff, with several other Aids, charged with the voluntary offer of substantially the same propositions submitted to Major Anderson in the correspondence a few days preceding the bombardment, with the exception of the privilege of saluting his flag. To this Major Anderson replied—we cite here the language of General Beauregard's Report—"It would be exceedingly gratifying to him, as well as to his command, to be permitted to salute their flag, having so gallantly defended the fort, under such trying circumstances, and he hoped that General Beauregard would not refuse it, as such a privilege was not unusual." He further said, "he would not urge the point, but would prefer to refer the matter again to General Beauregard." "The point was, therefore," continues General Beauregard, "left open until the matter was submitted to me. I very cheerfully agreed to allow the salute as an honorable testimony to the gallantry and fortitude with which Major Anderson and his command had defended their post, and I informed Major Anderson of my decision about half-past seven o'clock, through Major Jones." Previous to the return of Major Jones, it should be added, General Beauregard sent a fire-engine, under Mr. H. Nathan, Chief of the Fire Department, and Surgeon-General Gibbes of South Carolina, with several of his Aids, to offer further assistance to the garrison of Fort Sumter, which was declined.*

An incident is related as having occurred in the somewhat confused embassies attending the surrender, which, happily escaping the tragic, is not without that tinge of the ludicrous which is found often provokingly blended with the dignity of great and imposing events. We give the story as we find it in a newspaper of the day—a specimen of the rough humors of the war. "Roger A. Pryor of Virginia, ex-Member of Congress, was one of the second deputation that waited upon Major Anderson. He was the very embodiment of Southern chivalry. Literally dressed to kill, bristling with bowie-knives and revolvers, like a walking arsenal, he appeared to think himself individually capable of capturing the fort, without any extraneous assistance. Inside of the fort he seemed to think himself master of every thing—monarch of all he surveyed—and, in keeping with this pretension, seeing upon the table what appeared to be a glass of brandy, drank it without ceremony. Surgeon Crawford, who had witnessed the feat, approached him and said: "Sir, what you have drunk is poison—it was the iodide of potassium—*you are a dead man.*" The representative of chivalry instantly collapsed. bowie-knives, revolvers and all, and passed into the hands of Surgeon Crawford, who, by purgings, pumpings, and pukings, defeated his own prophecy in regard to his

---

* Official Report of Brigadier-General G. T. Beauregard to Brigadier-General Cooper, Adjutant-General C. S. A., Headquarters Provisional Army, Charleston, S. C., April 27, 1861.

fate. Mr. Pryor left Fort Sumter "a wiser, if not a better man."*

It was arranged at the request of Major Anderson, in accordance with the liberal terms of the surrender, that the formal evacuation should take place on Sunday, the day after the final bombardment. A steamer was to be placed at his disposal for the removal of his command with their effects, and the flag was to be saluted by the force in the garrison previous to embarkation. Lieutenant Snyder was sent from the fort to communicate with the fleet lying off the harbor, to arrange for the reception on board the national vessels. Saturday night was mostly spent in packing up the personal property and hospital stores for the departure. Early the next morning the preparations were completed. Lieutenant Snyder was conducted to the fleet by Commodore Hartstein and several officers of General Beauregard's staff, and presently returned with Captain Gillis of the United States Navy, the commander of the Pocahontas, to the fort. The Charleston steamer Isabel, which had been provided by the military authorities, was brought up to conduct the garrison to the ships; while the old flag, stained and torn in battle, which for nearly four months had animated the spirits of the defenders during the anxious siege, and which they had so gallantly sustained during the last two days in the fiery attack of shot and shell and the more fearful conflagration, was raised upon the ramparts waiting the honors of the parting salute. It is stated to have been the intention of Major Anderson to have fired a salute of one hundred guns, but the number was reduced to fifty by an untoward accident, which imparted an additional gloom to the melancholy scene. In the course of the firing a quantity of ammunition near the guns was exploded, instantly killing one of the men and fatally wounding another, while several others were more or less injured. Every attention was paid to the sufferers by Dr. Crawford of the garrison, assisted by Prof. Chisholm of Charleston, Assistant-Surgeon Maddox of the State forces, and others. When the salute was finished, the victim of the disaster, private Hough, was buried with military honors in the centre of the parade ground, the Chaplain of the Confederate troops assisting at the funeral service. After this ceremony the United States troops, dressed in full uniform, wearing their arms, were formed into line, and, to the national air of "Yankee Doodle," marched out of the fort.

Whilst this was taking place at Sumter a distinguished party of the civil and military authorities of South Carolina and the Confederate Government were on their way to the spot, the story of whose visit, as narrated at the time in the Charleston *Mercury* will convey to the reader a vivid impression of the scenes of the day. "At half-past twelve," says the writer, "his Excellency Governor Pickens, with his Aids, and Messrs. Jamison, Harllee and Magrath, of his Executive Council, and General Beauregard, with his Aids, Messrs. Miles, Prior, Manning, Chesnut and Jones, and many distinguished gentlemen, invited to be present, took their departure in a steamer from Southern Wharf, and were borne in the direction of the Fort. As we advanced, it was apparent, however, that the evacuation was not completed. Though the steamer Isabel, at the request of Major Anderson had been present from nine o'clock, and the expectation had been occasioned that very soon thereafter his command would be under way, still causes of delay had intervened. To avoid the embarrassments of a premature arrival, the party was landed on Sullivan's Island. Availing themselves of the opportunities thus afforded, they visited the floating battery, the Dahlgren battery, the enfilading battery, and were ascending the mortar battery, when the booming of the guns upon the parapets of Fort Sumter, announced the lowering of the "stars and stripes." In the terms of the capitulation it was allowed to Major Anderson to salute his flag, and it was perhaps expected that he would fire the usual complement of twenty-one guns ; but, reaching that number, he still went on to fire, and the apprehension was that he might exhibit the discourtesy of numbering thirty-four. But he continued still to fire, up to fifty, and then slowly lowering his flag, the shouts from assembled thousands, upon the shores and the steamers, and every species of water craft, announced that the authority of the late United States upon the last foot of Carolina's soil was finally withdrawn. It had been noticed that at the firing of the seventeenth gun, there was the sound as of two reports, and the impression was, that two guns had been fired together ; but, as the party, reëmbarking, were on their way to Fort Sumter, they were met by a boat, which announced that one of the caissons had exploded, and made the earnest request that the boat would return to Sullivan's Island for a fire-engine, from the apprehension that the magazine might be in danger. This obtained, the party again started for the fort, and made their entrance.

---

* *N. Y. Tribune*, April 19, 1861. Moore's Rebellion Record, I, Incidents, &c., p. 28.

"It were vain to attempt a detailed description of the scene. Every point and every object in the interior of the fort, to which the eye was turned, except the outer walls and casemates, which are still strong, bore the impress of ruin. It were as if the Genius of Destruction had tasked its energies to make the thing complete, brooded over by the desolation of ages. It could scarce have been developed to a more full maturity of ruin. The walls of the internal structure, roofless, bare, blackened, and perforated by shot and shell, hung in fragments, and seemed in instant readiness to totter down Near the centre of the parade-ground was the hurried grave of one who had fallen from the recent casuality. To the left of the entrance was a man who seemed to be at the verge of death. In the ruins, to the right, there was another. The shattered flag-staff, pierced by four balls, lay sprawling on the ground. The parade-ground was strewn with fragments of shell and of the dilapidated buildings. At least four guns were dismounted on the ramparts, and at every step the way was impeded by portions of the broken structure. And so it was that the authorities, compelled to yield the fortress, had at least the satisfaction of leaving it in a condition calculated to inspire the least possible pleasure to its captors.

"Of all this, however, the feeling was lost when, ascending to the parapet, the brilliant panorama of the bay appeared. And when, from this key to the harbor, the view expanded to the waving outline of main and island, and when, upon this key, the flag of the Confederacy, together with the Palmetto flag, were both expanded to the breeze ; and when the deafening shouts arose from the masses clustered upon boats and upon the shores, and when the batteries around the entire circuit shook the fortress with the thunders of their salutation, the feeling that the victory was indeed complete; that the triumph was a fact accomplished; that liberty had indeed been vindicated, and that the State had established her claim to the skill and courage necessary to the cause she had the intellectual intrepidity to avow, thrilled in the breast of every one of Carolina's sons, as seldom has such feeling thrilled in the breasts of any men before. Shortly after the arrival, the garrison marched out, and were received on board the Isabel; which, however, from the condition of the tide was unable to move off, and it was a somewhat unpleasant circumstance that Major Anderson and his command should have been made unwilling spectators of the exultations inspired by their defeat."

We may indeed, severely as all patriots must censure the fatal policy of the attack upon Fort Sumter, and the wicked counsels of the conspirators against the peace and happiness of the nation which inspired it, allow the authorities at Charleston credit for a certain generosity in their manner of proceeding after the work was taken—though it would have added to their claims to respect, if the firing had not been so ruthlessly continued, and even augmented, when the fort was in flames. The leaders appear to have been touched by the gallantry of the defenders. In their own view of the matter, they doubtless thought they were making considerable concessions to a fallen foe in the easy and honorable terms of surrender. What that point of view was, and how the capitulation was represented at the South, we may learn from an extraordinary passage in the Message at the close of the month, of President Jefferson Davis to his Confederate Congress. "I cannot refrain," says he, in that document, "from a well deserved tribute to the noble State, the eminent soldierly qualities of whose people were so conspicuously displayed in the port of Charleston. For months they had been irritated by the spectacle of a fortress held within their principal harbor, as a standing menace against their peace and independence. Built in part with their own money, its custody confided with their own consent to an agent who held no power over them, other than such as they had themselves delegated for their own benefit, intended to be used by that agent for their own protection against foreign attack, they saw it held with persistent tenacity as a means of offence against them by the very government which they had established for their protection. They had beleagured it for months—felt entire confidence in their power to capture it—yet yielded to the requirements of discipline, curbed their impatience, submitted without complaint to the unaccustomed hardships, labors and privations of a protracted siege; and when at length their patience was rewarded by the signal for attack, and success had crowned their steady and gallant conduct—even in the very moment of triumph—they evinced a chivalrous regard for the feelings of the brave but unfortunate officer who had been compelled to lower his flag. All manifestations of exultation were checked in his presence. Their commanding general, with their cordial approval and the consent of his Government, refrained from imposing any terms that could wound the sensibilites of the commander of the fort. He was permitted to retire with the honors of war—to salute his flag, to depart freely with all his command, and was escorted to the vessel in which he embarked with the highest marks of respect from those against whom his guns had been so recently directed. Not only does every event connected with the siege reflect the highest honor on South Carolina, but the forbearance of her people, and of this government, of making any harsh use of a victory obtained under circumstances of such peculiar provocation, attest to the fullest extent the absence of any purpose beyond securing their own tranquility, and the sincere desire to avoid the calamities of war."

Major Anderson, with his command, remained Sunday night in the harbor on board the Isabel. On Monday morning they were transported to the steamer Baltic, and sailed immediately for the north. When the men were all embarked, the flag of Sumter was raised to the mast head and saluted by the guns of the Baltic, the Pocahontas, the Pawnee and Harriet Lane. As the ship entered the bay of New York, on the morning of the 18th, the flag was again elevated and greeted with the salutes of the forts and the cheers of enthusiastic spectators. On his approach to the harbor, while off Sandy Hook, Major Anderson addressed this brief despatch to the Secretary of War:—"Having defended Fort Sumter for thirty-four hours, until the quarters were entirely burned, the main gates destroyed by fire, the gorge wall seriously injured, the magazine surrounded by flames and its doors closed from the effects of the heat, four barrels and three cartridges of powder only being available, and no provisions but pork remaining, I accepted terms of evacuation offered by General Beauregard, being the same offered by him on the 11th inst., prior to the commencement of hostilities, and marched out of the fort Sunday afternoon, the 14th inst., with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away company and private property and saluting my flag with fifty guns."[*]

Captain Foster's Engineer journal of the bombardment, published with the Annual Report of the War Department, presents us with many interesting particulars of the defence in an authentic form. It appears from this that for a few days preceding the attack, when the enemy's batteries were first unmasked on Sullivan's Island, there was great activity in the fort in providing additional security for the working of the heavy guns on the parapet, which were intended to operate upon Fort Moultrie and Cummings' Point, and in preparing means for quickly unloading any vessel which might run in with supplies for the garrison. In the absence of sand-bags a heavy double curb of boards and scantling, to serve as a traverse or screen for the protection of the gunners, was raised by night to the parapet and filled with earth, which had been hoisted from the parade. Ladders and runaways were provided to take in reinforcements and provisions at the embrasures, one of which was enlarged to the size of a barrel. On the 9th of April the quantity of bread is reported as "very small," and only half-rations of it were allowed to the men. The next day it failed entirely, and its place was supplied by "picking over some damaged rice, which, while spread out during the day in one of the quarters had been filled with pieces of glass from the window panes shattered by the concussion of guns fired in practice." It being found that there were few cartridges on hand, the surplus blankets and extra company clothing were cut up to make bags for an additional supply. The manufacture, however, proceeded slowly, for there were but six needles to work with in the fort. At the commencement of the action the entire armament consisted of twenty-seven guns mounted *en barbette*, of which two were 10-inch columbiads, six 8-inch columbiads, six 42-pounders, three 32's, six 24's, and four 8-inch seacoast howitzers; of twenty-one guns, four 42-pounders and the rest 32-pounders in the lower casemate tier—the embrasures of the upper were filled with brick and stone and earth—while on the parade one 10-inch columbiad was arranged to throw shells into Charleston, and four 8-inch columbiads to throw shells into the batteries on Cummings' Point. Of all these, the casemate guns were the only ones used. The supply of cartridges, seven hundred in number, with which the action commenced, became so much reduced by the middle of the first day that "although the six needles were kept steadily employed" the firing was of necessity confined to six guns.

---

[*] Major Anderson to the Hon. S. Cameron, Secretary of War, steamship Baltic, off Sandy Hook, April 18, 1861.

The effect of the fire Captain Foster admits was not very good, which he attributes to the insufficient calibre of the guns for the long range. Not much damage, he says, "appeared to be done to any of the batteries except those of Fort Moultrie where our two 42-pounders appeared to have silenced one gun for a time, to have injured the embrasures considerably, riddled the barracks and quarters, and torn three holes through their flag. The so-called 'floating battery' was struck very frequently by our shot, one of them penetrating at the angle between the front and roof, entirely through the iron covering and woodwork beneath, and wounding one man. The rest of the 32-pounder balls failed to penetrate the front or the roof, but were deflected from their surfaces, which were arranged at a suitable angle for this purpose. We could not strike below the water-line on account of the sea-wall behind which the battery had been grounded, and which was just high enough to allow their guns to fire over it and to intercept all our ricochet shots. The columbiad battery and Dahlgren battery near the floating battery did not appear to be much injured by the few shots that were fired at them. Only one or two shots were fired at Fort Johnson, and none at Castle Pinckney or the city. Our fire towards Morris' Island was mainly directed at the iron-clad battery, but the small calibre of our shot failed to penetrate the covering when struck fairly. The aim was therefore taken at the embrasures, which were struck at least twice, disabling the guns for a time."

In regard to the fire from the enemy and its effect upon the fort, Captain Foster states that "the vertical fire was so well directed and so well sustained that from the seventeen mortars engaged in firing 10-inch shells, one half of the shells came within or exploded above the parapet of the fort and only about ten buried themselves in the soft earth of the parade without exploding. In consequence of this precision of vertical fire Major Anderson decided not to man the upper tier of guns, as by doing so the loss of men, notwithstanding the traverses and bomb-proof shelters that I had constructed, must have been great. These guns were therefore fired only once or twice by some men who ventured upon the parapet for this purpose. In doing this they managed without much care, producing little or no effect upon the enemy, besides doing injury to the guns. At the third fire of the 10-inch columbiad at the right gorge angle it was omitted to throw the friction wheels out of bearing, and consequently, in the recoil, the gun ran entirely off its chassiz, overturning itself, and in its fall dismounting the 8-inch sea coast howitzer next to it. The direction of the enemy's shells being from the north-east, north, south-west and south-east, sought every part of the work, and the fuses being well graduated, exploded, in most instances, just within the line of parapet. To this kind of fire no return was made from the columbiads arranged to fire shell, nor were the hot shot furnaces used or opened. The effect of the direct fire of the enemy was not so marked as the vertical. For several hours from the commencement a large proportion of their shot missed the fort. An 8-inch columbiad of the upper tier was dismounted, and another struck on its side and cracked by the guns of Fort Moultrie. Three of the iron cisterns over the hall-ways were destroyed by shots during the day, and the quarters below deluged by their contents of water, aiding in preventing the extension of the fires. The enemy's fire on the second day was more rapid and effective. None of the upper tier of guns, however, were dismounted. After the cessation of fire about six hundred shot marks on the face of the scarp wall were counted, but they were so scattered that no breached effect could have been expected from such fire, and probably none was attempted except at the right gorge angle. The only effect of the direct fire during the two days was to disable three barbette guns, knock off large portions of the chimneys and brick walls projecting above the parapet, and to set the quarters on fire with hot shot."

Nothwithstanding, however, the terrible fire of the descending shells and the conflagration of the quarters, the fort, Captain Foster thinks, might have been held for some time had it not been for other insurmountable difficulties. "We could," he says, "have resumed the firing as soon as the walls cooled sufficient to open the magazines; and then having blown down the wall left projecting above the parapet, so as to get rid of flying bricks, and built up the main gates with stones and rubbish, the fort would actually have been in a more defensible condition than when the action commenced. In fact it would have been better if the chimneys, roofs and upper walls of the quarters and barracks had been removed before the firing began, but the short notice and the small force did not permit anything of this kind after the notice of the attack was received. The weakness of the defence principally lay in the lack of cartridge bags and of the materials to make them, by which the fire of our batteries was all the time rendered slow, and towards the last was nearly suspended. The lack of a sufficient number of men to man the barbette tier of guns, at the risk of losing several by the heavy vertical fire of the enemy, also prevented us making use of the only guns that had the power to smash his iron-clad batteries, or of throwing shells into his open batteries so as to destroy his cannoniers. The want of provisions would soon have caused the surrender of the fort, but with plenty of cartridges the men would have cheerfully fought five or six days, and, if necessary, much longer, on pork alone, of which we had a sufficient supply. I do not think that a breach could have been effected in the gorge at the distance of the battery on Cummings' Point within a week or ten days; and even then, with the small garrison to defend it, and means for obstructing it at our disposal, the operation of assaulting it, with even vastly superior numbers, would have been very doubtful in its results."*

Having thus briefly narrated the fortunes of Fort Sumter and its gallant defenders during the bombardment, we may turn to contemplate more particularly the means by which the capture was effected. The well contrived battery at Cummings' Point, where the guns were pointed from a shelving defence constructed of railroad iron, admirably adapted for the protection of those within, by throwing off opposing balls at an angle, was most effective in its discharges against the fort. Its contiguity to the less defended side of the fort also aided its destructiveness. The guns of this battery, which were admitted by Major Anderson to have been well handled, numbered three 8-inch or 64-pound columbiads, from which were fired during the combat one hundred and eighty-three solid shot and sixty shells. The distance was about twelve hundred yards, a short range for these powerful missives. In addition to this Stevens or Iron Battery, worked by a detachment of the Palmetto Guard, there were mounted at the Point on Morris' Island two 42-pound guns, six 10-inch mortars and a 12-pounder imported Blakely rifle cannon, all of which were efficient in sweeping the exposed places of the fort. Nearly four hundred shells and as many solid shot were thrown from these works.

Sullivan's Island, on the opposite side, mounted no less than six distinct batteries bearing on Fort Sumter at various distances. The most important of these was the Sumter Battery of Fort Moultrie, commanded by Lieutenant Alfred Rhett. There were in this battery three 64-pound columbiads, two 32 and four 24-pounders, from which were discharged six hundred and fifty shots, including two hundred and forty-eight 64-pound balls and forty-one red hot 32-pound balls. The distance is about eighteen hundred yards. Other batteries to the right and left mounted eleven guns of heavy calibre and four 10-inch mortars, discharging more than a thousand solid shot and some two hundred and fifty shells. There were also the Mount Pleasant mortar battery and two others on James Island, mounting altogether six 10-inch mortars. From fourteen batteries, in all, mounting forty-two heavy guns and mortars, well manned and in full action, were thrown more than three thousand balls and shells. The exact number is stated at two thousand three hundred and sixty-one shot and nine hundred and eighty shells.* The number of men actively employed in the circuit of the Confederate works, may with moderation be stated as exceeding three thousand. The force in reserve would swell the number to seven or eight thousand.

Fort Sumter was constructed for three tiers of guns, two in casemated batteries, and the third *en barbette*. To man its entire armament when complete, of one hundred and forty guns, would require the services of at least six hundred men. The fort being unfinished, however, when Major Anderson took possession, and being occupied and held under very unfavorable circumstances, without supplies of materials, notwithstanding the zealous labor of its defenders was, at the time of the siege, in a very inadequate condition for defence. It had, as we have seen when the attack had commenced, but fifty-three guns mounted, and of these twenty-one only were used. Its entire force was a body, all told, of one hundred and thirteen men, of whom nine were commissioned officers, seventeen non-commissioned, forty-two privates, six attached to the band, a small number of mechanics, and the rest laborers. The artillery force, under favorable circumstances, was barely equal to the management of nine guns. The officers, however, were of a resolute spirit, and their men, two companies of the First Artillery, shewed themselves every way worthy of the occasion. The names of the gallant little band in command under Major Anderson are worth remembering. More than one of them by their services in the subsequent war have gained additional claims upon the public attention. They were Assistant-Surgeon S. Wylie Crawford, of the Medical Staff; Captain Abner Doubleday, Captain Trueman Seymour, First Lieutenant Jefferson Davis Second Lieutenant N. J. Hall, all of the First Artillery; Captain J. G. Foster, Lieutenant G. W. Snyder and R. K. Meade, of the Engineers. Captain Foster, a native of New Hampshire, was a distinguished graduate of West Point of the class of 1846. He served in Mexico with honor, being severely wounded at El Molino del Rey, was brevetted Captain, and subsequently was employed as Assistant Professor of Engineering at West Point. After the defence of Sumter he was engaged in the superintendence of raising fortifications at Sandy Hook. He was next appointed by the President Brigadier-General of volunteers, in which capacity we shall meet with him again in the North Carolina Expedition of General Burnside.

---

* Engineer Journal of the Bombardment of Fort Sumter, by Captain J. G. Foster, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. New York October 1, 1861.

* These details are from an elaborate article published in the Charleston *Mercury*, May 2, 3.

All accounts agree as to the zest with which the incessant murderous fire was hurled upon the devoted fort, and the fortitude with which it was sustained. The usually cool narrative of General Beauregard in his official account, approaches enthusiasm as he enumerates the particular services rendered by the warriors of South Carolina in this memorable action. The names are too numerous to recount, but we may mention as especially honored by their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel R. S. Ripley, Commandant of Batteries on Sullivan's Island, Lieutenant-Colonel W. G. De Saussure who directed the batteries on Morris' Island, Major P. F. Stevens, of the Naval Academy in charge of the Cummings' Point Batteries, Captain Thomas, of the Citadel Academy, at the same spot, "who had charge of the rifle-cannon, and had the honor of using this valuable weapon, a gift of one of South Carolina's distant Sons to his native State, with peculiar effect;" while to the engineers, Majors Whiting and Gwynn and others, "too much praise cannot be bestowed for their untiring zeal, energy and gallantry." Captain Hartstein, who at the surrender showed praiseworthy attentions to his old associates, is in particular commended for the service which he rendered in the naval department as one of the General's volunteer Aids, "perfectly indefatigable in guarding the entrance into the harbor, and in transmitting my orders." Colonel Wigfall in like manner is commended for the devotion, which we have recorded, in his passage to Fort Sumter in an open boat amidst a heavy fire of shot and shell. Nor, as one of the interesting anecdotes of the occasion, must the incident much dwelt upon at the time in South Carolina, be forgotten, of "the venerable and gallant Edward Ruffin of Virginia, at the iron battery, firing many guns, undergoing every fatigue and sharing the hardships at the battery with the youngest of the Palmettos." The last named gentleman hastened over to the island from Charleston as a volunteer, was elected a member of the Palmetto Guard on the spot, and assigned the honor of firing the first gun from the battery. "All honor!" enthusiastically exclaims a journalist of the day at Charleston, "to the chivalric Virginian; may he live many years to wear the fadeless wreath that honor placed upon his brow on our glorious Friday." He had not to live many months to witness some of the first fruits of this glorious action, in the dismemberment of his native State and the occupation and devastation of that proud portion of the earth by hostile armies, which the echoes of his iron battery had called to face each other.

The armed vessels and transports which had arrived for the relief of Fort Sumter were the steam sloop-of-war Pawnee, ten guns, the Revenue Cutter Harriet Lane, five guns, and the steam transport ship Baltic carrying about a hundred troops. The Pawnee sailed from Washington on the 6th of April; the others from New York between that day and the 9th,—all with sealed orders. The expedition was placed under the direction of Captain C. V. Fox of the United States Navy, who had been in council with the Government and had advised its preparation. The destination was Charleston, and the orders were to send in provisions to the fort, if unopposed, by the launches; but if opposition were made, the armed vessels and troops should follow and accomplish the object as best they could. The Harriet Lane was the first to arrive early on Thursday evening, and her coming doubtless influenced the onset of the assailants, which had been fairly commenced before her consort the Pawnee with the Baltic made their appearance. At noon they had approached the mouth of the harbor, and were witnessing the bombardment at a distance of about five miles from Fort Sumter. The necessity of aid was evident, while the original plan had been thwarted by the commencement of the action. It was expected, however, that the attempt at introducing supplies should be made early Saturday morning, when the boats should advance protected as far as possible by the fire of the war-vessels. So well was the harbor guarded that it could not, with any prospect of safety, be made at night, when, in the darkness, the Pawnee and Harriet Lane could render no assistance. The next morning the project with the resources at hand, which were quite too scanty for the occasion, did not seem more feasible, and the three vessels, now reinforced by the United States steamer Pocahontas, were compelled quietly to wait and receive the anticipated news of the surrender of Fort Sumter, while the channel batteries along the shore would have welcomed them an easy prey to their tender embraces. Indeed, it was then and for some time after quite a matter of vaunting, that the ships had been defied and insulted and yet taken no part in the conflict. Even Jefferson Davis in his Presidency of the new confederacy had his allusion to "the prudent conduct of the officers who commanded the fleet." All the part, indeed, they were enabled to bear in the proceedings was, to receive and console the exhausted defenders, and pay due honors to the torn flag of their country.

One of the most extraordinary circumstances of this whole affair as it was considered at the time, was the alleged bloodless nature of the conflict. The only living creature killed at the batteries is said to have been a fine horse belonging to General Donnovant, which he had hitched behind Fort Moultrie. That such deadly instruments as were employed could be discharged for so long a time without interruption, by practiced hands on both sides and with so considerable material injury, wounding the air with shattering explosions, upturning the earth, dismounting guns and spreading conflagration, and that no one of the assailants or defenders should be hurt, was one of those phenomena which seemed to discredit or throw ridicule on the giant preparation for destruction of modern warfare. Yet this was apparently the case. It was so asserted in the Southern bulletins at the moment, the statement is authoritatively given in General Beauregard's official despatch, where the fact is attributed to the skill of his engineers, and the authority of the statement has been confirmed by subsequent experience. General Beauregard, however, pronounced the fact extraordinary. He speaks of the unprecedented example of taking such an important work without having to report the loss of a single life and but four slightly wounded." Governor Pickens stated publicly, at Charleston, that "not a single human being had been sacrificed in this cause, so much identified with the liberty and the independence of our country,"[*] and saw in the circumstance "the finger of Providence." To be sure, almost in the same sentence, he pronounced "before the civilized world" that the independence of his town's people was "baptized in blood," but that might be taken as a figure of speech, and something under the circumstances should be allowed to the occasion. The President of the Confederacy, however, Jefferson Davis, himself, at a calmer moment, at the end of the month, in his Message to the Provisional Congress at Montgomery renews the statement. "Fortunately," says he, "not a single life was lost on our side." With such asseverations on the part of those who certainly had the best opportunities of gaining correct information on the subject, there would appear little room for doubt. There were people, notwithstanding, who thought the thing incredible on the ground merely of its improbability.

The London *Times* in a jocular article on the subject treated the affair as if the combatants were hardly in earnest, or as if it was all a shadowy, unsubstantial scene of mimic warfare, theatrically contrived for the amusement of the world. "Nature, or something that stands in its stead," said that eminent journal, "is still strong in the Americans. They fight 'willing but with unwilling minds,' they lift the hand to strike, they wing the instrument of death, but a mysterious power averts the stroke, or blunts the edge, or deadens the blow. Are they in earnest, or are they playing at war, or dreaming that they strike and still strike not? It sounds more like a dangerous game than a sad reality. Seven batteries breached and bombarded Fort Sumter for forty hours, burnt down its barracks, blew up several magazines, threw shells into it innumerable, and did a vast show of destruction. The fort replied with like spirit. At length it surrendered, the garrison marched out prisoners of war, and it was then found that not a man was killed, or an officer wounded on either side. Many a 'difficulty' at a bar has cost more bloodshed. Was this a preconcerted feat of conjuring? Were the rival Presidents saluting one another in harmless fire-works to amuse the groundlings? The whole affair is utterly inexplicable. It sounds like the battles when the coat of mail had come to its perfection, and when the only casualty after a day's hard fighting, was a case of suffocation and a few bruises. Odin's heroes as they renew their daily warfare are really wounded, though their wounds are quickly healed. This is sparring with boxing gloves—not the loaded cœstus of modern warfare. It is a mere spectacle. The population and even the ladies of Charleston poured forth to see the sight. Ten thousand soldiers lined the works, watching the sport and contributing their share. Our own cockneys have seen as much, and done as much at Cremorne, or the Surrey Gardens, not more unscathed, and, let us hope, in not more pacific mood. But perhaps, this is only the interchange of courtesies which in olden times preceded real war. The result is utterly different from all we are accustomed to hear of the Americans. There "a word or a blow" has been the rule. In this case, the blow when it does at last come, falls like snow and lights as gently as thistle down."

---

[*] Speech of Governor Pickens, Charleston, April 18 1861.

Others, at home, were supported in their incredulity by various stories, which, arising from different quarters found more or less acceptance with the newspapers and the people. One of these was the tale of "a Massachusetts gentleman, well known," says the New Haven *Chronicle*, "to several of our citizens as a person of unquestioned veracity," who, having escaped from Fort Moultrie, where he had been impressed in the Confederate service, reported, with perfect willingness to clinch the same by a solemn oath, that "from six to seven hundred men were killed in that fort during the engagement." A New York "flour merchant," also impressed into the rebel service, gave a lusty account of the death dealing missives of Fort Sumter. The very first shot which entered Fort Moultrie he reported "killed thirty-three men instantly, and wounded many more." Such an alarming result was, of course, not accomplished by the ball directly but by its multiplied energies, by means of the splinters of a gun-carriage which it first shattered. The tale was further circumstantially supported by the incident of burial, at the end of the engagement, of one hundred and sixty victims, transported in a sloop to the negro burial ground.

A mate of a schooner from Charleston likewise reported having seen "an aggregate of about two hundred coffins" taken on board the steamboat plying between the city and the batteries. This, however, pretended to be only circumstantial evidence of a somewhat shadowy character. The boxes might have been such as are used in the packing of muskets, in general appearance, by the way, offering a painful anticipation of the ultimate resting place, which too many of those handling their contents prematurely get into. Still another attempted elucidation of this mystery, which gained considerable favor with northern journals, had also something of a marine flavor. It purported to come from "a rigger from New London" who had been on the Battery at Charleston during the first day of the fight. He heard the reports as they came in of "nobody killed," but with some incredulity, which was shared by his northern companions. In fact they determined, so far as they could, to investigate the matter for themselves. Accordingly watching the approach of the steamboats they witnessed the arrival of nearly one hundred dead bodies; and they saw more the next night.

Testimony like this, of course, was to be received with many grains of allowance. The newspaper stories throughout the whole of this war are, indeed, shockingly careless or inventive, and ill betide the future historian who trusts himself too hastily to their guidance. It is quite probable, on a review of the whole affair, that nobody was killed, and the explanation of the fact is very simple. There were unusual opportunities for safety, and extraordinary means were employed to take advantage of them. The batteries were well protected, watchers were on the look-out for the fire of the few well-known guns of Sumter; sand bags, cotton bales and iron ramparts were judiciously employed, and "rat-holes," as burrowings in the sand for refuge were called, were well known to the defenders. General Beauregard attributes, as we have seen, the singular immunity to the great and faithful labors of his engineers, and with this elucidation, for the present at least, we may let this curiosity of history rest.

Charleston had hailed the bombardment with the greatest animation and joy. The house-tops of the city, commanding a view of the forts in the harbor, were covered with eager spectators of the conflict; the wharves were thickly crowded; while "on no gala occasion," in the language of a local journalist, "have we ever seen so large a number of ladies on our Battery, as graced the breezy walk on this eventful morning."* Governor Pickens surveyed the scene with a telescope from a convenient house in the town, where General Beauregard also had his headquarters and directed the operations of the day. Nor was this enthusiasm confined to the crowded masses of citizens who might be supposed to be carried away by the contagious excitement of the hour. Their time of thought and reflection, perhaps of repentance, might come hereafter; but a calm looker-on might surely have expected from the lips of the Executive officer of the State words of milder import than those which fell from the lips of Governor Pickens, when he addressed a number of the people from the balcony of the Charleston Hotel on the evening of that day of surrender, so pregnant with the fate of America. Alluding to the deliberate preparation for this attack which the State had made, he said in words, sad and now ominous enough, "When the proper time had come, when I knew we were prepared, there was not a moment that I was not ready to strike the blow for my State and the independence of my country, let it lead to what it might, even if it led to blood and ruin. Thank God the day is come; thank God the war is open and we will conquer or perish. They have vauntingly arrayed their twenty millions of men against us; they have exultingly also arrayed their navy, and they have called us but a handful of men, a weak and isolated State, full of pride and what they call chivalry, and with the hated institution of slavery, as they supposed a source of weakness, too, but which in fact is a source of strength in war, and they have defied us. But we have rallied, . . we have met them and we have conquered. We have defeated their twenty millions, and we have made the proud flag of the Stars and Stripes, that never was lowered before to any nation on this earth, we have lowered it in humility before the Palmetto and the Confederate flags, and we have compelled them to raise by their side the white flags, and ask for an honorable surrender." Again he returns with shameful emphasis to this theme:—"We have humbled the flag of the United States. I can here say to you, it is the first time in the history of this country that the Stars and Stripes have been humbled. It has triumphed for seventy years, but, today, on the thirteenth day of April, it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina." The speech was received on the spot with "vociferous applause," but thinking men at a distance stood aghast at this insulting demoniac recklessness and foolhardiness. Well might they ask, is this the spirit which is to control the solemn interests of a vast and serious nation, intent on its mission of civilization in the world and tenacious of law and order that it might religiously accomplish it? That the time for such consideration had fully come was sufficiently brought home to the nation by the public declaration of Mr. L. Pope Walker, the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, at Montgomery. Addressing the citizens of that recent capital the day on which the attack on Sumter was begun, he said, "No man can tell where the war this day commenced will end; but I will prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May. Let them try Southern chivalry and test the extent of Southern resources, and it may float eventually over Faneuil Hall itself."

---

* Charleston *Courier*, April 13, 1861.

Nor were the politicians, accustomed by their profession to inflammatory harangues, left unsupported in their frantic rejoicings by voices of grave authority and generally of more reserved, if not more prudent, councils. A portion of the clergy at least, for we hear of none protesting, shared the enthusiasm of the hour and offered up their thanksgivings, as if rebellion to the State had been a duty to God. "The glorious issue of the bombardment," we read in a pamphlet published at Charleston in honor of the event, somewhat curiously entitled *The Battle of Fort Sumter and First Victory of the Southern Troops*, "was duly commemorated in several of our Churches on the Sunday following the surrender. The incidents in 'old St. Philip's' we witnessed were deeply touching. The heart of the worshippers in that sacred fane, consecrated by the precious historic memories which made the glory of the 'first temple' on this site, had been poured out in devout thanksgiving to the Giver of Victory, when a venerable old man, leaning on his staff, was led by the Rector to the sacred desk. It was the Bishop of the Diocese, wholly blind and physically feeble, yet with the eyes of faith discerning the light of Heaven and rejoicing therein. In his exhortation, he said, that not only a patriotic but a personal interest in the great event of the past week had brought him to the city, and made him here abide until the battle had been fought. Your boys were there and mine were there, and it was right that they should be there. Still the heart had inly bled; the strong man, as well as the tender woman had quivered under the influences of natural affection, for we were not children, we knew what we were doing, and had counted the cost, and had weighed in our very souls the warfare upon which we were going. And how very marvellous had been God's doings! How unparalleled his agency. All our children had passed through the fire unhurt! 'Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Thy name, oh Lord, be the glory!' We forbear to follow the good Bishop through the affecting application which he made of this wonderful Providence of God, but cannot pass over the strong testimony which he bore to his firm persuasion, strengthened by travel through every section of our State in the discharge of pastoral duty, that the grand movement in which our people were now engaged, was begun by them in the deepest conviction of duty to God, and after laying their case before God—and God had most signally blessed our dependence on Him. At the Cathedral of St. John and St. Finbar, Bishop Lynch alluded in happy terms to the events of the previous two days, and a *Te Deum* was chaunted in thanksgiving for the bloodless victory."*

It was some consolation to the country to know that shortly after the attack upon Sumter, Fort Pickens was reinforced by a portion of the fleet which, it had been supposed, was destined for Charleston Harbor. That fort had been preserved for the nation by an act of gallant patriotism which ranks with the devotion of Anderson in his occupation of Sumter. On the 12th of January, when a band of lawless insurgents, led by Captain V. M. Randolph of the United States Navy, a citizen of Alabama, with the plea of a commission from the Governor of Florida, presented themselves at the Pensacola Navy Yard, and, by the connivance of the officers in command, Lieutenant E. Farrand and Lieutenant F. B. Renshaw, by whose order "the flag was hauled down amid the jeers and shouts of a drunken rabble,"* received its unconditional surrender, Lieutenant Adam J. Slemmer, a young officer of artillery, stationed with his company in temporary charge of the adjacent Fort McRae, spurning the treason of his associates, hastily proceeded with his command to occupy Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island, facing the harbor. There, strengthening himself with a body of marines from the United States steamer Wyandotte at the station, some of the soldiers from Fort Barrancas and a few men from the Navy Yard, more scrupulous than their officers in refusing the disgraceful terms of surrender, he set the enemy at defiance till the Fort was reinforced and properly garrisoned by the Government.

Lieutenant Slemmer, to whom the country was indebted for this brilliant service of rescuing one of its most valuable defences from armed treason, was a native of Pennsylvania, about thirty-two years of age. He was a graduate of West Point of the class of 1850, and had since that time served with distinction in various important positions in California, on the Coast Survey, as an instructor at the Military Academy, and in command in the harbor at Pensacola. In the attentions subsequently paid to the defenders of Sumter, the aid which he had rendered the cause at Pickens was not forgotten. The New York Chamber of Commerce, representing one of the most important interests of the nation, gracefully coupled the services of the two garrisons in the presentation to officers and men of a series of medals prepared in honor of both events. The first class Sumter medal bore on its obverse a medallion portrait of General Anderson and on the reverse "the Genius or Guardian Spirit of America arising from Fort Sumter. Wounded by the insult to the country's honor, she seizes the starry symbol of the nation and, with the flaming torch of war, calls aloud for loyal men to protect it," with the inscription, "The Chamber of Commerce, New York, honors the defender of Fort Sumter—the patriot, the hero and the man." A similar medal presented the portrait of Major Slemmer—such was his rank at the time of presentation—with an emblematic device on the reverse, of "Cerberus, or the monster of war chained to Fort Pickens." By this design, the artist, Mr. Charles Muller, tells us he "endeavored to typify the forbearance of the Government and its service; a virtue strikingly shown during the defence of Fort Pickens. The initial letters U. S. on the collar of the monster indicate his owner. Amid the taunts and insults of the foe, the three-headed monster is kept chained to the fort. Impatient of restraint, yet faithful to his trust, in his captivity he can but exhibit his fierceness, impatience and defiant courage on himself. With one head he gnaws his paw, significant of the traitors in our camp; with another he glares defiantly at the foe, and with the other he sounds the charge." The inscription was, "The Chamber of Commerce, New York, honors valor, forbearance and fidelity Fort Pickens, 1861."

---

* The Battle of Fort Sumter, &c., Charleston, 1861.

* Report of a Select Committee to the Senate and House of Representatives. February 21, 1861.

CHAPTER VIII.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S PROCLAMATION.

The blow was now struck which gave to the North a cause, and to the Government a policy. Treason expressed in resolutions might be tolerated; conventions might meet and pass their ordinances:—they were so much harmless breath and waste paper. The resignation of officers, the pillage of property, the waste of credit, repudiation of debts, the occupation of forts and arsenals, might be borne with from the spoiled child of the Republic with the hope that its wanton or misguided malice expended, it would, under the influence of kind solicitations, return to better counsels. There were threats and defiance, fierce enough and disastrous enough, if persisted in, but in spite of the most obvious dangers, it was difficult to bring the nation to believe in their reality. It was still more difficult to rouse the nation to express its conviction in energetic action. The North was so intertwined with the South by affection and interest, by social and business ties; the political action of the two portions of the country had been so blended; there were so many complications of sophistry and prejudice; the question before the country, moreover, was so novel; that it appeared well nigh impossible that the Government could be sustained by that unanimity of the people which was needed, to give it the due authority for the preservation of its powers. Men talked and argued about these things; the clear sighted urged the necessity of action; all felt the evils of the disbanding State, but many were indisposed to apply a remedy. The sick man was every day getting worse under the expectant system. Even hope itself in the expressive and discouraging language of President Buchanan in his fast-day proclamation "seemed to have deserted the minds of men; all classes were in a state of confusion and dismay."* To the rebellion of the South was added the prospect of disintegration and revolution in other portions of the land. The constitution was derided, and the failure of the boasted American system of government, so confidently assailed in its first principle of obedience to the lawfully expressed will of the majority, openly proclaimed—loudly abroad, in no undisguised intimations at home. Anything seemed to be more desirable than this fearful state of inaction, in which the elements of prosperity were vanishing, and the very foundations of civilization were sinking beneath us. A few more such months as those which intervened between November and March would, it began to be felt, complete the ruin of the country in helpless anarchy. The last appeal only was wanting to arouse the slumbering patriotism, inspire the thoughts and fill the hearts of the people. That grand idea of loyalty, symbolized in devotion to the flag, was called forth by the cannon fired upon Sumter—that hostile voice speaking in thunder tones the declaration of the South of war against the life of the nation. The future chronicler of these events will rank the challenge and its acceptance with the most dramatic events in history.

It is important to understand the position of the Government in reference to this great event, pregnant with such vast and as yet undeveloped consequences. It cannot be better unfolded than in the authoritative statement of the President himself, who, in his subsequent Message to Congress at its meeting in July, gave the following history of the transaction. The reader will find in it an explanation of the rumors current at the time of the surrender of the fort, as well as an exhibition of the principles of the Administration.

"On the 5th of March, the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th day of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer, that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than twenty thousand good and well disciplined men.

---

* President Buchanan's Recommendation of a Fast-Day, December 14, 1860.

This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant-General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in his opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and the navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated, at the same time, that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort.

"It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous ; that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood ; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy ; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure for the latter a recognition abroad ; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached, Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was, that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some quasi armistice of the late administration, and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention, had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens, before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter, was impossible,—rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter named fort. In precaution against such a conjuncture the government had a few days before commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to current circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented ; and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended, in this contingency it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted there would be no attempt to throw in men, arms or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

"It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution, trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box, for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object,—to drive out the visible authority of the federal Union and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object the Executive well understood; and having said to them, in the inaugural address, 'You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors,' he took pains, not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so far from ingenious sophistry as that the world should not misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that harbor years before, for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue: 'Immediate dissolution or blood.'

"And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional republic or democracy, a government of the people by the same people, can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in number to control administration according to organic law, in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case or any other pretences, or arbitrarily, without any pretence, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, 'Is there in all republics this inherent and fatal weakness?' 'Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?' So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the government, and so to resist the force employed for its destruction by force for its preservation."

Such was the argument of the President and the vindication of his policy in language which was but an echo of the common sense of the people. Of all citizens who have recorded their opinions of this crisis in our affairs none, perhaps, was listened to with more interest than Edward Everett. The disciple of a conservative political school identified with the most conciliatory measures in all that related to legislation affecting Southern interests, in his tastes and temper always inclined to moderation, he thus, on the same day with the delivery of the Presidential Message just cited, gave expression to his views of the nature and necessity of the struggle inaugurated at Sumter. "We did," he said, "believe in peace; fondly, credulously believed that, cemented by the mild umpirage of the Federal Union, it might dwell forever beneath the folds of the Star Spangled Banner and the sacred shield of a common Nationality. That was the great *arcanum* of policy; that was the State mystery into which men and angels desired to look; hidden from ages but revealed to us:—

Which Kings and Prophets waited for,
And sought, but never found:

a family of States independent for local concerns, united under one Government for the management of common interests and the prevention of internal feuds. There was no limit to the possible extension of such a system. It had already comprehended half of North America, and it might, in the course of time, have folded the continent in its peaceful, beneficent embrace. We fondly dreamed that, in the lapse of ages, it would have been extended till half the Western hemisphere had realized the vision of universal, perpetual peace. From that dream we have been rudely startled by the array of ten thousand armed men in Charleston Harbor, and the glare of eleven batteries bursting on the torn sky of the Union, like the comet which, at this very moment, burns

In th' Arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war.

These batteries rained their storm of iron hail on one poor siege-worn company, because, in obedience to lawful authority, in the performance of sworn duty, the gallant Anderson resolved to keep *his* oath. That brave and faithful band, by remaining at their post, did not hurt a hair of the head of a Carolinian, bond or free. The United States proposed not to reënforce, but to feed them. But the Confederate leaders would not allow them even the poor boon of being starved into surrender; and because *some* laws had been passed *somewhere*, by which it was alleged that the return of *some* slaves, (not one from Carolina) had been or might be obstructed, South Carolina disclaiming the protection of courts and of Congress, which had never been withheld from her, has inaugurated a ruthless civil war."

In conclusion Mr. Everett summed up his admirable review of the historical precedents and present condition of the national question with these reflections:—"Such, fellow citizens, as I contemplate them, are the great issues before the country, nothing less, in a word, than whether the work of our noble fathers of the revolutionary and constitutional age shall perish or endure; whether this great experiment in national polity, which binds a family of free republics in one united government—the most hopeful plan for combining the homebred blessings of a small state with the stability and power of great empire—shall be treacherously and shamefully stricken down, in the moment of its most successful operation, or whether it shall be bravely, patriotically, triumphantly maintained. We wage no war of conquest and subjugation; we aim at nothing but to protect our loyal fellow-citizens, who against fearful odds are fighting the battles of the Union in the disaffected States, and to reestablish, not for ourselves alone, but for our misguided brethren, the mild sway of the constitution and the laws. The result cannot be doubted. Twenty millions of freemen, forgetting their divisions, are rallying as one man in support of the righteous cause—their willing hearts and their strong hands, their fortunes and their lives, are laid upon the altar of the country. We contend for the great inheritance of constitutional freedom transmitted from our revolutionary fathers. We engage in the struggle forced upon us, with sorrow, as against our misguided brethren, but with high heart and faith, as we war for that Union which our sainted Washington commended to our dearest affections. The sympathy of the civilized world is on our side, and will join us in prayers to Heaven for the success of our arms."*

Another voice of equal authority, that of the representative poet of the country, the sympathetic interpreter of its harmonies of nature and moral life, was heard giving utterance to the instinct leaping in every patriotic heart. The honored Bryant in a little poem, pregnant with meaning, eloquently expressed the sentiment of the day. It was entitled "Not Yet," and thus read :—

' Oh country, marvel of the earth !
  Oh realm to sudden greatness grown !
The age that gloried in thy birth,
  Shall it behold thee overthrown ?
Shall traitors lay that greatness low ?
No, Land of Hope and Blessing, No !

" And we who wear thy glorious name,
  Shall we, like cravens, stand apart,
When those whom thou hast trusted aim
  The death-blow at thy generous heart ?
Forth goes the battle-cry, and lo !
Hosts rise in harness, shouting, No !

" And they who founded, in our land,
  The power that rules from sea to sea,
Bled they in vain, or vainly planned
  To leave their country great and free ?
Their sleeping ashes from below,
Send up the thrilling murmur, No !

" Knit they the gentle ties which long
  These sister states were proud to wear,
And forged the kindly links so strong
  For idle hands in sport to tear—
For scornful hands aside to throw ?
No, by our fathers' memory, No !

" Our humming marts, our iron ways,
  Our wind-tossed woods on mountain crest
The hoarse Atlantic, with his bays,
  The calm, broad Ocean of the West,
And Mississippi's torrent-flow,
And loud Niagara, answer, No !

" Not yet the hour is nigh, when they
  Who deep in Eld's dim twilight sit,
Earth's ancient kings, shall rise and say,
  ' Proud country, welcome to the pit !
So soon art thou, like us, brought low ?'
No, sullen group of shadows, No !

" For now, behold, the arm that gave
  The victory in our fathers' day,
Strong, as of old, to guard and save—
  That mighty arm which none can stay—
On clouds above and fields below,
Writes, in men's sight, the answer, No !"

The present generation, indeed, will never forget the breathless anxiety with which the first news of the bombardment of Sumter was received in the North throughout Saturday and Sunday, the last day of the conflict and the day succeeding. The startling and apparently improbable statements received by the telegraph of the danger to the fort, which had been pronounced impregnable, and the security of the besiegers who seemed to bear a charmed life in the midst of fiery perils ; the expectation of succor from the fleet dashed by the news of the storm which prevented its action ; the successive messages of disaster with the strange, almost incredible, announcement that the fort was in flames, ending with the final word of surrender, produced a strange feeling of perplexity in the minds of the people. There were, in fact, so many seeming contradictions and embarrassments in the story that it was generally discredited till Sunday brought its confirmation. With the confirmation came the firm steady resolve.

It found immediate expression in the Proclamation of the President which was communicated by the telegraph and published in the papers of the chief northern cities the following morning. It was in these words :—

---

* The Great Issues now Before the Country. An Address, by Edward Everett, at the New York Academy of Music, July 4 1861.

WHEREAS, the laws of the United States have been for some time past and now are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the powers vested in the marshals by law : now, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth, and hereby do call forth, the militia of the several States of the Union to the aggregate number of 75,000, in order to suppress said combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed. The details for this object will be immediately communicated to the State authorities through the War Department. I appeal to all loyal citizens to favor, facilitate, and aid this effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and existence of our national Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. I deem it proper to say that the first service assigned to the forces hereby called forth, will probably be to repossess the forts, places, and property which have been seized from the Union ; and in every event the utmost care will be observed, consistently with the objects aforesaid, to avoid any devastation, any destruction of, or interference with property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens of any part of the country ; and I hereby command the persons composing the combinations aforesaid, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes, within twenty days from this date.

Deeming that the present condition of public affairs presents an extraordinary occasion, I do hereby, in virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution, convene both houses of Congress. The Senators and Representatives are, therefore, summoned to assemble at their respective Chambers at 12 o'clock, noon, on Thursday, the 4th day of July next, then and there to consider and determine such measures as, in their wisdom, the public safety and interest may seem to demand.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 15th day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-fifth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Accompanying the Proclamation came the call of the War Department upon the Governors of twenty-four States, the seven seceding States being of course omitted, and California, Oregon and Kansas passed over as too distant. These, in accordance with the provisions of the act of 1795, were required to furnish their quotas of the assigned number of militia men, for three months' service. The three largest apportionments of officers and men were to New York, 13,280 ; to Pennsylvania, 12,500 ; to Ohio, 10,153 ; the least, to eleven of the less populated States, was 780. Two Major-Generals were assigned to each of the States highest on the list and one to Ohio. The replies of the several Governors furnished a good general indication of the standard of patriotism in the country. From Maine to Wisconsin, throughout all the Northern States, the response of the authorities was immediate. They were one and all ready for the requisition. Their replies, without extravagance, evinced a calm, resolute, patriotic spirit intent upon the work before them. In the border slaveholding States, however, to which the call had been addressed, there was a different sentiment. From Maryland, where great excitement with a strong disposition toward secession prevailed, and where Governor Hicks, with a difficult part to play, was using his utmost endeavors of persuasion and policy to keep his people within the Union, a most unsatisfactory answer was given. It appeared to be quite as much as the Governor could accomplish to soothe his own citizens and repress their immediate hostilities, by assuring them that no troops would be sent from Maryland unless for the defence of the National Capital. "I counsel the people," said he, in a Proclamation on the 18th of April, "to abstain from all heated controversy upon the subject; to avoid all things that tend to crimination and recrimination: in order that the origin of our evil day may be forgotten now, by every patriot, in the earnest desire to avert from us its fruit." At the same time he reminded the people that they would shortly "have the opportunity afforded them, in a special election of Members of Congress of the United States, to express their devotion to the Union, or their desire to have it broken up."

Governor Burton of Delaware found an opportunity for a similar middle course in a plea of want of authority to meet the demand. He, however, recommended the formation of volunteer companies for the protection of the State, who might, if they felt inclined, offer their services to the Government for the defence of the Capitol and support of the Constitution and the laws. There were patriots in the State who did not hesitate. A regiment was organized and entered the public service.

While Maryland and Delaware were thus reluctant, the other Border States were positively defiant. Governor John Letcher one of the band of ill-disposed counsellors who had brought Virginia to the eve of actual rebellion, retorted discourteously to the Secretary of War, "I have only to say that the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view. Your object is to subjugate the Southern States, and a requisition made upon me for such an object—an object, in my judgment, not within the purview of the Constitution, or the act of 1795—will not be complied with. You have chosen to inaugurate civil war, and having done so, we will meet it in a spirit as determined as the Administration has exhibited toward the South." In this fiery denunciation, which was followed up the next day by a vigorous Proclamation ordering all volunteer regiments or companies within the State to hold themselves in readiness for immediate orders, the Governor, as will be seen, spoke for but a portion of his people.

The Governor of Missouri, C. F. Jackson, used like disloyal language. "There can be, I apprehend, no doubt that these men are intended to make war upon the seceded States. Your requisition, in my judgment, is illegal, unconstitutional and revolutionary in its objects, inhuman and diabolical, and cannot be complied with. Not one man will the State of Missouri furnish to carry on such an unholy crusade." Happily for the United States the authority of Governor Jackson was by no means supreme in his State. Her loyal citizens came to the rescue of the Government and furnished a force of twelve regiments numbering nearly as many thousand men, to sustain the Constitution.

Governor John W. Ellis of North Carolina was equally emphatic, with an expression of surprise bordering on contempt: "Your dispatch is received, and, if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say, in reply, that I regard the levy of troops made by the Administration, for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South, as in violation of the Constitution and a usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Two days afterward he issued a Proclamation summoning the General Assembly of the State to meet in special session at Raleigh on the 1st of the following month, with the significant injunction :—"United action in defence of the sovereignty of North Carolina and of the rights of the South becomes now the duty of all." In the preamble he interpreted harshly the call of the President, pronouncing it "a high handed act of tyrannical outrage, in violation of all constitutional law, in utter disregard of every sentiment of humanity and Christian civilization, conceived in a spirit of aggression unparalleled by any act of recorded history, and a direct step towards the subjugation of the whole South and the conversion of a free Republic inherited from our fathers, into a military despotism, to be established by worse than foreign enemies, on the ruins of the once glorious Constitution of Equal Rights." The violence of this language, would under ordinary circumstances, have betrayed the weakness of the cause, but to the prepared mind of the South such assumptions and violent declamation had all the force of reason and eloquence; and the maddened people went on to create the war which it was alleged was tyrannically brought against them.

Not to be behind his brethren of the Slaveholding States, Governor Beriah Magoffin of Kentucky sent this curt refusal: "Your dispatch is received. In answer, I say, emphatically, that Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister Southern States." In this response the Governor exhibited something of the ambiguity of the ancient oracles. Kentucky, indeed, had no troops for any "wicked purpose" of the kind; nor was she asked for them. When the question was fairly put before the people regarding the maintenance of the Government, they decided, Governor Magoffin to the contrary notwithstanding, that they would rank themselves on the side of the Constitution and the Laws.

The reply of Governor Henry M. Rector of Arkansas was equally explicit, and not a whit less violent or discourteous in its denunciation of the Government, than that of Governor Magoffin. "In answer to your requisition," it read "for troops from Arkansas, to subjugate the Southern States, I have to say that none will be furnished. The demand is only adding insult to injury. The people of this Commonwealth are freemen, not slaves, and will defend to the last extremity their honor, lives and property against Northern mendacity and usurpation." Governor Isham G. Harris of Tennessee also peremptorily refused to furnish the troops required by the Department. There was a strong Union feeling in this State, particularly in its eastern portions, where there was a greater community of interest with the North ; but, what with the interests of the larger western district, the stirring up of prejudices, and a bold policy of coercion on the part of its political rulers, its fortunes were presently cast with the Southern Confederacy.

The voices of the Confederate States were, as might be expected, more authoritative in proportion to their declared attitude of hostility. Professing to regard themselves as the Representatives of sovereign independent powers at war with a foreign nation, the Governors of these States turned their attention directly to the annoyance of the enemy. Governor Thomas O. Moore of Louisiana issued a chivalric Proclamation. "Rise then," was its language, "people of Louisiana, in your might, in defence of your dearest rights, and drive back this insolent, barbaric foe. Like your brave ancestry, resolve to conquer or perish in the effort, and the flag of usurpation will never fly over Southern soil."

Governor Brown of Georgia took a practical course, in an attack upon the pockets of his foes, in what he describes as "the anti-slavery States." He forbade in the most authoritative manner any citizen or inhabitant of the State, under any pretext whatever, to "remit, transfer or pay to the Government of the United States, or any one of the States composing said Government, which is known as a free-soil State, including among others the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio ; or to any citizen or inhabitant of any such State, any money, bills, drafts or other things of value, either in payments of any debt due or hereafter to become due, or for, or on account of any other cause whatever, until the determination of hostilities." The banks were enjoined to assist in carrying out this injunction ; and that the burden of debt might not rest heavily upon the minds of honorable citizens, a way was pointed out by which their pockets, if not their consciences, might be relieved. They were earnestly recommended to pay the amount of their indebtedness to the North into the hands of the Treasurer of the State, from whom they would receive interest, and thus at the same time distress their enemies, perform a patriotic duty to the State, and make a profitable investment for themselves.*

The Confederate States, however, no longer dependent upon the measures of the several Governors had a voice more authoritative at Montgomery. President Jefferson Davis spoke for the whole from his chair of state in an edict of importance throughout the world. *His* answer to the call of the President of the United States was a counter Proclamation promptly issued on the 17th of April, in which he invited "all those who may desire, by service in private armed vessels on the high seas, to aid this government in resisting so wanton and wicked an aggression, to make application for commissions or letters of marque and reprisal, to be issued under the seal of these Confederate States." This was met by another Proclamation from President Lincoln, on the 19th, declaring a blockade of the ports of the rebellious States, subjecting vessels violating it to the usual penalties under the law of nations, and specially adding, "if any person, under the pretended authority of said States, or under any other pretence, shall molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board of her, such person will be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy."

---

* Proclamation of Gov. Joseph E. Brown, April 26, 1861.

The latter declaration, which was afterwards variously discussed and became a subject of much practical interest, was in return commented upon by President Davis in the Message, which he delivered some days later, on the meeting of the Confederate Congress. Affecting the language of surprize, which we have seen employed by the Governor of North Carolina, he said of the threatened treatment of the privateers of the Confederacy as pirates. "Notwithstanding the authenticity of this proclamation, you will concur with me that it is hard to believe that it could have emanated from a President of the United States. Its announcement of a mere paper blockade is so manifestly a violation of the law of nations, that it would seem incredible that it could have been issued by authority; but conceding this to be the case, so far as the Executive is concerned, it will be difficult to satisfy the people of these States that their late confederates will sanction its declarations—will determine to ignore the usages of civilized nations, and will inaugurate a war of extermination on both sides, by treating as pirates open enemies acting under the authority of commissions issued by an organized government. If such proclamation was issued, it could only have been published under the sudden influence of passion, and we may rest assured that mankind will be spared the horrors of the conflict it seems to invite."*

In this address President Davis stated the Confederate force in the field at Charleston, Pensacola, Forts Morgan, Jackson, St. Philip and Pulaski at nineteen thousand men, while sixteen thousand more were already on their way to Virginia—a proof, if one were wanted, of the foregone conclusion in the mind of the South in anticipation of what was termed the inauguration of war at Sumter, and of their previous readiness for the field. The North with all its ability had shown no such preparation. But this was not all. "It is proposed," added Davis, "to organize and hold in readiness for instant action, in view of the present exigencies of the country, an army of one hundred thousand men." With their cry of "On to Washington," which was now bruited about the land, it was evident that President Lincoln's seventy-five thousand three months' militia men would not long suffice.

It was in this address that Davis employed an expression which was caught up and much commented upon for its simplicity, which it is perhaps injustice to its author to separate from the context. It was the desire *to be let alone*, and occurs in this concluding passage: "We feel that our cause is just and holy. We protest solemnly, in the face of mankind, that we desire peace at any sacrifice, save that of honor. In independence we seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist, to the direst extremity. The moment that this pretension is abandoned, the sword will drop from our grasp and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial. So long as this pretension is maintained, with a firm reliance on that Divine Power which covers with its protection the just cause, we will continue to struggle for our inherent right to freedom, independence and self-government."

---

* Message of Jefferson Davis. Montgomerv. April 29, 1861.

With such solemn supplications to Heaven the leaders of both parties prepared to enter on what one side as well as the other, as in all great wars, had come to think an inevitable conflict.

CHAPTER IX.

RESPONSE OF THE NATION.

It would be difficult to do justice to the spirit of patriotism which was excited in the hearts of the people by the blow struck at their liberties in the assault upon Sumter. Everywhere, throughout the North, popular gatherings were held with the most striking exhibitions of loyalty. The national flag, always fondly cherished as the symbol of the State and all which that grand impersonation represents of security and happiness, now seemed to acquire a new significance when Rebellion was plucking at its stars. It was brought forth and hung where it had never been seen before, on dwellings and churches and even at pulpits and altars, as the guardian of home and religion. But, above all, the people forgetting their divisions and animosities laid aside all political differences to unite in one hearty expression of allegiance to the Government, and determination to support it in the exercise of its legitimate authority with their lives and fortunes. Of these days, it may be truly said, in the words of the song of Deborah, "the people willingly offered themselves."

Among the many popular demonstrations none was more imposing than that of the vast meeting held in the city of New York on the 20th of April, exactly one week from the fall of Sumter. Many circumstances united to give it a memorable character as a great national event. It was not only an extraordinary manifestation of the numbers of the largest city in the Union, but was fairly to be considered from the speakers who were present from different portions of the country, as, in some measure, the voice of the whole nation. Among the prominent orators of the occasion there were representatives of the East, the West and even of the South. There was no distinction of party. All shades of political opinion were merged in the blue, white and red, the only colors which were thought of that day. No discrimination was made between Democrat and Republican. A notable Romanist and a notable Puritan divine acknowledged the common religion of the State. Patriotism ruled the hour.

The assembly, indeed, had a peculiar significance in the time and place. It was held while the first portentous threats of the Rebellion hung like a cloud over the land, when every hour brought intelligence of some new peril or disaster. The deeds of violence at Baltimore and its vicinity had destroyed communication with the Capital which was in imminent danger of capture and destruction. The national establishments at Harper's Ferry and Gosport were even then attacked, and all that their loyal defenders could attempt to rescue them from the assailants was to apply the torch to the public property. New York had sent a thousand of her most valued young men to Washington a day or two before, untried and inexperienced in war, with the prospect before them of fighting their way through a desperate rabble. Several thousand more were on the eve of departure. The city was a camp, and the wharves were alive with the bustle of preparation of the transports which were to carry the men away on the morrow. Many a father was present at the meeting at Union Park, who felt that he might be looking upon his son at his side for the last time.

The scene of this great gathering was also noticeable. In New York, if anywhere, there was a just regard and friendly feeling for the people of the South. Connected with that region by various ties of commerce and other intimate relationship, there was certainly no disposition in the citizens to seek an occasion for war, where war would assail so many vital interests of property and affection. Time and again that had been shown in deference to the wishes or pretensions of the South. The cosmopolitan character of the city, also, placed it above all suspicion of any desire to injure or annoy. What New York, therefore, should say at such a crisis would be peculiarly entitled to respect. Her prejudices, if she had any, were in favor of the South, and the South had greatly relied upon them to favor her cause. It was now to be determined upon which side she would take her stand—whether she would tolerate or assist Rebellion—or whether she would resolutely oppose it by giving a cordial support to the Government.

The opportunity to pronounce the decision was now afforded by the invitation of a number of influential citizens summoning all persons, "without regard to their previous political opinions or associations, to meet and express their sentiments in the present crisis of our national affairs, and their determination to uphold the Government of their country, and maintain the authority of its Constitution and its laws." The call was nobly responded to. On the afternoon of the day appointed, places of business were closed, that all might have an opportunity to attend. The meeting was held at Union Square, where the equestrian statue of Washington seemed to afford an appropriate emblem of the proceedings of the day. An immense audience—the greatest which the city had ever seen assembled—gathered in the large, open area surrounding the park, and the main avenues leading to it. It was estimated that a hundred thousand persons were present assisting in the ceremonies during the afternoon. Four stands were erected, each of which had its presiding officer and series of speakers. The exercises at each were commenced with prayer by an eminent divine. There were but few badges or mottoes, with little or no attempt to excite emotion by any outward display, unless we except the mute though eloquent appeal of the soiled and tattered flag brought from Sumter, which, mounted on a fragment of its staff, was placed in the hands of the statue of Washington. Major Anderson and several of his brother officers were introduced in the course of the meeting, and welcomed with enthusiasm.

The Rev. Dr. Gardiner Spring, the venerable pastor of the Brick Church, opened the meeting. In a few words, preliminary to the prayer which he offered, he struck the key-note of the proceedings. Referring to his avowal on other occasions of sentiments not unfriendly to Southern institutions, he declared that the question now was not between slavery and anti-slavery, between republicanism and democracy—but that it was between law and anarchy, between government and no government; and on such an issue he prayed that we might be one people, and invoked the blessings of heaven on those who had gone forth to fight the battles of their country.

Dr. Spring was followed at the main stand by the Hon. John A. Dix, the late patriotic Secretary of the Treasury, who had labored so zealously to stem the tide of corruption, and preserve the falling state. In a calm, well-considered speech, he simply and clearly set forth the present position of the country. Having been a member of President Buchanan's Cabinet, he could speak with authority of the nature of the contest. "With no provocation whatever from the Federal Government," said he, "unscrupulous men had turned their arms in fraternal hatred against it, even when it was administered by those who were actuated by the most friendly disposition towards them." If to that Administration, he said, South Carolina had tendered war, as she had to that of President Lincoln, by a hostile and deadly assault, it would have been unanimously accepted. The present Administration, he maintained, had done no more than its duty, and it was entitled to support. "I believe," said he, "it will act with all the moderation and forbearance consistent with the great interests confided to it." Those interests assumed no small proportions in his eyes. "I regard," he added, "the pending contest with the secessionists as a death struggle for constitutional liberty and law—a contest which, if successful on their part, could only end in the establishment of a despotic government, and blot out, whenever they were in the ascendant, every vestige of national freedom." "Fellow citizens," he eloquently concluded, "we stand before the statue of the Father of his country. The flag of the Union, which floats over it, hung above him when he presided over the convention by which the Constitution was framed. The great work of his life has been rejected, and the banner by which his labors were consecrated has been trampled in the dust. If the inanimate bronze in which the sculptor has shaped his image, could be changed for the living form which led the armies of the revolution to victory, he would command us, in the name of the hosts of patriots and political martyrs who have gone before, to strike for the defence of the Union and the Constitution."

Senator Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, seconded this speech in a few kindling words, not untouched with regret for the sad conditions of the approaching conflict. "I would not levy war for aggression," said he; "I would levy it for defensive peace. I would arm, and that in a manner becoming this government and people, not for aggression, I repeat, but for defense—for the purpose of retaining our honor and dignity, not only at home, but among the nations of the earth . . We are called upon to act. There is no time for hesitation or indecision—no time for haste and excitement. It is a time when the people should rise in the majesty of their might, stretch forth their strong arm and silence the angry waves of tumult. It is time the people should command peace. It is a question between union and anarchy—between law and disorder."

The speaker who succeeded is entitled to particular attention in our narrative, for he subsequently sealed the fidelity of his words spoken on that occasion with his life. Senator Edward Dickinson Baker of Oregon, who now addressed the assembly, had just completed his fiftieth year—a half century which he had passed in restless energy, rising by his exertions to one of the highest seats of influence in the land. Born in London he had been brought to America in his childhood, and while yet a boy had been carried to the interior of Illinois, where he rose with the expanding fortunes of the West. Reading was his delight, and the passion enabled him to bring to his profession of the law a store of literary illustration not always associated with its dry technicalities. It was an inevitable step for such a man—fertile in speech, warm-hearted, ambitious—from the bar to political oratory. His election to Congress followed almost as a matter of course, and from Congress to the head of a regiment in the Mexican war was quite as natural a transition. He was with Scott in his advance to Mexico, and in the record of Cerro Gordo his name is honorably written as one who rendered distinguished service. After the war he returned to Congress, and when his term was completed, we find him, with characteristic enthusiasm and indifference to hardship, a leader in an adventurous enterprize at the isthmus of Panama. That nearly cost him his life; but the home air of the Prairies restored him, and in 1852 he emigrated to California. There he took a high position at the bar, and became formidable in politics as a supporter of the free soil doctrines which were making their way in the State, not without some demands upon the martyr spirit of their advocates. Senator Broderick, the victim of the struggle, was his friend, and he was called to pronounce the funeral oration over his murdered body. From this bloody scene of strife he went to Oregon, whence he was sent to the Senate of the United States. There he took his seat in March, 1859, and through the sessions of that year and the next his voice was ever to be heard in support of the principles of the Republican party to which he was attached. An old associate of Abraham Lincoln in Illinois in his early struggle, endeared to him by manly sympathies of fortune and character, he hailed his friend's elevation to the Presidency with honest delight. With this rapid glance at his previous history, and with the fatal day on the Potomac on our minds, we may listen with interest to his words on that April afternoon in New York.

"The majesty of the people is here to-day to sustain the Majesty of the Constitution," he exclaimed, "and I come, a wanderer from the far Pacific to record my oath along with yours of the great Empire State. The hour for conciliation has passed, the gathering for battle is at hand; and the country requires that every man shall do his duty. Fellow citizens, what is that country? Is it the soil on which we tread? Is it the gathering of familiar faces? Is it our luxury and pomp and pride? Nay, more than these, is it power and might and majesty alone? No: our country is more, far more than all these. The country which demands our love, our courage, our devotion, our hearts' blood, is more than all these—(loud applause)—our country is the history of our fathers—our country is the tradition of our mothers—our country is past renown—our country is present pride and power—our country is future hope and destiny—our country is greatness, glory, truth, constitutional liberty—above all, freedom forever! . .

Young men of New York—young men of the United States—you are told this is not to be a war of aggression. In one sense that is true; in another, not. We have committed aggression upon no man. In all the broad land, in their rebel nest, in their traitors' camp, no truthful man can rise and say that he has ever been disturbed, though it be but for a single moment, in life, liberty, estate, character or honor. The day they began this unnatural, false, wicked, rebellious warfare, their lives were more secure, their property more secure by us—not by themselves, but by us—guarded far more securely than any people ever have had their lives and property secured from the beginning of the world. We have committed no oppression, have broken no compact, have exercised no unholy power; have been loyal, moderate, constitutional and just. We are a majority of the Union, and we will govern our own Union, within our own Constitution, in our own way. We are all Democrats. We are all Republicans. We acknowledge the sovereignty of the people within the rule of the Constitution; and under that Constitution, and beneath that flag, let traitors beware. In this sense, then, young men of New York, we are not for a war of aggression. But in another sense, speaking for myself as a man who has been a soldier, and as one who is a Senator, I say, in the same sense, I am for a war of aggression. I propose to do now as we did in Mexico—conquer peace. I propose to go to Washington, and beyond. I do not design to remain silent, supine, inactive—nay, fearful—until they gather their battalions and advance their hosts upon our borders or in our midst. I would meet them upon the threshold, and there, in the very State of their power, in the very atmosphere of their treason, I propose that the people of this Union dictate to these rebels the terms of peace. It may take thirty millions; it may take three hundred millions. What then? We have it. Loyally, nobly, grandly do the merchants of New York respond to the appeals of the Government. It may cost us seven thousand men; it may cost us seventy-five thousand men in battle; it may cost us seven hundred and fifty thousand men. What then? We have them. The blood of every loyal citizen of this Government is dear to me. My sons, my kinsmen, the young men who have grown up beneath my eye and beneath my care, they are all dear to me; but if the country's destiny, glory, tradition, greatness, freedom, government, written constitutional government—the only hope of a free people—demand it, let them all go. I am not here now to speak timorous words of peace, but to kindle the spirit of manly, determined war. I speak in the midst of the Empire State, amid scenes of past suffering and past glory; the defences of the Hudson above me; the battle field of Long Island before me, and the statue of Washington in my very face—the battered and conquered flag of Sumter waving in his hands, which I can almost now imagine trembles with the excitement of battle. And as I speak, I say my mission here to-day is to kindle the heart of New York for war—short, sudden, bold, determined, forward war. The Seventh regiment has gone. Let seventy and seven more follow. Of old, said a great historian, beneath the banner of the cross, Europe precipitated itself upon Asia. Beneath the banner of the Constitution let the men of the Union precipitate themselves upon disloyal, rebellious Confederate States. Let no man underrate the dangers of this controversy. Civil war, for the best of reasons upon the one side, and the worst upon the other, is always dangerous to liberty—always fearful, always bloody; but, fellow-citizens, there are yet worse things than fear, than doubt and dread, and danger and blood. Dishonor is worse. Perpetual anarchy is worse. States forever commingling and forever severing is worse. Traitors and secessionists are worse. To have star after star blotted out—to have stripe after stripe obscured—to have glory after glory dimmed—to have our women weep and our men blush for shame throughout generations yet to come; that and these are infinitely worse than blood. People of New York, on the eve of battle allow me to speak as a soldier. Few of you know, as my career has been distant and obscure, but I may mention it here to-day, with a generous pride, that it was once my fortune to lead your gallant New York regiment in the very shock of battle. I was their leader, and upon the bloody heights of Cerro Gordo I know well what New York can do when her blood is up. Again, once more, when we march, let us not march for revenge. As yet we have nothing to revenge. It is not much that where that tattered flag waved, guarded by seventy men against ten thousand, it is not much that starvation effected what an enemy could not compel. We have as yet something to punish; but nothing, or very little, to revenge. The President himself, a hero without knowing it—and I speak from knowledge, having known him from boyhood—the President says:—'There are wrongs to be redressed, already long enough endured.' And we march to battle and to victory because we do not choose to endure this wrong any longer. They are wrongs not merely against us; not against you, Mr. President; not against me, but against our sons and against our grandsons that surround us. They are wrongs against our ensign—they are wrongs against our Union; they are wrongs against our Constitution; they are wrongs against human hope and human freedom; and thus, if it be avenged, still, as Burke says, 'it is a wild justice at last,' and we will revenge them. While I speak, following in the wake of men so eloquent, so conservative, so eminent, so loyal, so well known—even while I speak, the object of your meeting is accomplished; upon the wings of the lightning it goes out throughout the world that New York, the very heart of a great city, with her crowded thoroughfares, her merchants, her manufacturers, her artists—that New York by one hundred thousand of her people, declares to the country and to the world that she will sustain the Government to the last dollar in her treasury—to the last drop of your blood. The national banners leaning from ten thousand windows in your city to-day proclaim your affection and reverence for the Union. You will gather in battalions,

> Patient of toil, serene amidst alarms,
> Inflexible in faith, invincible in arms;

and as you gather, every omen of present concord and ultimate peace will surround you. The ministers of religion, the priests of literature, the historians of the past, the illustrators of the present, capital, science, art, invention, discoveries, the works of genius—all these will attend us in our march and we will conquer. And if, from the far Pacific, a voice more feeble than the feeblest murmur upon its shore may be heard to give you courage and hope in the contest, that voice is yours to day; and if a man whose hair is gray, who is well nigh worn out in the battle and toil of life, may pledge himself on such an occasion and in such an audience, let me say, as my last word, that when, amid sheeted fire and flame, I saw and led the hosts of New York as they charged in contest upon a foreign soil for the honor of your flag; so again, if Providence shall will it, this feeble hand shall draw a sword, never yet dishonored—not to fight for distant honor in a foreign land, but to fight for country, for home, for law, for government, for constitution, for right, for freedom, for humanity, and in the hope that the banner of my country may advance, and wheresoever that banner waves there glory may pursue and freedom be established."

The next speaker presented a powerful contrast in manner and matter. What one reached by passion and instinct, the other cautiously approached by calculation; but the conclusion was the same. A representative of the old Democratic party of the days of Jackson, intimately allied to Southern statesmen and identified with Southern policy by his long residence in Mississippi where he had passed the whole period of early manhood and middle life, President Polk's chosen Secretary of the Treasury, universally accredited with an intimate knowledge of the national resources and consummate skill in political affairs, the Hon. Robert J. Walker stood forth on this occasion an oracle entitled to no light consideration. Moderate, well weighed and considerate, his deductions strikingly corroborate the enthusiasm of Baker. "The question," said he, "is, shall this Union be maintained and perpetuated, or shall it be broken and dissolved? No question so important has ever occurred in the history of our race. It involves not only the fate of this great country, but the question of free institutions throughout the world. The case of self-government is now on trial before the forum of our country and of the world. If we succeed and maintain the Union, free institutions, under the moral force of our example, will ultimately be established throughout the world; but if we fail, and our government is overthrown, popular liberty will have made its last experiment, and despotism will reign triumphant throughout the globe. Our responsibilities are fearful. We have a solemn duty to perform—we are this day making history. We are writing a book whose pages can never be erased—it is the destiny of our country and of mankind. For more than seventy years this Union has been maintained, and it has advanced our country to a prosperity unparalleled in the history of the world. The past was great; but the future opened upon prospects beyond the power of language to describe. But where are we now? The world looks on with scorn and derision. We have, it is said, no government—a mere voluntary association of independent States—a debating society, or a moot court, without any real power to uphold the laws or maintain the constitution. We have no country, no flag, no Union; but each State, at its pleasure, upon its own mere whim or caprice, with or without cause, may secede and dissolve the Union. Secession, we are told, is a constitutional right of each State, and the Constitution has inscribed its own death warrant upon its face. If this be so we have indeed no government, and Europe may well speak of us with contempt and derision. This is the very question we are now to solve—have we a government, and has it power to maintain its existence?"

He then alluded to the part he had taken when South Carolina, in 1832, had presented this question of the dissolution of the Union to the country. He had then opposed the doctrines of nullification and secession, and Mississippi had approved his principles by sending him to the United States Senate. The interests of the South, he maintained, were still the same. "Deeply," said he, "as I deplore our present situation, it is my profound conviction that the welfare, security and prosperity of the South can only be restored by the reëstablishment of the Union. I see in the permanent overthrow of the Union the utter ruin of the South, and the complete prostration of all their interests." "Much as I love my party," he said, in conclusion, "I love my country infinitely more, and must and will sustain it at all hazards. Indeed, it is due to the great occasion here frankly to declare that, notwithstanding my earnest opposition to the election of Mr. Lincoln, and my disposition most closely to scrutinize all his acts, I see thus far nothing to condemn in his efforts to maintain the Union. And now, my countrymen, one word more before I close. I was trained in devotion to the Union by a patriot sire, who fought the battles of liberty during the war of the Revolution. My life has been given to the support of the Union. I never conceived a thought or wrote or uttered a word, except in its defence. And now, let me say, that this Union must, will and shall be perpetuated; that not a star shall be dimmed or a stripe erased from our banner; that the integrity of the government shall be preserved, and that, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico, never shall be surrendered a single acre of our soil or a drop of its waters."

This was well said, and there were other voices that day entitled to equal respect. Frederick Kapp, a citizen of the United States, of German birth, spoke for his countrymen in the Old World and the New. The author of an excellent biography of Baron Steuben, he had studied the spirit of American freedom in the patriotic counsels and self-sacrifice of the Fathers of the Republic, and he knew by experience and observation the blessings which the seed then sown had produced in the living institutions of the United States. He looked upon the Rebellion not as a question between States, or one in which a single country only was concerned, but in its relation to the hopes of the race. "The internecine war now raging here," he said, " is not only a private affair of America ; it is a question of the highest importance to the whole civilized world, which expects that we will crush anarchy in its inception. We have to prove that civil liberty, with all its blessings, is not only an experiment—not a mere passing state of political being, which lasts only so long as it is not assailed either by a military or a slaveholder's despotism, but that it is a power self-sustaining and interwoven with our natures and with our whole national existence. Liberty is precarious, and we would not be worthy of it unless we have sense and spirit enough to defend it. Let us prove ourselves adequate to the expectations of the friends of liberty in the Old World as well as in the New, whose eyes are fixed upon us. The two powers which have grown up side by side in the United States from the beginning, self-government and slavery, stand now face to face against each other. It is now for the first time in the history of the world that slavery, in its worst developments, makes a revolution against the morals and ethics of society ; that it tries to found a State on all that is mean, contemptible and unsound in human nature. But such a State cannot and will not last. If justice and liberty do not form its basis, it is doomed from the first day of its existence. But it will not disappear of itself, it must be swept away by us, and, as peaceful means will not do, we must use iron means, and we must send to these sinners against human nature our arguments with 12-pounders and mortars. As my eyes are glancing over this majestic assembly, majestic as well by its numbers as its enthusiasm, I perceive at once that every one of you, fellow-citizens, understands his duty and that every one of you will be ready for his country's call. This call will be war—and nothing but war—until our arms shall have won a glorious triumph and our flag shall float again victorious from the Potomac to the Rio Grande."

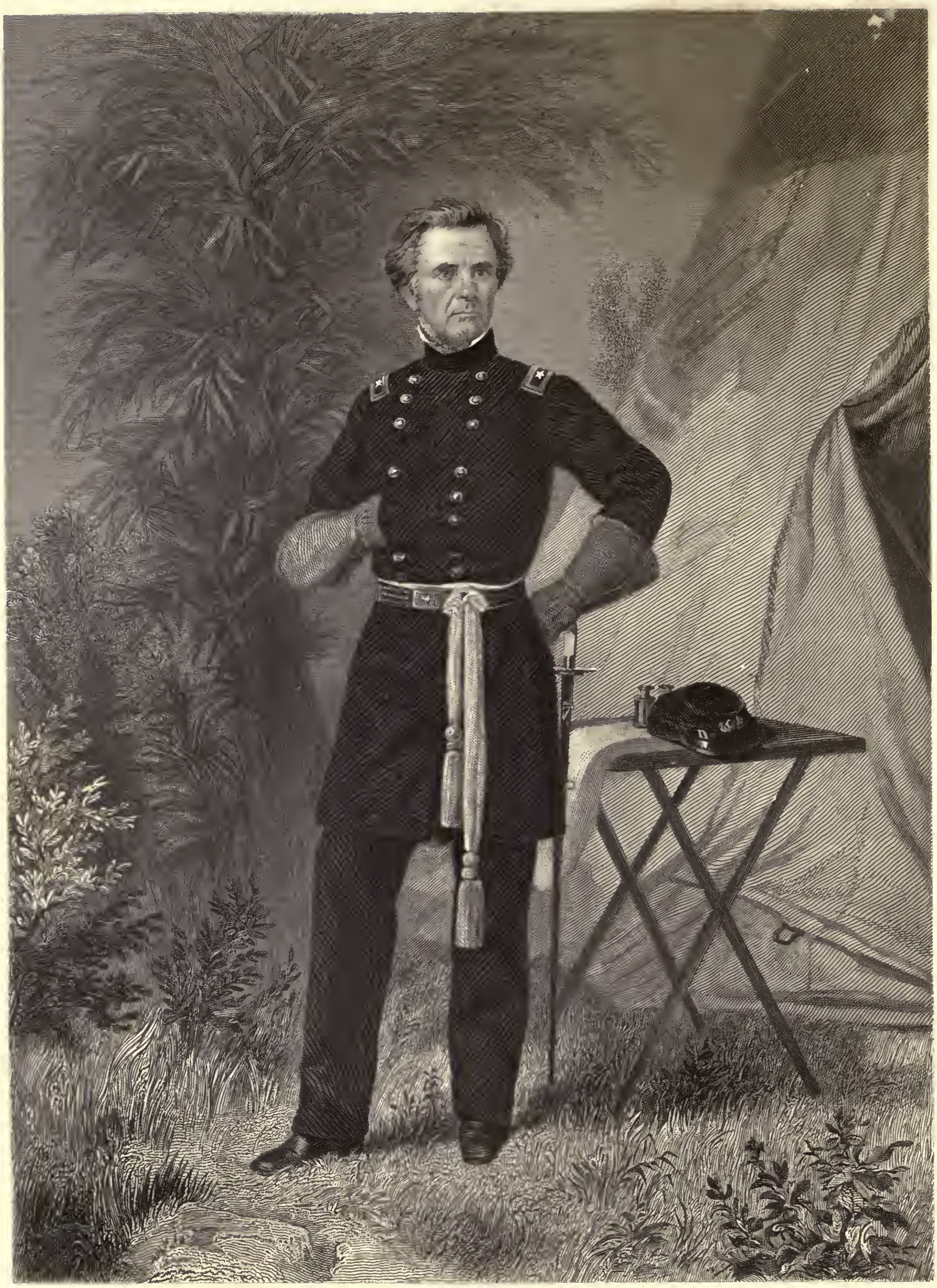
Other speakers spoke as enthusiastically for the Germans, while another large and important class of the people, destined to bear at least an equal share in the approaching conflict—the natives of Ireland were represented by Archbishop Hughes, who, unable to be present, had addressed a letter to the chairman, fully avowing his sympathy with the objects of the meeting. In it he said :—"Ministers of religion and ministers of peace, according to the instructions of their Divine Master, have not ceased to hope and pray that peace and union might be preserved in this great and free country. At present, however, that question has been taken out of the hands of the peacemakers, and it is referred to the arbitrament of a sanguinary contest. I am not authorized to speak in the name of any of my fellow-citizens. I think, so far as I can judge, there is the right principle among those whom I know. It is now fifty years since, a foreigner by birth, I took the oath of allegiance to this country, under its title of the United States of America. As regards conscience, patriotism, or judgment, I have no misgiving. Still desirous of peace, when the Providence of God shall have brought it, I may say that since the period of my naturalization I have known but one country. In reference to my duties as a citizen, no change has come over my mind since then. The Government of the United States was then, as it is now, symbolized by a national flag, popularly called 'The Stars and Stripes.' This has been my flag, and shall be to the end. I trust it is still destined to display in the gales that sweep every ocean, and amid the gentle breezes of many a distant shore, as I have seen it in foreign lands, its own peculiar waving lines of beauty. May it live and continue to display these same waving lines of beauty, whether at home or abroad, for a thousand years, and afterwards as long as Heaven permits, without limit or duration."

Following this letter of Archbishop Hughes it was pleasing to hear the loyal declarations of the Mayor of the city, Fernando Wood, whose deferential correspondence with the seceding Senator Toombs we have noticed on a previous page.* He did not care, he said, in the discharge of his duty to his flag, what past political associations might be severed. He threw himself entirely into this contest, with all his power and all his might. Next to Washington, he said, the greatest man the country had produced was Jackson, and Jackson had declared "the Union must and shall be preserved—peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must." The late Secretary of War, he stated, had said that the Confederate flag should wave over the Capital before the 1st of May, and more than that, over Faneuil Hall in Boston. "My friends," he exclaimed, "before that banner can fly over Faneuil Hall in Boston it must be carried over the dead body of every citizen of New York." There were no more significant words spoken that day; they showed that the South had nothing to hope, in her suicidal course, from the political opponents of the new Administration, who had been hitherto dominant in the city.

David S. Coddington, an influential member of the old Democratic party, in words running over with passionate imagery, gave vent to the scorn and indignation excited in his breast. "This spectre of disunion," said he, "is no new ghost, born of any contemporary agitation. For years it had been skulking semi-officially about the Capitol. Through the whole range of our parliamentary history every great question, from a Tariff to a Territory, has felt its clammy touch. Did it not drop its death's head into the tariff scales of '33, hoping to weigh the duties down to a conciliation level? did it not shoot its ghastly logic into the storm of '20, and frighten our soundest statesmanship into that crude calm called the Missouri Compromise? did it not sit grinning upon the deck of all our naval battles, hoping to get a turn at the wheel, that it might run the war of 1812 upon a rock? did it not stand up upon the floor of the first Congress and shake its bony fingers in the calm face of Washington? and did not our fathers, who stood unmoved the shock of George the Third's cannon, shudder in the presence of this spectre, when they thought how the infant republic might be cast away upon its bleak and milkless breast? Then it was a thin skulking, hatchet-faced ghost. At last, fed upon the granaries of Northern and Southern fanaticism, it has come

---

* Ante p. 59–60.



O. M. Mitchel

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

Johnson, Fry & Co Publishers New York

[illegible] Johnson Fry & Co in the clerks office of the district court [illegible] Southern district of New York

to be a rotund, well-fed, corpulent disaster."

"Talk of the wise statesmanship of the South," he continued,—"Had they allowed Kansas to become a free State they would have been in possession of the national Government at this moment. Although the repeal of the Missouri Compromise awoke the North from its deep sleep upon the slave question, yet the most economical outlay of prudence would have continued them in possession of the Government for an indefinite future. All the ills of the South could have been remedied within the Constitution—all their wrongs righted by the victory of future votes. Shall I tell you what Secession means? It means ambition in the Southern leaders and misapprehension in the Southern people. Its policy is to imperialize slavery; and to degrade and destroy the only free republic in the world. It is a fog of the brain and a poison at the heart." Looking at the vast assembly around him and its peculiar significance, he said:—"Nothing so disappoints Secession as the provoking fidelity of New York to the Constitution. From the vaults of Wall street, Jefferson Davis expected to pay his army, riot in all the streets, and in all the towns and cities of the North make their march a triumphant one. Fifty thousand men to-day tread on his fallacy."

One of the most enthusiastic speeches of the meeting was delivered by Professor Ormsby McKnight Mitchell, a gentleman familiarly known to the public by his labors and writings in connection with astronomy, but destined to a still wider reputation by his military services in defence of the Union. A graduate of West Point of the year 1829, he for three years filled the position of Professor of Mathematics in that Academy, and served for a short time in the army. Resigning his commission in 1832, he studied law and opened an office in Cincinnati. Two years afterward we find him again engaged as an instructor in mathematics in a college in that city, where, in 1845, he was placed at the head of the Observatory—an institution founded at his instigation, and carried onward under great difficulties by his personal energy. He was also engaged in the West as an engineer of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, and was at one time Adjutant-General of Ohio. In 1848 he succeeded to the management of the Dudley Observatory at Albany, New York. With these claims to consideration he made his appearance at the meeting. His speech, of which we present a few passages, is of interest, not only for its exhibition of the spirit of the hour, but for its biographical anecdotes of the career of the speaker. From such details we may learn something of the spirit and motives which impelled the defenders of their country freely to offer their lives in her service.

"I have been announced to you," he said, "as a citizen of Kentucky. Once I was, because I was born there. I love my native State, as you love your native State. I love my adopted State of Ohio, as you love your adopted State, if such you have; but, my friends, I am not a citizen now of any State. I owe allegiance to no State, and never did, and, God helping me, I never will. I owe allegiance to the Government of the United States. A poor boy, working my way with my own hands, at the age of twelve turned out to take care of myself as best I could, and beginning by earning but $4 per month, I worked my way onward until this glorious Government gave me a chance at the Military Academy at West Point. There I landed with a knapsack on my back, and I tell you God's truth—just a quarter of a dollar in my pocket. There I swore allegiance to the Government of the United States. I did not abjure the love of my own State. nor of my adopted State, but all over that rose proudly triumphant and predominant my love for our common country. And now to-day that common country is assailed, and, alas! alas! that I am compelled to say it, it is assailed in some sense by my own countrymen. My father and my mother were from Old Virginia, and my brothers and sisters from Old Kentucky. I love them all; I love them dearly. I have my brothers and friends down in the South now, united to me by the fondest ties of love and affection. I would take them in my arms to-day with all the love that God has put into this heart, but if I found them in arms I would be compelled to smite them down. You have found officers of the army who have been educated by the Government, who have drawn their support from the Government for long years, who when called upon by their country to stand for the Constitution and for the right, have basely, ignominiously and traitorously either resigned their commissions or deserted to traitors, and rebels, and enemies. What means all this? How can it be possible that men should act in this way? There is no question but one. If we ever had a Government and Constitution, or if we ever lived under such, have we ever recognized the supremacy of right? I say, in God's name why not recognize it now? Why not to-day? Why not forever? Suppose those friends of ours from old Ireland, suppose he who has made himself one of us, when a war should break out against his own country should say, 'I cannot fight against my own countrymen,' is he a citizen of the United States? They are countrymen no longer when war breaks out. The rebels and the traitors in the South, we must set aside; they are not our friends. When they come to their senses we will receive them with open arms; but till that time, while they are trailing our glorious banner in the dust, when they scorn it, condemn it, curse it, and trample it under foot, then I must smite. In God's name I will smite, and as long as I have strength I will do it. O, listen to me, listen to me! I know these men; I know their courage; I have been among them; I have been with them; I have been reared with them; they have courage; and do not you pretend to think they have not. I tell you what it is, it is no child's play you are entering upon. They will fight, and with a determination and a power which is irresistible. Make up your mind to it. Let every man put his life in his hand and say, 'There is the altar of my country; there I will sacrifice my life.' I for one will lay my life down. It is not mine any longer. Lead me to the conflict. Place me where I can do my duty. There I am ready to go, I care not where it leads me. . . I am ready. God help me to do my duty. I am ready to fight in the ranks or out of the ranks. Having been educated in the Academy, having been in the army seven years, having served as commander of a volunteer company for ten years, and having served as an adjutant-general, I feel I am ready for something. I only ask to be permitted to act, and in God's name give me something to do." When the opportunity arrived and he was sent to the field in the face of the enemy, the bulletins and dispatches of General Mitchell, following one another in quick succession bearing tidings of victory, proclaimed that the orator was in earnest in this glowing declamation.

There were other speakers—the addresses of more than thirty are reported in the proceedings of the day—politicians of various shades, representatives of diverse interests; editors, merchants, wealthy citizens, lawyers, judges, city officials, but the spirit of all was the same—a determination to sustain at any cost the honor of the flag and the integrity of the country within the national boundaries. The sentiment of one and all was embodied in the words of a Resolution adopted at the meeting, "That the Declaration of Independence, the War of the Revolution and the Constitution of the United States have given origin to this government, the most equal and beneficent hitherto known among men; that under its protection the wide expansion of our territory, the vast development of our wealth, our population, and our power, have built up a nation able to maintain and defend before the world the principles of liberty and justice upon which it was founded; that by every sentiment of interest, of honor, of affection and of duty, we are engaged to preserve unbroken for our generation, and to transmit to our posterity, the great heritage we have received from heroic ancestors; that to the maintenance of this sacred trust we devote whatever we possess, and whatever we can do, and in support of that government under which we are happy and proud to live, we are prepared to shed our blood and lay down our lives." There was no rash unthinking enthusiasm in this, no novel dream of ambition, but rather the reluctant acceptance of a necessity from which a loyal people saw no escape with honor. Even in this moment of excitement, let it be remembered, New York had her word of counsel, her thought of reconciliation in the future. By the side of the patriotic declaration which we have cited, it was further resolved, "That when the authority of the federal government shall have been reëstablished, and peaceful obedience to the constitution and laws prevail, we shall be ready to confer and coöperate with all loyal citizens throughout the Union, in Congress or in Convention, for the consideration of all supposed grievances, the redress of all wrongs and the protection of every right, yielding ourselves, and expecting all others to yield, to the will of the whole people as constitutionally and lawfully expressed." Thus calmly and resolutely the great city spoke for herself and the nation.

The spirit of New York was the spirit of the whole land. Similar popular meetings were held in the cities and towns large and small—at Boston, Cincinnati, Chicago and throughout the interior. Many of these demonstrations were of peculiar interest from the character of the assemblies, the place where they were held and the distinguished speakers who took part in them. Citizens of foreign birth, immigrants from Ireland and Germany and others vied with native Americans in their devotion to the flag. The clergy of all denominations were largely represented and by their side the professors of Colleges, teachers and others engaged in the work of instruction. It had been frequently urged as a great practical defect in the working of our institutions that the educated men were driven from the field by noisy demagogues, leaving political action to a particular class of office-seekers ; but if there were any truth in this objection before, it could hardly be urged as a cause of reproach now, when the men of talent and intellect of the country freely came forward and acknowledged their obligation to work, for the security of the nation which had protected them in the enjoyment of their honorable position. The colleges and seminaries of learning, and particularly the public schools, were everywhere prominent in these encouraging displays of patriotism. On the rural lawn or in the city street before these edifices, the students and people of the vicinity assembled to listen to brief expositions of the principles of government, and kindling appeals to the instinct of patriotism. There were probably few influential persons at the North, accustomed to public speaking, who were not at one time or other called upon to take part in these exercises. The merchants also, as a class, were distinguished by their zeal and liberality in providing for these flag raisings and other popular manifestations.

Volumes might be filled with abstracts of the eloquent addresses delivered at these patriotic gatherings, which would well reward the attention of the student of this remarkable development of American national character. But we cannot further pursue the subject here. We may select one or two, however, from the mass, for the particular interest attaching to the speakers. A large and enthusiastic meeting at Troy, in the State of New York, after passing resolutions sustaining the Government, and pledging the city to raise a regiment of volunteers, adjourned to the residence of the veteran General Wool, the Commander of the Eastern Department of the National Army, whose zeal in the cause had been already manifested in a published correspondence. On the last day of the previous December, when there were painful rumors afloat of the withdrawal of Major Anderson from Sumter and the surrender of that fort, he had written to a friend at Washington that he could not entertain the idea that the President would surrender that citadel ; but that if it should be given up to South Carolina as she demanded, that " the smothered indignation of the free States would be roused beyond control. It would not be in the power of any one to restrain it. In twenty days two hundred thousand men would be in readiness to take vengeance on all who would betray the Union into the hands of its enemies." No man in that dark hour of weakness and treachery saw more clearly the true nature of the issue, the principles at stake, and the character of the insurgents ; no one was more eager to uphold the authority of the Government. On the present occasion his convictions were expressed, if possible, with deeper earnestness. "We had," he said in answer to the address of his fellow-citizens, " fought under the old flag, but he had done no more than his duty towards the best Government that ever existed. He had fought under the Stars and Stripes that were carried in triumph by Washington, and under which Jackson closed the second war for independence at New Orleans in a halo of glory. Will you permit that flag to be desecrated and trampled in the dust by traitors now.

Will you permit our noble Government to be destroyed by rebels, in order that they may advance their schemes of political ambition and extend the area of slavery? No, indeed, it cannot be done. The spirit of the age forbids it. My friends, that flag must be lifted up from the dust into which it has been trampled, placed in its proper position and again set floating in triumph to the breeze. I pledge you my heart, my hand, all my energies to the cause. The Union shall be maintained. I am prepared to devote my life to the work and to lead you in the struggle."*

A few days later, the veteran statesman and soldier General Cass assured the hearts of his countrymen by like kindling words of patriotic energy. Addressing his fellow-citizens on occasion of the raising the flag over their building by the Board of Trade at Detroit, he contrasted the situation in which he now found himself, with the position in which he had been placed on the same spot fifty years before by the capitulation of General Hull. Then, he said, "our contest was a legitimate war waged with a foreign foe; our war to-day is a domestic one, commenced by and bringing in its train acts which no right feeling man can contemplate without most painful regret. But a few months since, and we were the first and happiest nation on the face of the globe. In the midst of this prosperity, without a single foe to assail us, without a single injury at home caused by the operations of the Government to affect us, this glorious Union, acquired by the blood and sacrifices of our fathers, has been disowned and rejected by a portion of the States composing it—a Union which has given us more blessings than any previous government ever conferred upon man. . . You need no one to tell you what are the dangers of your country, nor what are your duties to meet and avert them. There is but one path for every true man to travel; and that is broad and plain. It will conduct us, not indeed without trials and sufferings, to peace and the restoration of the Union. He who is not for his country is against her. There is no neutral position to be occupied. It is the duty of all zealously to support the Government in its efforts to bring this unhappy civil war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion, by the restoration, in its integrity, of that great charter of freedom bequeathed to us by Washington and his compatriots. His ashes, I humbly trust, will ever continue to repose in the lonely tomb at Mount Vernon and in the United States of America, which he loved so well and did so much to found and build up. Manifest your regard for his memory by following, each within the compass of his power, his noble example, and restore his work as he left it, by devoting heart, mind and deed to the cause."* In such manly and assuring words, this high-minded patriot, who had honorably resigned his high position in the late administration rather than countenance its fatal policy, by the simple instinct of the heart penetrated the dark clouds which surrounded him, and led his countrymen on the path of duty and safety.

These and the like displays of eloquence were not confined to empty words; they led directly to liberal, energetic action—to large contributions of money and to an intelligent appreciation of the public welfare which drew thousands of cultivated men as volunteers for the new army of the Republic. Money and men were everywhere forthcoming. The subscriptions of individuals, corporations, banking institutions, towns, cities, and the legislatures of the Northern and Western States, freely offered for the purchase of arms, the raising and equipment of troops and the support of the Government, in a fortnight after the day of the attack upon Sumter, reached a sum estimated at over thirty millions of dollars. The appropriations of the States of Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio reached the sum of three millions each, and others were quite as liberal in proportion to their wealth, if they did not in some instances exceed them. The thrifty State of Connecticut contributed two millions, and Illinois the same; Indiana, Maine, New Jersey, Vermont, a million each, and the Corporation of the City of New York an equal sum, which was speedily more than doubled by the subscriptions of the citizens. Cincinnati kept pace with New York, and the great West generally throughout its borders was as prodigal of its resources as the wealthy East.*

---

* Speech of General Wool at Troy. April 16, 1861.

* Speech of General Cass at Detroit. April 24, 1861.

The ladies also bore a prominent part in this patriotic work. Female societies were formed everywhere for providing for the wants of the soldiers, in the manufacture of articles of clothing, military equipments, and the collection and preparation of hospital stores, havelocks for protection from the sun in the summer heats, haversacks for the march, and vast supplies of lint for the wounded and delicacies for the sick; while many ladies of education and refinement offered their services and were accepted as nurses. It would be difficult to estimate the contributions of money, labor, skill, and the many acts of personal devotion, which, from the beginning of the war, were so abundantly, methodically, and so quietly and unostentatiously offered for the public service by the ladies of the country. The Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, in his first report to Congress gratefully acknowledged the aid to the department rendered in the military hospitals by patriotic women, under the guidance and direction of Miss D. L. Dix, a philanthropic lady, who, without fee or reward, beyond that arising from the exercise of benevolence, "devoted her whole time to this important subject."*

The pulpit also, no doubt, at this time exercised an important influence in the formation of opinions, and strengthening the sense of duty by the sanctions of religion. Except on particular occasions, such as a day of thanksgiving, or the national anniversary of independence, it had not been the habit of the preachers of the larger and more influential denominations to allude to the state of public affairs. Now, however, the pressing interests of the times seemed to demand the aid of all intelligent thinkers; and political matters, as before in periods of great anxiety in the country, began to be seriously discussed, with an earnestness proportioned to the importance of the occasion. In the war of the Revolution patriots had been taught their duty in the church, and the clergy stood not far behind the statesmen of those days in moulding the opinions of the people. The published sermons of Davis, Stiles, and others, are among the most valuable and interesting memorials of that age. At a later day also, in the time of the French Revolution, when questions of party warfare were thought to involve the interests of religion and morality, the pulpit was loud in its denunciations of the threatened evil. In the more quiet state of public affairs which succeeded, the eloquence which had overrun the secular topics of the hour again returned to its accustomed channel of religious instruction, to the too great neglect, perhaps, of those inculcations of duty to the State, on the part both of office-holders and the people, without the right understanding and performance of which neither government nor religion can exist in safety.

---

* Table of Northern Contributions for the War. Leslie's Pictorial History, p. 24.

* Report of the Secretary of War. July 1, 1861.

The first prominent occasion for the voice of the pulpit to be heard in the present agitation arose with the recommendation of President Buchanan, in view of the distracted and dangerous condition of the country, that the people should assemble on the 4th of January and observe the day as one of humiliation, fasting and prayer throughout the Union. The day was generally kept in the Northern States with the solemnity befitting the injunction, though the opportunity in many instances was turned in rather a different direction, from that apparently intended by the author of the proclamation. He had advised a supplication to Heaven "to remove from our hearts that false pride of opinion which would impel us to persevere in wrong for the sake of consistency, rather than yield a just submission to the unforeseen exigencies by which we are now surrounded," a suggestion of concession and compromise, which might have been available, if both sides had been disposed to listen to it. The Northern divines, in reply, expressed the kindliest feelings of cordiality and brotherhood, but urged in the most decided manner the paramount importance of the maintenance and preservation of the Government Indeed it was generally felt that a vigorous proclamation, such as General Jackson might have sent forth, calling the secessionists of the South to return to their allegiance, would have been quite as much in place at the crisis as the appointment of a national fast day in the midst of the festivities of the New Year.

The ground being thus fairly broken the attack upon Sumter brought with it, as a matter of course, a free and open expression of opinion in the churches generally. The 21st of April, the first Sunday after that event, will long be remembered as a day of extraordinary earnestness and anxiety. The President's call upon the militia of the several States probably reached every congregation, and parents and children, as they gathered for worship that Lord's day, felt their full responsibility in the novel and perilous situation of affairs. It was noticed as a striking coincidence that the prescribed lesson for the day from the Old Testament in the service of the Episcopal Church embraced the memorable proclamation in the book of the Prophet Joel:—"Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up. Beat your plough-shares into swords and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say I am strong. . . Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision." Few of the many thousands in whose hearing these words were that day read could have listened to them without emotion. Of the occasion generally it is but little to say that the ministers of religion, conscious of the prospect before them, were true to the great purposes of their vocation in inspiring the hearts of the people with that mingled humility and courage which go hand in hand in the Christian life.

These were times that tried the temper and disposition of men ; but generally there being little choice of action, any differences of judgment were lost in the preponderating local sentiment. Much had been expected on both sides from divisions of opinion. The South looked for aid, or at least acquiescence, in its schemes of revolt, from the divided political councils of the North, and the active sympathy of those hitherto pledged to its interests ; and the North, on the other hand, for a long time relied on the coöperation of what was called "a large Union element" at the South, which at the first opportunity would throw off the authority of the rebel leaders and rise in support of the old nationality. Neither expectation proved well founded. The contest became at once too serious to permit indifference, and whether from interest or sympathy with the prevalent feeling around them, the expected friends of the rebellion and the expected supporters of the flag were silent or drawn into the popular current. In the Border States, however, there was more room for the display of individual preferences, and there for a time an active rivalry was maintained which realized some of the worst features of civil warfare. The public men of the South thus occasionally, in spite of their cherished convictions, as in the case of Stephens and Johnson of Georgia, who both, at the outset, voted against the ordinance of secession, yielding to the necessities of their unhappy position became a united body of rebels ; while the old race of Northern politicians with Southern opinions speedily found themselves in the ranks side by side with the Republicans fighting the battles of the Union. In the middle ground there was something of a struggle and some notable defections occurred, among which were those of two of the late candidates for the Presidency, John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, and John Bell of Tennessee. The former, though he continued to maintain a responsible relation with the Government for some time, taking his seat as a member of the Senate in the New Congress, early opposed the policy of the Administration. On the 20th of April, in a speech at Louisville, he denounced President Lincoln's Proclamation as illegal, proposed that Kentucky should protest against the settlement of the present difficulties of the country by the sword, and, that influence failing, asserted that it was the duty and interest of Kentucky to unite her fortunes with the South. Mr. Bell in a speech at a public meeting at Nashville, Tennessee, unequivocally gave his adherence to the South. Casting aside the efforts he had recently made and the hopes he had cherished for the preservation of peace, he urged upon all the slaveholding States the policy of uniting together to make common cause against what he called a common foe. Pronouncing his own State of Tennessee already out of the Union, he counselled the most effective and energetic measures for her military organization.*

The doubtful adherence and final open revolt of Breckenridge were more than compensated by the loyalty of the venerable Crittenden. There was, likewise, no one in Tennessee whose loss could offset the unhesitating allegiance to the Union of the energetic Andrew Johnson.

---

* Speech of John Bell at Nashville, Tenn., April 23 1861.

The remaining unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency, Senator Douglas, was not the man to be silent or indifferent at such a period. Wisely appreciating his own position and the demands of the times, "the patriot achieved a great but easy conquest over the partisan as he heartily, warmly, and with a zeal befitting the momentous cause in which he was engaged, united with those who had heretofore not only opposed but denounced him, in a struggle to uphold the Union, sustain the Constitution and vindicate the claim of the national Government to the obedience of all its citizens."* The army and navy presented a debatable ground where the sectional line was less defined. Numbers, misled by the unhappy doctrine of State allegiance abandoned their commissions in the national service, but there were many, especially in the navy, whom no local jealousies or delusions could alienate from their loyalty to the old flag.

---

* Address of Mr. Browning of Illinois, in the Senate, July 9, 1861.

CHAPTER X.

SEIZURE OF HARPER'S FERRY AND THE NORFOLK NAVY YARD.

The first duty of the Government was to protect Washington. The capture of the Capital was evidently the object of the insurgents. Lying between two slave States and largely occupied by sympathizers with the rebellion, it was doubtless expected to fall an easy prey to the Southern leaders. Indeed, so important was its possession to the rebel Government that it is difficult to suppose, in so comprehensive a scheme of revolt, put in operation by such masters of stratagem, that its capture was not contemplated from the very outset. After the attack upon Sumter, which was immediately followed by the secession of Virginia, that State having the honor of being the first, outside of the original seven, to gain admission to the Montgomery Confederacy, and when North Carolina, the intervening barrier, was waiting only the formal act of withdrawal, the path lay open to the Southern armies to accomplish by force what they had already paved the way for by intrigue. There could be no doubt then of the danger when troops were set in motion northward, and the seizure of the Capital was everywhere talked of through the Confederacy without disguise as its inevitable policy.

There was some disposition shown afterwards to throw off the responsibility of an intention to attack Washington at the time of which we speak, but there would appear to be quite evidence enough to establish the fact. A collection of expressions on the subject by the Southern press, exhibits a variety of declarations arising in different quarters, and all tending to the same result. We have already noted the threat of the Confederate Secretary of War at Montgomery, to supplant the stars and stripes on the national Capital by the new flag of the rebellion before the 1st of May.* The day after that avowal, on the 13th of

---

* Ante p. 118.

April, the *Richmond Enquirer* summoned to arms the citizens disposed to join "the Southern army as it shall pass through our borders," with the significant intimation that "nothing was more probable than that President Davis will soon march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington." The New Orleans *Picayune* of the 18th declared that "the first fruits of a Virginia secession will be the removal of Lincoln and his Cabinet and whatever he can carry away to the safer neighborhood of Harrisburg or Cincinnati—perhaps to Buffalo or Cleveland." In Alabama and Mississippi the report was current that Ben. McCullough, the noted Texas chieftain, destined to a conspicuous career in the conduct of the war, had thus early organized a force of five thousand men for the seizure of the Capital. The Hon. Roger A. Pryor on his arrival at Montgomery, after his escape from the perils of Sumter, publicly announced his desire to march immediately upon Washington. The Eufaula, Alabama, *Express*, in a few words, described the situation as it presented itself to the minds of thousands :—"With independent Virginia on one side and the secessionists of Maryland, who are doubtless in the majority, on the other, our policy at this time should be to seize the old Federal Capital and take old Lincoln and his Cabinet prisoners of war. Once get the Head of the Government in our power and we can demand any terms we see fit, and thus, perhaps, avoid a long and bloody contest." North Carolina journals were equally impressed with the value of the movement. "To have gained Maryland," said the Goldsboro' *Tribune* of the 24th, "is to have gained a host. It ensures Washington City and the ignominious expulsion of Lincoln and his body-guard of Kansas cut-throats from the White House. It makes good the words of Secretary Walker at Montgomery in regard to the Federal metropolis. It transfers the lines of battle from the Potomac to the Pennsylvania border." "Washington City," said the Raleigh *Standard* of the same date, "will soon be too hot to hold Abraham Lincoln and his Government. North Carolina has said it, and she will do all she can to make good her declaration." As we approach the scene of the contemplated robbery the anxiety for the perpetration of the deed is apparently intensified. "The capture of Washington City," says the Richmond *Examiner* of April 23, "is perfectly within the power of Virginia and Maryland, if Virginia will only make the effort by her constituted authority, nor is there a single moment to lose. The entire population pant for the onset. There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject that is now manifested to take Washington and drive from it every Black Republican who is a dweller there. From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington city at all and every human hazard. The filthy cage of unclean birds must and will assuredly be purified by fire. The people are determined upon it, and are clamorous for a leader to conduct them to the onslaught. That leader will assuredly rise, aye, and that right speedily."*

Whatever, however, may have been the intentions of the leaders, or the wishes of the people, in this matter, the course of events in Virginia was well calculated to inspire alarm at the Capital. Within four days after the fall of Sumter a convention of the people, sitting at Richmond, resolved upon secession and threw the State at the feet of the Southern Confederacy. The body which passed this act had been chosen at the suggestion of the Legislature, obviously with the intent on the part of its contrivers to employ it for disunion purposes; while the understanding of the people who elected the delegates was distinctly that its influence should be exerted on the side of the Union. A majority of the delegates, indeed, were chosen as Union men, and it was moreover, at the same time, expressly provided by an overwhelming direct vote on the subject, that the action of this convention, whatever it might be, should be sent back to the people for their confirmation by a popular vote. Virginia was in fact attached to the old Union by so many traditions of State pride and patriotism; the mother of Presidents, she had given so many statesmen and heroes to the nation; her contiguity to the seat of Government; the divided opinions of her population on the moral, social and economical conditions of slavery; her imperfect sympathies with the South; the obvious necessity, if she gave ear to the secession outcry of offering her fields and cities as the battle grounds and refuge of the contending armies—all these were so many loud-tongued appeals to her people to beware of joining their fortunes with the desperate enterprise of the Cotton States. Yet, by the management of her intriguing politicians of the school of Mason, Floyd, Letcher and the rest, the very act, which this State, of all others, had reason to avoid, was consummated. The fall of Sumter was the signal for a portion of the so-called and so-esteemed Union members of the convention to go over to the disunion minority. The necessary number of votes having thus been secured, a secession ordinance was passed in secret on the 17th of April. In accordance with the conditions under which the convention had been chosen, it was provided in the act itself that it should take effect when ratified by a majority of the votes of the people of the State cast at a poll to be taken thereon on the fourth Thursday in the ensuing May. The ordinance, of course, leaving out of view the paramount question of its legality under the Constitution of the United States, was entirely inoperative until this ratification which was enjoined by the dictation of the people themselves should be made. Yet, in spite of this provision thus formally acknowledged, "the Convention and the Legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place, with leading members of the State, not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry and the Navy Yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They received, perhaps invited, into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and coöperation with the so-called Confederate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery. Finally, they permitted the insurrectionary government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond."* All this was done before the

---

* *National Intelligencer*, May 9, 1861.

---

* Message of President Lincoln to Congress. July 5, 1861.

23d of May, the day appointed for the ratification. The simple fact that an ordinance had been made was not announced till the 25th of April, eight days after its passage, when Governor Letcher issued a Proclamation communicating the act, and, accompanying it, a copy of a convention signed the day before at Richmond, between Vice President Alexander H. Stephens, Commissioner for the Confederate States, and a body of Virginia Commissioners, headed by John Tyler, ex-President of the United States. By the terms of this convention "the whole military force and military operations offensive and defensive" of Virginia were placed under the control and direction of Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, "upon the same principles, basis and footing as if said commonwealth (Virginia) were now and during the interval a member of the said Confederacy." In return any expenditures of money incurred by the State were to be repaid by the Southern Government. When the day of ratification arrived, so effective were the means of intimidation, so complete the perversion of the minds of the people, and so hopeless were the Unionists of resisting the movement, that the vote cast was nominally by a large majority in favor of the Secession ordinance.

With this outline of political proceedings in Virginia in mind, we may the better appreciate the aggressive military movements in the State which followed in quick succession the fall of Sumter. The foremost of these were the seizure on the 18th of April of the Custom house and Post-office at Richmond, and the attack the same day upon the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, the possession of which was obviously a matter of prime consequence to the insurgents, as it had not long before excited the cupidity of the memorable John Brown and become the scene of his melancholy exploits. The place where this military establishment was situated was of much importance, both from its peculiar position and the improvements which had been gathered around it. The remarkable natural features of the spot and the character of its bold landscape uniting the grandeur of mountain scenery with extraordinary sylvan beauty, long since commemorated in a well-known passage of description by Jefferson, are associated in the minds of travellers with the kindred glories of West Point on the Hudson. There the Potomac and the Shenandoah, after traversing the northern boundary and central region of the State, join their waters at a right angle, emerge through a gap of the Blue Ridge and make their descent in an irregular course between Virginia and Maryland, passing the city of Washington some sixty miles below on their way to Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic. Harper's Ferry was thus the outer gate to the great valley of Virginia, and offering the readiest mode of approach from the East to Winchester and the region within, had in consequence become one of the chief stations of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, connecting the cities on the sea-coast with the river navigation of the West. The town, which extended in two main streets along the rivers and in scattered residences on the heights above, had a population of about five thousand. Its chief support, beside that derived from its advantages as a centre of travel, was from the occupation of its inhabitants in the works at the arsenal. This well-furnished establishment embraced, in addition to the armory, where a large number of weapons were stored, a series of machine-shops for the manufacture of arms.

At the time of the attempted seizure the arsenal was in charge of about forty riflemen of the regular army under command of Lieutenant Roger Jones. The attention of the Government had been drawn to the inadequate defence of the post, which it was impossible at the time to remedy, and instructions were accordingly given, should the work be attacked, that it should be destroyed rather than surrendered. Lieutenant Jones, fully aware of the danger, had everything prepared for the emergency. On the 17th, the very day of the secret passage of the Secession ordinance, he received information that a considerable force was gathering, for the attack, at Winchester and other places in the interior. Upon this he caused the arms in the arsenal, nearly fifteen thousand in number, to be heaped up and surrounded with inflammable matter. Materials were placed in order and trains of gunpowder were laid to consume the buildings. All was secretly made ready, by his small and trusty force, to apply the torch when it should be necessary. On the night of the 18th, about 10 o'clock, word came that some twenty-five hundred or three thousand State troops were close at hand, within twenty minutes march. In this brief interval the commander had to save the vast amount of military property under his keeping, from the enemy, in whose hands it would have been speedily employed against the nation, and rescue his faithful band from captivity as prisoners of war. By great energy both were in a great measure accomplished. The trains were fired and within three minutes the two buildings containing the arms, with the carpenters' shop, were in a blaze. The arms and arsenal buildings were totally destroyed. The work-shops were less injured, a considerable number of Minie muskets and other material of war being rescued by the Virginians. By the light of the conflagration Lieutenant Jones with his men, pursued and threatened by a mob of the town, crossed the bridge leading to Maryland, and by a perilous night-march through an unfriendly region succeeded in making his way to Hagerstown. He reached Carlisle Barracks in Pennsylvania the next afternoon. Four of the men were missing on leaving the armory and two deserted during the night.[*] For his services on this occasion Lieutenant Jones was immediately ordered a commission as Assistant Quarter-Master General, with the rank of Captain. His "very gallant action, and the handsome and successful manner in which he executed the orders of the Government," were specially mentioned in a subsequent report to Congress by the Secretary of War.

From the report of a gentleman of Virginia, who was an eye-witness of the affair, we learn that the force actually on their way to capture the property, by private orders from Richmond, was but two hundred and fifty, though several thousand had been notified of the movement. The party was composed of the Jefferson Battalion led by Colonel Allen, with a single piece of artillery and a squad of about twenty mounted men, the Fauquier cavalry, commanded by Captain Ashby. Their rendezvous was at Halltown, a small village between Charles-

---

[*] Lieutenant Jones' Dispatch to the Assistant Adjutant General, April 20, 1861.

town Court House and Harper's Ferry. The party started at dark to take the place by surprise, but found sentinels posted to give warning of their approach. They arrived before the town in time to witness the first flash from the armory. The sight was most striking, while the moral associations of the scene were mingled in the minds of the spectator with the impressions of the surrounding grandeur. "To many of us who looked on," says our authority, regarding the spectacle with feelings of horror and amazement, "the scenes of that night were inexpressibly sad and solemn. The clouds of fire rolled up magnificently from the depths of the romantic gorge, illuminating the confluent rivers and the encircling cliffs for miles around, each rock and pinnacle associated with the name of some one of our great historic founders. In the martial column revealed by the blaze there stood arrayed with deadly ball and bayonet, the first born pride of a hundred hitherto peaceful and happy families. In the town below, between them and their enemy, were neighbors, friends and fellow-citizens—the enemies themselves our late defenders and countrymen."*

Simultaneously with the attack upon the arsenal at Harper's Ferry measures were in progress to wrest from the Government and hold possession of the Navy Yard at Norfolk. This, one of the oldest and the most extensive depots of the kind in the country, was filled with vast stores of provisions and military materials for the construction and equipment of ships, with an extensive series of dwelling-houses for officers and barracks for the men, store-houses of various kinds, and shops and manufactories amply supplied with the numerous mechanical contrivances employed in naval workmanship. Situated in a sheltered position at Gosport, adjoining the town of Portsmouth, on the southern branch of the Elizabeth river, opposite to and a short distance above Norfolk, it covered an area of about three-fourths of a mile in length and one-fourth in width. It held a dry-dock of granite constructed after the most approved pattern, capable of holding a vessel of the largest class. There were in it two ship houses entire, and another in process of erection.

There were twelve war vessels at the time at the yard, though but few of them were immediately available for active service, and but one, the sloop-of-war Cumberland, Captain Pendergrast, the flag-ship of the home squadron, was in commission. They were the ship-of-the-line Pennsylvania, of 120 guns, which, at the time of her construction in 1837, had attracted great attention from her enormous size, but had never been trusted on any important voyage; the Columbus, of 80 guns, which had been for many years in ordinary; the Delaware, 84, a condemned line-of-battle ship; the unfinished ship-of-the-line New York, on the stocks in one of the ship houses; the frigates United States, Columbia, and Raritan, lying in ordinary, fifty-gun ships, more or less out of repair; the sloops-of-war Plymouth and Germantown, of 22 guns, which were preparing for sea; the brig Dolphin, of 4 guns, and most important of all, the Merrimac, a first class steam frigate of 40 guns. The last named vessel, which, by her subsequent fortunes, was to become memorable in the naval annals of the world, was built at Charlestown, Massachusetts, and launched in 1855. After a voyage to Annapolis, where the members of both houses of Congress, then in session at Washington, flocked to see her as an admired specimen of naval architecture, she had visited Havana and England, and had sailed on a long cruise as the flag-ship of the squadron in the Pacific. Returning thence she had reached Norfolk at the beginning of 1860, been slowly again fitted out, and at the present moment of the threatened attack upon the yard, was awaiting her battery and the repair of her engines to proceed to sea.

---

* The artist, Mr. D. H. Strother, whose letter describing the scene appears in *Harper's Weekly* of May 11, 1861, accompanied by several striking sketches from his pencil.

The quantity of arms and munitions laid up in the yard was immense. There were, it is calculated by the naval committee of the United States Senate which made a special investigation of the subject, at least two thousand pieces of heavy ordnance, of which about three hundred were new Dahlgren guns, and the remainder of old patterns. The Navy Department, taking account of less than one-half this number of guns, estimated the various property of the yard, ordnance, stores and furniture of all sorts, at an aggregate of more than nine and three-quarter millions of dollars. The opportunities for defence against any attack from without were slight. The yard was surrounded on the land side by a low wall, which could offer little resistance to cannon, there was no fortress or garrison, and there were not seamen sufficient to man one of the larger vessels. Unhappily no active measures were taken by the Government in time to remedy these defects and preserve the property. What with State jealousy or incipient treason on the one side, and a too delicate desire on the other to avoid doing anything which might be attended with embarrassment or call forth a remonstrance, the golden days, when the safety of this valuable trust might have been secured were suffered to pass by unimproved So generally was this unhappy system of mistaken conciliation received as the settled policy of the day, that it was afterwards spoken of without comment or hesitation by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Welles, as an admitted principle of action. "Any attempt," says he in his report to the President, at the opening of the session of Congress in July, "to withdraw the ships or either of them without a crew, would, in the then sensitive and disturbed condition of the public mind, have betrayed alarm and distrust, and been likely to cause difficulty."

Severely has the Senate Committee censured this lamentable neglect. "Undoubtedly," is the language of their report, "the new officers of the government found themselves embarrassed by such an unprecedented state of things, and time was required for familiarizing themselves with the situation and deliberating and determining upon a policy to be pursued; but that the precious opportunities afforded by thirty-seven days of time should have been wholly unimproved is a matter so strange as to suggest, if not a failure to appreciate the critical condition of the country, at least a want of vigor and decision in the discharge of its duties on the part of the new administration, which can find extenuation only in that insane delusion which seems to have possessed the public mind, that the portentous clouds that had blackened the heavens for months were charged with no real danger, and were to be dissipated by a continuation of a forbearance which had been continued so long that it had ceased to be a virtue, and had become the most disgraceful weakness and pusillanimity."

At length, however, the department beginning to entertain increased uneasiness, and, in the language of the Secretary, "apprehensive that action might be necessary," advised Commodore Charles S. McCauley, the officer in command of the yard, of "this feeling," and cautioned him "to extreme vigilance and circumspection." By an order dated the 10th of April he was ordered "to put the shipping and public property in condition to be moved and placed beyond danger, should it become necessary; but in doing this he was warned to take no steps that could give needless alarm." Two days after, on the 12th, the Secretary, who had been informed that it would require four weeks to repair the engine of the Merrimac, anxious for the safety of the vessel, dispatched the Engineer-in-Chief, Mr. B. F. Isherwood, to put the machinery in order, with instructions to Commodore McCauley to expedite the work. He at the same time sent Commander Alden, of the navy, to take charge of the ship when ready for sea, and bring her around to Philadelphia. Mr. Isherwood arrived at Norfolk on Sunday morning, the 14th, made a survey of the work, which was commenced the next morning and urged on day and night till Wednesday afternoon, the 17th, when the machinery was reported ready for use. At the same time Commodore McCauley received another despatch from the Secretary of the Navy, dated the previous day, brought from Washington by Captain Paulding, directing him "to lose no time in placing armament on board the Merrimac; to get the Plymouth and Dolphin beyond danger; to have the Germantown in a condition to be towed out, and to put the more valuable public property, ordnance, stores, etc., on shipboard, so that they could, at any moment, be moved beyond danger." He was also further instructed to "defend the vessels and stores under his charge at any hazard, repelling by force, if necessary, any and all attempts to seize them, whether by mob violence, organized effort, or any assumed authority." The same day that this order was received, in accordance with the instructions and the counsels of Captain Paulding, the Cumberland, which had been anchored below, "was moved up to a position abreast of one of the ship houses, within one or two hundred yards of the shore and, with a full armament and crew on board, lay in such a position as to command the entire harbor, the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, the Navy Yard and the approaches to it. Having discharged the duty on which he was sent Captain Paulding returned to Washington.

The Merrimac being ready for sea, with her firemen and coal-heavers engaged and prepared to go on board, Mr. Isherwood asked Commodore McCauley if he should fire up at once, to which he received the reply that the next morning would be in season. At that time (the 18th) the fires were lighted and the engineer's crew on board, when Mr Isherwood was informed by Commodore McCauley that he had not yet decided to send the vessel, but would let him know further in a few hours. Mr. Isherwood urged the peremptory orders of the department, and that the delay would compel the vessel to remain another day, while the obstructions which the enemy had placed in the river between Sewall's Point and Craney Island, as yet presenting no great difficulty, would probably be increased during the night. The Commodore, in answer to these remonstrances, in the course of the day announced his decision to retain the vessel, and directed the fires to be drawn. Whereupon, Mr. Isherwood, after renewing his entreaties without effect, left on his return to Washington. "The cause of this refusal to move the Merrimac," says Secretary Welles, "has no explanation other than that of misplaced confidence in his junior officers who opposed it," an explanation itself elucidated by the statement of the Senate Committee that "Southern officers in the yard having accomplished their purposes by remaining resigned on the 18th of April." Of these persons, Commodore McCauley afterwards said :—"How could I suspect treachery on their part. The fact of their being Southern men was not surely a sufficient reason for suspecting their fidelity; those Southern officers who have remained faithful to their allegiance are among the best in the service. No; I could not believe it possible, that a set of men, whose reputations were so high in the navy, could ever desert their posts and throw off their allegiance to the country they had sworn to defend and protect; and I had frequently received professions of their loyalty; for instance, on the occasion of the surrender of the Pensacola Navy Yard they expressed to me their indignation, and observed: 'You have no Pensacola officers here, Commodore; we'll never desert you: we will stand by you to the last, even to the death.'"*

The resignation of the officers occurred the day after the Virginia Convention, in secret session, had passed the ordinance of Secession. The spirit of revolt, which had been suffered to gain head by months of inaction, was stimulated to overt acts of rebellion by the excitement, consequent upon the attack upon Sumter and the call for soldiers by President Lincoln, and the people were ripe for the execution of the plan of their leaders. The possession of the Norfolk Navy Yard was too tempting a prize to be overlooked. The State authorities were on the alert, and the unthinking populace, with too many from whom better counsels might have been expected, were ready to assist in the capture. The people of Norfolk, forgetful of the honor and support their city had derived from the National Government in the location of the yard in their vicinity, recklessly insulted the flag under which so many heroes of the country had sailed from their port to fight the battles and extend the fame of the Republic. At Norfolk, particularly, we are told, the public feeling against the Government was intensely bitter. The military companies of Portsmouth and Norfolk were called out and paraded under arms; rumors were circulated of a contemplated attack upon the Navy Yard; and threats were boisterously made of an immediate assault, if the authorities at the yard should make any attempt to defend themselves or to remove any portion of the public property. On the night of the 16th, the obstructions already alluded to, two light boats of about 80 tons each, were sunk in the river. On the 18th, when it was decided to retain the Merrimac, General Taliaferro arrived at Norfolk "to take the command of troops, which it was undoubtedly the design of the State authorities to send there for capturing the yard. On the following day (continues the Senate Committee Report) most of the employès absented themselves from the muster, and it was evident that a crisis was at hand which would call for some decisive action on the part of the commandant of the yard. In this emergency, on the afternoon of that day, Commodore McCauley ordered all the guns in the yard to be spiked. A portion of them were spiked with rat-tail files, but owing to the lack of a sufficient number of them, the work was unskilfully and ineffectually done with cut nails and most of the guns were but partially disabled. The murmurs outside of the yard grew louder and louder, and about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 20th April, Commodore McCauley, apprehensive of an immediate attack, and, as he says, believing that to be the only means of preventing them from falling into the hands of the enemy, instead of attempting to send them out, caused all the vessels, except the Cumberland, to be scuttled. This was his last act of command."

---

* Reply of Commodore McCauley to the censure of the Congressional Committee, published in the *National Intelligencer*, May 5, 1862.

When the "fatal error," as he terms it, of the detention of the Merrimac was made known to the Secretary of the Navy, he immediately, though his services could ill be spared at Washington, sent Captain Paulding in command of the Pawnee to proceed with that vessel to Norfolk "with such officers and marines as could be obtained, take command of all the vessels afloat on that station; repel force by force and prevent the ships and public property, at all hazards, from passing into the hands of the insurrectionists." Taking with him 100 marines at Washington in addition to his crew, Captain Paulding took on board at Fortress Monroe Colonel Wardrop's regiment of Massachusetts volunteers, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, which had arrived during the day, and with this force presented himself at Norfolk on the evening of the 20th, just in time to witness the scuttling and sinking of the ships which had been ordered in the afternoon by Commodore McCauley. Taking a rapid view of the situation he concluded, within an hour after his arrival, in accordance with instructions which had been given him, to render the ships entirely useless to the enemy by burning them and otherwise to destroy the public property in the yard before abandoning the place. The process of destruction is thus described in the report of the Senate Committee:

"In the first place an attempt was made to mutilate the guns in the yard by knocking off the trunnions. For this purpose one hundred men were detailed from the Cumberland, under the command of Lieutenant John H. Russell; but though they worked for an hour, playing trip-hammer with 18-pound sledges upon the Dahlgren guns, they resisted all their efforts; and such was the strength and tenacity of the metal that they did not succeed in breaking a single trunnion. Many of the old guns, however, were destroyed. The duty of mining and blowing up the dry dock was given in charge to Captain Charles Wilkes, and officers and men were assigned to him for that purpose, and to prepare for burning the buildings. Commander Rodgers, and Captain Wright, of the engineers, volunteered to destroy the dry dock, and Commanders Allen and Sands were directed to provide for the destruction of ship-houses, barracks, etc. Lieutenant Henry A. Wise was ordered to lay trains upon the ships, and fire them at a given signal, and perform that duty in the most thorough and effectual manner.

"At about 2 o'clock all was reported to be ready, and the troops, marines, sailors, and others at the yard were taken on board the Pawnee and Cumberland, leaving on shore only as many as were required to set the fires. The Pawnee then left the wharf, winded, and and at 4 o'clock on Sunday morning, April 21, took the Cumberland in tow and stood down the harbor. At twenty minutes past 4 the concerted signal was given by a rocket from the Pawnee, the torch was applied simultaneously at many points, and in a few minutes the ships and buildings in the yard were wrapped in flames. The parties left on shore to apply the matches all succeeded in making their escape except Commander Rodgers and Captain Wright, who failed to reach the boats left to bring them off, and were arrested in the morning at Norfolk, and detained by the rebels as prisoners of war. The officers and men in the boats pulled down the harbor in the light of the conflagration, which was illuminating the country and the bay for miles around, overtook the Pawnee at Craney Island, and were taken on board.

"A singular fatality seems to have attended this mad attempt to destroy the public property, which confined its operation principally to the vessels, which, before the scuttling, could easily have been saved, while the dry dock, the machine shops, smiths' shops and sheds, carpenters' shops and sheds, timber sheds, ordnance building, founderies, saw-mill, provision-house, spar-house, tools, provisions, dwellings of the commandant and other officers, and in fact all the buildings in the yard, except the ship-houses, marine barracks, riggers' loft, sail loft, and ordnance loft remained uninjured, and have been ever since in the use and possession of the rebels. Indeed, they immediately took possession of all the buildings and machinery, and have ever since been and are now using them for all the usual purposes of a navy yard; employing them in the manufacture of arms, shot and shell, in building gunboats and iron-cladding vessels-of-war to be used against the government. The guns have been mounted upon batteries along the Elizabeth river, and distributed among the various fortifications throughout the seceded States.

"Of the vessels at the yard, the ship-of-the-line New York in one of the ship-houses, was entirely consumed by fire. The ship-of-the-line Pennsylvania, the frigate Columbia, and the brig Dolphin, were burnt to their floor-heads, the lower bottom timbers only remaining and being visible at low water. The frigate Raritan was burnt to the water's edge, and disappeared altogether. The steam frigate Merrimac was sunk, and burned to her copper line and down through to her berth-deck, which, with her spar and gun decks, were also burned. A witness who remained at Portsmouth from the 20th of April up to the 15th of November, 1861, states that the Merrimac has been cut down six feet below her copper-line. The sloop Germantown was sunk and burned to her bulwarks on the port side, after two of her masts had been broken away and she had been otherwise much injured by the falling of the shears. The frigate United States, a very old ship, unfit for repairs, was uninjured, and since the evacuation has been lying before the yard as a receiving ship, and manned with fifteen 32-pounders. The Plymouth was not burned. She was scuttled and sunk, and has since been raised. The old ships-of-the line Delaware and Columbus were scuttled and sunk at their moorings. The work of destruction, it is evident, was done upon the vessels most effectually, and it is to be regretted, since the attempt was made, that the buildings and other structures in the yard were not destroyed with equal thoroughness."*

Grave Senatorial Committee men do not generally greatly indulge in picturesque description, or supply those accessories of so much consequence to the graphic historian. Otherwise the writer might have paused to illuminate this sad page of our naval records with the brilliancy of the vast midnight conflagration, as the flames poured forth from those huge structures of wood and glass, the ship-houses capable of containing the largest frigate, with the strange spectacle of the ships on fire, their hulls devoured by the flames rolling upward to the lines of living light in the splendid tracery of the spars—as if some gorgeous holiday fire-work representing the ship of state were printing in blazing letters against the sky the portent of a dissolving empire.

The importance of these events to both parties in the national struggle can hardly be over-estimated. The United States were not only deprived of a naval station of the utmost value for the fitting out of ships and other provision for the onerous Southern blockade, which the Government was compelled to maintain; there was not only the loss of the vast stores of munitions of war and the public buildings which were destroyed; but more costly to the country than all the rest, was the gain to the enemy of an important highway of communication, and the most abundant means of protracting the war. In various parts of the land, as the national troops made progress in Virginia, North Carolina and the West, they were called upon to face the powerful Dahlgrens and Columbiads abandoned at the Norfolk Navy Yard. "I had purposed," says Mr. William H. Peters, a commissioner appointed by the Governor of Virginia to make an inventory of the property thus taken from the United States Government, "some remarks upon the vast importance to Virginia, and to the entire South, of the timely acquisition of this extensive naval depot, with its immense supplies of munitions of war, and to notice briefly the damaging effects of its loss to the government at Washington; but I deem it unnecessary, since the presence at almost every exposed point on the whole southern coast, and at numerous inland intrenched camps in the several States, of heavy pieces of ordnance, with their equipments and fixed ammunition, all supplied from this establishment, fully attests the one, while the unwillingness of the enemy to attempt demonstrations at any point, from which he is obviously deterred by the knowledge of its well-fortified condition, abundantly proves the other—especially when it is considered that both he and we are wholly indebted for our means of resistance to his loss and our acquisition of the Gosport navy yard."*

---

* Report of the Select Committee of the Senate for investigating the facts relative to the loss of the Navy Yard, &c., submitted by Mr. Hale of New Hampshire, April 18, 1862.

* *Richmond Enquirer*, February 4, 1862.

This was the sober calculation of a State Commissioner, accompanying an exact estimate of the damage sustained by the General Government, and the benefit derived by the rebel Confederacy. It may interest the reader to peruse alongside of it the peculiar reflections on the same occurrences, from a somewhat different point of view, taken by an eminent divine of the Southern States. The venerable Bishop Elliott of Georgia, an honored head of the Episcopal Church, in a sermon entitled "God's presence with the Confederate States," preached at Savannah on the 13th of June following—a fast day appointed by President Jefferson Davis—saw fit thus to discourse of the capture of Sumter, the unavoidable surrender, brought about by Southern treason, of the national troops in Texas, and especially the great gain to the Confederacy of the abandonment of the Navy Yard at Norfolk. "If we turn," says he, "from the financial to the military affairs of the Confederate States, we perceive the same visible presence of God in our concerns. In the beginning of this movement we appeared to have no resources wherewith to meet the immense preponderance of power that was against us. They had armies, navies, armories, manufactories, every thing that could conduce to their strength—fortresses bristled in our midst, and aimed their guns against the people they had been built to protect—a large, well-ordered army stood upon our Texan frontier quite in a condition to have invaded and embarrassed us—a large armament was fitted out to strike at the heart of South Carolina, which was considered the soul of the rebellion—a navy yard of immense resources, filled with arms, and ammunition, and ordnance, supported by the strongest fortress in the Union, and defended by men-of-war armed with guns of the heaviest calibre, lay upon our northeastern frontier. A hastily raised militia was all we had to depend upon in the conflict. But in a moment every thing seemed changed in a way more than natural. Skillful officers sprang from every direction into the arena. Armed men arose as if from the dragon's teeth which the Abolitionists had been sowing for years. And fear seemed to fall upon our enemies—unaccountable fear. Officers who had never quailed before any living man—soldiers who had borne the old flag to victory wherever it had waved over them—navies which had moved defiant over the world—all, all seemed paralyzed. That large border army surrendered to militia without a blow—that gallant armament, made up of the same fleet which had run in the revolution into the Thames, which had defied the Algerine batteries, which had brought Austria to terms in the Levant, which had spit its fire into the face of the almost impregnable fortress of St. Juan d'Ulloa, stood inert and saw a gallant soldier, who was upholding their own flag, beaten out of his own fortress by sand batteries and volunteers. That immense navy yard, with its vast resources, with its great power of resistance, with its huge fortress at its back, with its magnificent men-of-war all armed and shotted, was deserted in an unaccountable panic because of the threats of a few almost unarmed citizens, and the rolling during the night of well-managed locomotives. And nowhere could this panic have occurred more seasonably for us, because it gave us just what we most needed, arms and ammunition and heavy ordnance in great abundance. All this is unaccountable upon any ordinary grounds. But two days before, a naval officer of very high rank had reported to head-quarters at Washington that this navy yard was impregnable. Is not this very like the noise of chariots and the noise of horses, even the noise of a great host, which the Syrians were made to hear when the Lord would deliver Israel? "And they said one to another, Lo, the King of Israel hath hired against us the King of the Hittites and the Kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us. Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight and left their tents and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life." So the South sounded its triumph.

CHAPTER XI.

THROUGH BALTIMORE.

INTERMEDIATE between these two nights of terror and devastation at Harper's Ferry and Gosport, a scene occurred at Baltimore on the forenoon of the 19th, which was regarded as an ominous indication of the impending struggle. In response to the call upon the States by the President, no one had shown greater alacrity than Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. Keen-sighted to discern the approach of the war, and sensitively alive to the danger to which the Capital was exposed, he had put the militia of his State in readiness for the service which he felt could not be distant. His men were ready at the first summons, and it was his honorable boast afterwards to the Legislature of his State, that "by nine o'clock on the Sabbath morning following the Monday on which the first telegram was received, the whole number of regiments demanded from Massachusetts were already either in Washington or in Fortress Monroe or on their way to the defence of the National Capital." The first of these detachments which went forward was the Sixth Regiment, numbering about 700 men, under the command of Colonel Edward F. Jones of Pepperell. Its members were residents of Essex and Middlesex Counties, with its head-quarters at Lowell. Within 18 hours after the reception of orders from the Governor it was on its way to Boston. On the morning of the 18th it passed through New York and, contrary to the prophecies of the Southern sympathizers, met with a triumphant reception in that city. Instead of the streets flowing with blood in a civil encounter, according to the predictions of the political croakers who had talked defiantly of the people never permitting Eastern troops to pass through the city to control the Southerners, the men of New England when they arrived were regarded with respect and admiration for their readiness and energy, while many a heartfelt wish was expressed for their safety and success in their patriotic mission.

The regiment reached Philadelphia by railway the same day, and early the next morning was forwarded to Baltimore. Here they were met by an outbreak of that ill-feeling and active malevolence, which at one time it had been so confidently maintained that such a body would be sure to encounter on its passage through New York. There existed, in fact, in Baltimore much stronger elements of opposition, growing chiefly out of its more intimate relation with the Southern States. The material for a mob is always present in all large cities and, in the present instance, its ordinary spirit of violence was aggravated by political animosity and the confidence which it derived from the general spirit of hostility to the policy indicated in the call of the President for troops. The passage of Northern, and particularly of New England troops through the city, was especially obnoxious to this portion of the inhabitants in its excited state of feeling. The arrival of the train with the Massachusetts troops thus became the signal for popular disturbance.

We have seen the answer to the summons of the President given by Governor Hicks,* in his Proclamation of the 18th of April. "In consequence," he then said, "of our peculiar position, it is not to be expected that the people of the State can unanimously agree upon the best mode of preserving the honor and integrity of the State, and of maintaining within her limits that peace so earnestly desired by all good citizens. The emergency is great. The consequences of a rash step will be fearful. It is the imperative duty of every true son of Maryland to do all that he can to arrest the threatened evil. I therefore counsel the people in all earnestness, to withhold their hands from whatever may tend to precipitate us into the gulf of discord and ruin gaping to receive us." Fully conscious of the difficulty of his position, he announced his intention in the future, as it had been his endeavor in the past, to preserve the people of Maryland from civil war, and invoked the assistance of every true and loyal citizen to aid him to that end. The mayor of the city of Baltimore, George William Brown, also issued a Proclamation, in which he spoke of the great division of opinion existing in relation to "subjects of the gravest political importance, and the consequent apprehensions which had arisen in the minds of many that violations of the peace might occur, and earnestly invoked all good citizens to refrain from every act leading to outbreak or violence, and to render prompt assistance to the public authorities, whose efforts would be exerted to maintain the peace of the city."*

The occasion for this interference was now at hand. The outbreak at Baltimore which these precautionary addresses evidently anticipated, arose on the morning of the 19th, with the arrival of the train from Philadelphia bringing the Massachusetts regiment, accompanied by a body of unarmed Pennsylvania troops. The cars reached the President street depot on the northern side of the city about ten o'clock, when its arrival was the signal for the collection of a crowd evidently bent upon opposing the further passage of the troops. To pursue their route to Washington it was necessary that they should traverse a portion of the city from one station to another in cars drawn by horses. As Colonel Jones' regiment was thus passing through Pratt street, the cars were assailed with stones torn from the pavement and other missiles, and the way was greatly impeded by the throng. A number of the cars, however, made their way through, the soldiers remaining quietly within, offering no resistance to the assaults and insults of the populace. Four companies were yet left in the cars in the rear, when word was brought to them that the rails were so blocked by heavy anchors, which lay at hand in the neighborhood, being thrown across them, that the passage was no longer practicable. The mob, meanwhile, pleased with its efforts, was "cheering lustily for the South, for Jefferson Davis, South Carolina and Secession, with groans for sundry obnoxious parties." In this emergency, the Massachusetts men who were left, determined to alight and proceed through the city as best they could and join their comrades at the Washington depot. A consultation was held, and the command assigned to Captain Albert S. Follansbee of Lowell. "I immediately," says that officer, "informed Captain Pickering of the Lawrence Light Infantry, and we filed out of the cars in regular order. Captain Hart's company of Lowell and Captain Dike's of Stoneham did the same, and formed in a line on the sidewalk. The captains consulted together, and decided that the command should devolve upon me. I immediately took my position at the right, wheeled into column of sections, and requested them to march in close order. Before we had started, the mob was upon us, with a secession flag attached to a pole, and told us we never could march through that city. They would kill every white nigger of us before we could reach the other depot. I paid no attention to them, but after I had wheeled the battalion gave the order to march. As soon as the order was given, the brickbats began to fly into our ranks from the mob. I called a policeman, and requested him to lead the way to the other depot. He did so. After we had marched about a hundred yards, we came to a bridge. The rebels had torn up most of the planks. We had to play 'Scotch hop' to get over it. As soon as we had crossed the bridge they commenced to fire upon us from the streets and houses. We were loaded but not capped. I ordered the men to cap their rifles and protect themselves; and then we returned their fire and laid a great many of them away. I saw four fall on the sidewalk at one time. They followed us up, and we fought our way to the other depot—about one mile. They kept at us till the cars started. Quite a number of the rascals were shot after we entered the cars. We went very slowly, for we expected the rails were torn up along the road. I do not know how much damage we did. Report says about forty were killed, but I think this is exaggerated. Still, it may be so. There is any quantity of them wounded. Quite a number of horses were killed. The mayor of the city met us almost half way. He said that there would be no more trouble, and that we could get through, and kept with us for about a hundred yards; but the stones and balls whistled too near his head, and he left, took a gun from one of my company, fired and brought his man down. That was the last I saw of him. We fought our way to the cars and joined Colonel Jones and the seven companies that left us at the other end of the city."* Two Massachusetts soldiers were slain on the spot in this murderous and unprovoked assault upon good citizens called to the discharge of an onerous and honorable public duty, and acting in direct obedience to the highest authority of the nation. Their names were Addison O. Whitney and Luther C. Ladd, from Lowell. Nine others were wounded, one of them, Sumner H. Needham of Lawrence, mortally. Captain Dike receiving a severe wound in the leg was taken up and cared for by some brother Masons. Nine citizens of Baltimore were killed, and an unknown number wounded. On going through the train on its way to Washington, about one hundred and thirty of the Massachusetts men were found missing. The cars were assailed with stones on leaving, and one of the attacking party was killed by a shot fired by one of the soldiers.

---

* Ante, p. 127.

* Proclamation of Mayor Brown. April 17, 1861.

---

* Letter of Captain Follansbee, dated from Washington, published in the Lowell *Courier*. Squier's Pictorial History, p. 22. Colonel Edward F. Jones' official report to Major Clemence, Adjutant of General Butler. Washington April 22, 1861.

The Pennsylvania troops arriving after the rest remained at the depot in the cars, and, being unarmed, did not attempt the passage of the city. General Small, the officer in command, was anxious that they should retire from the danger, but before this could be accomplished, the mob, turning from the attack upon the Massachusetts men, assailed them in the cars with missiles, breaking the windows and inflicting considerable personal injury. Numbers of the Pennsylvanians sprang to the ground, and were there set upon by the infuriated populace. Some took refuge in the neighboring houses, and others continued the fight, while Marshal Kane assisted by "some noble-hearted and fearless citizens" endeavored to arrest the combat, which was carried on in the utmost confusion, as the soldiers being ununiformed as well as without arms, it was difficult to distinguish friend from foe. Most of the troops were finally safely deposited in the cars and sent back to Philadelphia.*

Immediately on receiving intelligence of these events, Governor Andrew of Massachusetts addressed the following telegraphic message to the Mayor of Baltimore :—"Sir, I pray you to cause the bodies of our Massachusetts soldiers dead in Baltimore to be immediately laid out, preserved in ice and tenderly sent forward by express to me. All expenses will be paid by this Commonwealth." To this Mayor Brown replied the same day. "No one," said he, "deplores the sad events of yesterday in this city more deeply than myself, but they were inevitable. Our people viewed the passage of armed troops of another State through the streets as an invasion of our soil, and could not be restrained. The authorities exerted themselves to the best of their ability, but with only partial success. Governor Hicks was present, and concurs in all my views as to the proceedings now necessary for our protection. When are these scenes to cease? Are we to have a war of sections? God forbid! The bodies of the Massachusetts soldiers could not be sent on to Boston as you requested : all communication between this city and Philadelphia by railroad, and with Boston by steamers, having ceased ; but they have been placed in cemented coffins, and will be placed with proper funeral ceremonies in the mausoleum of Green Mount Cemetery, where they shall be retained until further directions are received from you. The wounded are tenderly cared for. I appreciate your offer, but Baltimore will claim it as her right to pay all expenses incurred." The answer of Governor

---

* Letter of Geo. P. Kane, Marshal, to Charles Howard, President of Board of Police. Baltimore, May 3, 1861.

Andrew, the same day, by telegraph, closes this touching correspondence. "I appreciate," he sent word, "your kind attention to our wounded and our dead, and trust that, at the earliest moment, the remains of our fallen will be returned to us. I am overwhelmed with surprise that a peaceful march of American citizens over the common highway to the defence of our common Capital should be deemed aggressive to Baltimoreans. Through New York the march was triumphal." When communication with the East was restored, the remains "tenderly cared for" were forwarded to Boston, where, as well as at their resting place at Lowell, they were received with heartfelt public honors.

"How shall I record," said Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, addressing the Legislature of his State on this event, "the grand and sublime uprising of the people, devoting themselves—their lives—their all. No creative art has ever woven into song a story more tender in its pathos or more stirring to the martial blood than the scenes just enacted, passing before our eyes in the villages and towns of our dear old Commonwealth. Henceforth be silent, ye shallow cavillers at New England thrift, economy and peaceful toil! Henceforth let no one dare accuse our northern sky, our icy winters, or our granite hills! 'Oh, what a glorious morning,' was the exulting cry of Samuel Adams, as he, excluded from royal grace, heard the sharp musketry which, on the dawn of the 19th of April, 1775, announced the beginning of the War of Independence. The yeomanry, who in 1775, on Lexington Common and on the banks of the Concord River, first made that day immortal in our annals, have found their lineal representatives in the historic regiment, which on the 19th of April, 1861, in the streets of Baltimore, baptized our flag anew in heroic blood, when Massachusetts marched once more 'in the sacred cause of liberty and the rights of mankind.'" Rising from the immediate occasion to the height of the great argument before the nation, he added:—"Grave responsibilities have fallen, in the Providence of God, upon the Government and the people; and they are welcome. They could not have been safely postponed. They have not arrived too soon. They will sift and try this people, all who lead and all who follow. But this trial, giving us an heroic present to revive our past, will breathe the inspiration of a new life into our national character and re-assure the destiny of the Republic."*

The afternoon of that same 19th of April, while the town was excited with reports of the mob at Baltimore, there was setting forth from New York a band of young men, among them numerous representatives of the best families in the city, the Seventh Regiment New York State Militia, the admirably drilled and favorite National Guard, a thousand or more in number, all of whom had sprung with alacrity at the first call from the imperilled Capital. The enthusiasm as they passed down Broadway was unparalleled. A gentleman of taste and culture in the ranks, whose death in battle shortly after opened to him "a gate of good fame" in the sympathy of thousands, Mr. Theodore Winthrop, has left an enduring record of that day. "It was worth," says he, "a life, that march. Only one who passed, as we did, through that tempest of cheers, two miles long, can know the terrible enthusiasm of the occasion. I could hardly hear the rattle of our own gun-carriages, and only once or twice the music of our band came to me muffled and quelled by the uproar. We knew now, if we had not before divined it, that our great city was with us as one man, utterly united in the great cause we were marching to sustain. This grand fact I learned by two senses. If hundreds of thousands roared it into my ears, thousands slapped it into my back. My fellow-citizens smote me on the knapsack, as I went by at the gun-rope, and encouraged me each in his own dialect. 'Bully for you!' alternated with benedictions, in the proportion of two 'bullies' to one blessing. I was not so fortunate as to receive more substantial tokens of sympathy. But there were parting gifts showered on the regiment, enough to establish a variety-shop. Handkerchiefs, of course, came floating down upon us from the windows, like a snow storm. Pretty little gloves pelted us with love-taps. The sterner sex forced upon us pocket-knives new and jagged, combs, soap, slippers, boxes of matches, cigars by the dozen and the hundred, pipes to smoke shag and pipes to smoke Latakia, fruit, eggs, and sandwiches. One fellow got a new purse with ten bright quarter-eagles. At the corner of Grand Street, or thereabouts, a 'b'hoy' in red flannel shirt and black dress pantaloons, leaning back against the crowd with Herculean shoulders, called me,—'Saay, bully! take my dorg! he's one of the kind that holds till he draps.' This gentleman, with his animal, was instantly shoved back by the police, and the Seventh lost the 'dorg.' These were the comic incidents of the march, but underlying all was the tragic sentiment that we might have tragic work presently to do. The news of the rascally attack in Baltimore on the Massachusetts Sixth had just come in. Ours might be the same chance. If there were any of us not in earnest before, the story of the day would steady us. So we said good-bye to Broadway, moved down Cortlandt Street under a bower of flags, and at half-past 6 shoved off in the ferry-boat. Everybody has heard how Jersey City turned out and filled up the Railroad Station, like an opera-house, to give God-speed to us as a representative body, a guaranty of the unquestioning loyalty of the 'conservative' class in New York. Everybody has heard how the State of New Jersey, along the railroad line, stood through the evening and the night to shout their quota of good wishes. At every station the Jerseymen were there, uproarious as Jerseymen, to shake our hands and wish us a happy despatch. I think I did not see a rod of ground without its man, from dusk till dawn, from the Hudson to the Delaware."*

---

* Governor Andrew's Address to the Legislature. May 14, 1861.

The gallant company met with many hardships on the way, in their severe night march from Annapolis to Washington, which it was six days from the time they left New York before they reached, for the ordinary railway route was by that time broken up, and they had to proceed from Philadelphia by sea, but there was nothing in all that experience or in their subsequent camp life by the Potomac, guarding the outposts of the Capital, which could compare with the cheerfulness mingled with the solemn enthusiasm of that New York departure. Many like scenes followed it: old men as venerable accompanied their sons on the march through the streets of the city, prolonging the parting hour; maidens as beautiful sighed their farewells from the windows; there came a deeper meaning afterward in these processions as the cry of blood went up from the land; but this was the first, and it remains in the memory of New York consecrated by youth and chivalrous patriotism.

---

* "New York Seventh Regiment; Our March to Washington." *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1861.

We are tempted to linger over the scenes of that journey so darkly surrounded with gloomy perils, so cheerfully lighted within by youth and enthusiasm. The 'Seventh' had the good fortune to have a bounteous infusion of literature in its ranks—men ready with the pen and, sure of an appreciative audience, not afraid to record what they saw, as they saw it, and communicate their unstudied reflections to the public. Winthrop's charming paper has a hundred animated sketches by the way, full of life, and here and there touched with the pathos of the occasion, which will be sought for hereafter.

Philadelphia, of course, became an important landing-place in the transit of the Northern troops in the progress of the war, and the hospitality of its kind inhabitants, often as it was called upon, was never exhausted. Winthrop, like many others, passed through with a pleasing impression of the city. "When we rendezvoused at the train," says he, 'we found that the orders were for every man to provide himself three days' rations in the neighborhood, and be ready for a start at a moment's notice. A mountain of bread was already piled up in the station. I stuck my bayonet through a stout loaf, and, with a dozen comrades armed in the same way, went foraging about for other *vivers*. It is a poor part of Philadelphia; but whatever they had in the shops or the houses seemed to be at our disposition. I stopped at a corner shop to ask for pork, and was amicably assailed by an earnest dame,—Irish, I am pleased to say. She thrust her last loaf upon me, and sighed that it was not baked that morning for my 'honor's service.' A little farther on, two kindly Quaker ladies compelled me to step in. 'What could they do?' they asked eagerly. 'They had no meat in the house; but could we eat eggs? They had in the house a dozen and a half, new-laid.' So the pot to the fire, and the eggs boiled, and bagged by myself and that tall Saxon, my friend E., of the Sixth Company. While the eggs simmered, the two ladies thee-ed us prayerfully and tearfully, hoping that God would save our country from blood, unless blood must be shed to preserve Law and Liberty."

There was another young participant in that expedition of the New York Seventh, a brilliant author likewise, destined also to add his name to the honored obituaries of the war, and, like Winthrop, to be borne to his grave by his comrades of the regiment in the great city. This was Fitz James O'Brien. Of English birth, lively, versatile, an accomplished poet and essayist, eager in the pursuit of social enjoyment, he turned from the delights of the metropolis to seek a new happiness in the excitement of the camp. It was a manly resolution, and he cheerfully bore the hardships he encountered. He, too, has left us an account of that journey of the Seventh, written in the fresh glow of the war when all was novel to actors and observers. Such scenes grew strangely familiar throughout the land; but it will be long before the first striking impressions of these early adventurers will be forgotten.

The first effect of the mob in Baltimore was so to infuriate the citizens that the most outrageous acts were done in the blind passion of the moment. The gun shops of the city were plundered at night by the populace. The authorities of the city, Mayor Brown and the Marshal of Police, George P. Kane, the same night, issued an order for the destruction of the railway bridges on the northern routes, as the only means of impeding the arrival of the Pennsylvania troops on their way and preventing a repetition of the conflict of the day, and the order was promptly executed. The greatest excitement and apprehension prevailed throughout the city. The most violent secession sympathies were openly avowed, the flag of the Confederate States was seen in all directions, and the exhibition of the old banner of the United States was suppressed. On one point there seemed to be a general agreement, that no more troops from the North should be permitted to pass through the city.

Immediately on the occurrence of the riot, on the 19th, the following telegraphic message, signed by the Governor and the Mayor, was sent to President Lincoln :—"Sir,—A collision between the citizens and the Northern troops has taken place in Baltimore and the excitement is fearful. Send no more troops here. We will endeavor to prevent all bloodshed." At the same time an embassy was sent by an express train, with the concurrence of Governor Hicks, by Mayor Brown to the President, composed of the Honorable H. Lenox Bond, George W. Dobbin and John C. Brune, who were charged to explain "the fearful condition of affairs in the city." "The people," was the language of the letter which they bore with them, "are exasperated to the highest degree by the passage of troops, and the citizens are universally decided in the opinion that no more troops should be ordered to come. The authorities did their best to-day to protect both strangers and citizens, and to prevent a collision, but in vain; and but for their great efforts a fearful slaughter would have occurred. Under these circumstances it is my solemn duty to inform you that it is not possible for more soldiers to pass through Baltimore, unless they fight their way at every step. I therefore hope and trust, and most earnestly request, that no more troops be permitted or ordered by the Government to pass through the city. If they should attempt it, the responsibility for the bloodshed will not rest upon me" To this letter the President, addressing Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown, the following day, replied :—"Gentlemen,—Your letter by Messrs. Bond, Dobbin and Brune, is received. I tender you both my sincere thanks for your efforts to keep the peace in the trying situation in which you are placed. For the future troops *must* be brought here, but I make no point of bringing them *through* Baltimore. Without any military knowledge myself, of course I must leave details to General Scott. He hastily said this morning in the presence of these gentlemen, 'March them *around* Baltimore, and not through it.' I sincerely hope the General, on fuller reflection, will consider this practical and proper, and that you will not object to it. By this a collision of the people of Baltimore with the troops will be avoided, unless they go out of their way to seek it. I hope you will exert your influence to prevent this. Now and ever I shall do all in my power for peace, consistently with the maintenance of the Government."

At 3 o'clock in the morning of the next day, the 21st, Mayor Brown received a despatch from the President requesting the presence of himself and Governor Hicks at the Capital to confer respecting the preservation of the peace of Maryland. Governor Hicks not being at Baltimore, Mayor Brown, at the further request of the President, proceeded without him, taking with him Messrs. Dobbin, Brune and S. T. Wallis. Having procured a special train they reached Washington about 10 in the forenoon and forthwith repaired to the President's house, where they were admitted to an immediate interview, to which the Cabinet and General Scott were summoned. A long conversation and discussion ensued, of which the following statement was prepared by Mayor Brown and his companions immediately after the interview:

"The President, upon his part, recognized the good faith of the city and state authorities, and insisted upon his own. He admitted the excited state of feeling in Baltimore, and his desire and duty to avoid the fatal consequences of a collision with the people. He urged, on the other hand, the absolute, irresistible necessity of having a transit through the State for such troops as might be necessary for the protection of the federal Capital. The protection of Washington, he asseverated with great earnestness, was the sole object of concentrating troops there, and he protested that none of the troops brought through Maryland were intended for any purpose hostile to the State, or aggressive as against the Southern States. Being now unable to bring them up the Potomac in security, the Government must either bring them through Maryland, or abandon the Capital. He called on General Scott for his opinion, which the General gave at length, to the effect that troops might be brought through Maryland without going through Baltimore, by either carrying them from Perryville to Annapolis, and thence by rail to Washington, or by bringing them on to the Relay House on the Northern Central Railroad, and marching them to the Relay House on the Washington Railroad, and thence by rail to the Capital. If the people would permit them to go by either of these routes uninterruptedly, the necessity of their passing through Baltimore would be avoided. If the people would not permit them a transit thus remote from the city, they must select their own best route, and, if need be, fight their way through Baltimore, a result which the General earnestly deprecated.

"The President expressed his hearty concurrence in the desire to avoid a collision, and said that no more troops should be ordered through Baltimore, if they were permitted to go uninterrupted by either of the other routes suggested. In this disposition the Secretary of War expressed his participation. Mayor Brown assured the President that the city authorities would use all lawful means to prevent their citizens from leaving Baltimore to attack the troops in passing at a distance; but he urged at the same time, the impossibility of their being able to promise anything more than their best efforts in that direction. The excitement was great, he told the President; the people of all classes were fully aroused, and it was impossible for any one to answer for the consequences of the presence of Northern troops anywhere within our borders. He reminded the President also that the jurisdiction of the city authorities was confined to their own population, and that he could give no promises for the people elsewhere, because he would be unable to keep them if given. The President frankly acknowledged this difficulty, and said that the Government would only ask the city authorities to use their best efforts with respect to those under their jurisdiction. The interview terminated with the distinct assurance, on the part of the President, that no more troops would be sent through Baltimore, unless obstructed in their transit in other directions, and with the understanding that the city authorities should do their best to restrain their own people.

"On returning to the cars, and just about to leave, about 2 P. M., the mayor received a dispatch from Mr. Garrett, announcing the approach of troops to Cockeysville, and the excitement consequent upon it in the city. Mr. Brown and his companions returned at once to the President, and asked an immediate audience, which was promptly given. The mayor exhibited Mr. Garrett's dispatch, which gave the President great surprise. He immediately summoned the Secretary of War and General Scott, who soon appeared, with other members of the cabinet. The dispatch was submitted. The President at once, in the most decided way, urged the recall of the troops, saying that he had no idea they would be here to-day, and lest there should be the slightest suspicion of bad faith on his part in summoning the mayor to Washington, and allowing troops to march on the city during his absence, he desired that the troops should, if it were practicable, be sent back at once to York or Harrisburg. General Scott adopted the President's views warmly, and an order was accordingly prepared by the Lieutenant-General to that effect, and forwarded by Major Belger of the army, who accompanied the mayor to this city. The troops at Cockeysville, the mayor was assured, were not brought there for transit through the city, but were intended to be marched to the Relay House, on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. They will proceed to Harrisburg, from there to Philadelphia, and thence by the Chesapeake and Delaware canal, or by Perrysville, as Major-General Patterson may direct."

So little was the excitement at Baltimore allayed by these reasonable replies and kindly concessions, that Governor Hicks, overcome for the moment by the popular tumult, felt compelled on the 22d to address this further communication to the President:—"I feel it my duty, most respectfully to advise you that no more troops be ordered or allowed to pass through Maryland, and that the troops now off Annapolis be sent elsewhere, and I most respectfully urge that a truce be offered by you, so that the effusion of blood may be prevented. I respectfully suggest that Lord Lyons be requested to act as mediator between the contending parties of our country." To this the Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, replied in behalf of the President:—"The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of that communication, and to assure you that he has weighed the counsels which it contains with the respect which he habitually cherishes for the Chief Magistrates of the several States, and especially for yourself. He regrets, as deeply as any magistrate or citizen of the country can, that demonstrations against the safety of the United States, with very extensive preparations for the effusion of blood, have made it his duty to call out the force to which you allude. The force now sought to be brought through Maryland, is intended for nothing but the defence of this Capital. The President has necessarily confided the choice of the national highway which that force shall take in coming to the city, to the Lieutenant-General commanding the army of the United States, who, like his only predecessor, is not less distinguished for his humanity, than for his loyalty, patriotism and distinguished public service. The President instructs me to add, that the national highway thus selected by the Lieutenant-General has been chosen by him, upon consultation with prominent magistrates and citizens of Maryland, as the one which, while a route is absolutely necessary, is furthest removed from the populous cities of the State, and with the expectation that it would, therefore, be the least objectionable one. The President cannot but remember that there has been a time in the history of our country when a general of the American Union, with forces designed for the defence of its capitol, was not unwelcome anywhere in the State of Maryland, and certainly not at Annapolis then, as now, the capital of that patriotic State, and then, also, one of the capitals of the Union. If eighty years could have obliterated all the other noble sentiments of that age in Maryland, the President would be hopeful, nevertheless, that there is one that would forever remain there and everywhere. That sentiment is that no domestic contention whatever, that may arise among the parties of this Republic, ought in any case to be referred to any foreign arbitrament, least of all to the arbitrament of an European monarchy." It will certainly be looked back upon as one of the most extraordinary assumptions of this most extraordinary war, that the chief authorities of a State not denying its allegiance to the government, requested the President to forbid the passage of United States troops through its territories when they were summoned to protect the capital against a self-styled foreign enemy openly in arms.

In addition to these embassies and appeals of the Governor and Mayor, a special delegation from five of the Young Men's Christian Associations of Baltimore proceeded on the 22d to Washington, to intercede with the President on behalf of a peaceful policy, and to entreat him not to pass troops through Baltimore or Maryland. The Rev. Dr. Fuller of the Baptist Church accompanied the the party, by invitation, as chairman. A report of the characteristic interview which followed appeared next day in the Baltimore *Sun*, which, while it is hardly to be taken as a literal report of the words of the conversation, preserves enough of the spirit of the occasion to present it to the reader as a curious memorial of the times. "Upon the introduction of the delegation," says this account, "they were received very cordially by Mr. Lincoln, and the conversation opened by Dr. Fuller seeking to impress upon him the vast responsibility of the position he occupied, and that upon him depended the issue of peace or war—on one hand, a terrible, fratricidal conflict, and on the other, peace. 'But,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'what am I to do?'

'Why, sir, let the country know that you are disposed to recognize the independence of the Southern States. I say nothing of secession; recognise the fact that they have formed a government of their own; that they will never be united again with the North, and peace will instantly take the place of anxiety and suspense, and war may be averted.' 'And what is to become of the revenue?' was the reply. 'I shall have no government—no revenues.' Dr. Fuller then expressed the opinion that the Northern States would constitute an imposing government and furnish revenue.

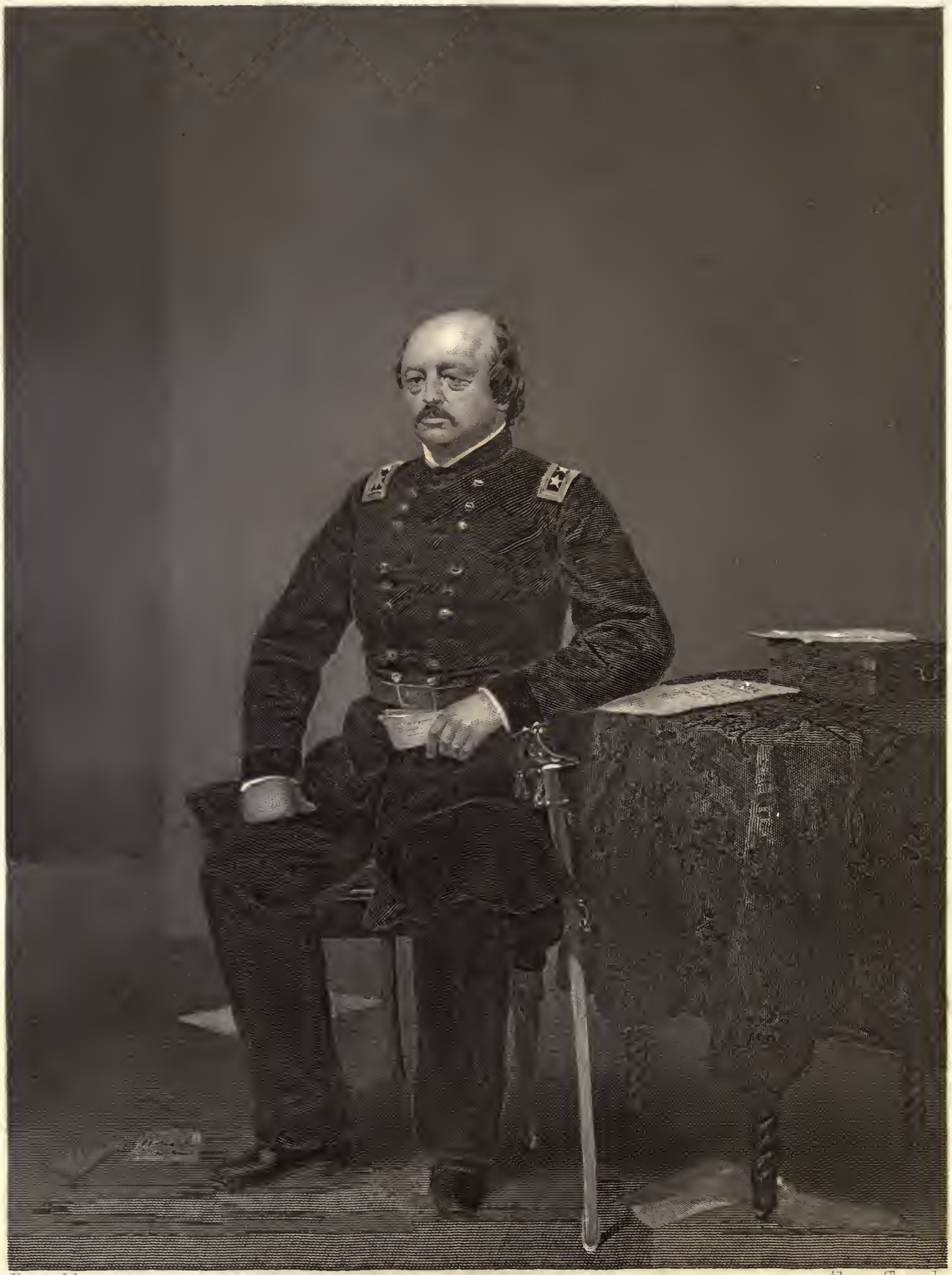
"The conversation next turned upon the passage of troops through Maryland, Dr. Fuller expressing very earnestly the hope that no more would be ordered over the soil of this State. He remarked that Maryland had shed her blood freely in the War for Independence, she was the first to move for the adoption of the Constitution, and had only yielded her clinging attachment to the Union when the blood of her citizens had been shed by strangers on their way to a conflict with her sisters of the South. Mr. Lincoln insisted that he wanted the troops only for the defence of the Capital, not for the invasion of the Southern States. 'And,' he said, 'I must have the troops, and mathematically the necessity exists that they should come through Maryland. They can't crawl under the earth, and they can't fly over it, and mathematically they must come across it. Why, sir, those Carolinians are now crossing Virginia to come here to hang me, and what can I do?' In some allusion to the importance of a peace policy, Mr. Lincoln remarked that if he adopted it under the circumstances there 'would be no Washington in that—no Jackson in that—no spunk in that!' Whereupon Dr. Fuller hoped that Mr. Lincoln would not allow 'spunk' to override patriotism. Mr. Lincoln doubted if he or Congress could recognize the Southern Confederacy. With regard to the Government, he said, 'he must run the machine as he found it.' In reference to passing troops through Baltimore or Maryland, he said:—'Now, sir, if you won't hit me, I won't hit you.' As the delegations were leaving, Mr. Lincoln said to one or two of the young men, 'I'll tell you a story. You have heard of the Irishman who, when a fellow was cutting his throat with a blunt razor, complained that he haggled it. Now, if I can't have troops direct through Maryland, and must have them all the way round by water, or marched across out-of-the-way territory, I shall be haggled.'" From this idiomatic and sufficiently life-like report of the conversation the true position of affairs, we apprehend, can be quite as readily understood as from the more formal diplomatic language of the Secretary of State.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL BUTLER'S DEPARTMENT OF ANNAPOLIS.

Whilst these various painful interviews and negotiations respecting the apparently simple matter of a passage of United States troops to the national Capital were forced upon the President, the question under discussion was practically solved, and Maryland saved, by an enterprising Massachusetts Brigadier General of Militia, who opened and held the route by way of Annapolis. General Benjamin Franklin Butler, who now first appears upon the stage of the war in which he was to play an important part, was a native New Englander, now forty-three years of age, in the enjoyment of considerable reputation as a stirring member of the bar and an active, influential Democratic politician. As a member of the Charleston Presidential Convention and an advocate of the election of the extreme Southern candidate, the fact of his prompt support of the Government of President Lincoln when the issue was made at Sumter was of no little significance of the final success of the cause. It was an indication of the utmost value at the time, that whatever party differences there had been heretofore, there would be but one opinion at the North on the propriety and necessity of using every effort for the preservation of the Union.

The talents of General Butler were of a kind well-suited for the work, half civil, half military, upon which he was about to enter. Quick, sagacious, and above all resolute, he was not to be turned aside by unexpected practical obstacles on his route, of which quite enough might be looked for ; nor was he to be perplexed by any of the sophistries of rebellion which might be interposed to interrupt the straightforward path of his civil duties. He might lack experience for an active campaign in the field, but those who knew him felt that the enemy would not easily get the advantage of him in the diplomacy of war. The man who had commenced his legal career in securing the claim of a female operative by attaching the wheel of the mill of her wealthy manufacturing debtor, would, it was said, know how and where to strike. There was another story told of him, illustrating his presence of mind, which inspired some confidence in his performance of his new military duties. It was in Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1856, during the Presidential contest, when the Hon. Rufus Choate had been invited to address the citizens. The largest hall of the town was crowded to overflowing and all were listening delighted to the orator of the occasion, when suddenly a burst of applause was interrupted by a jar in the building, and the cry that the floor was sinking. General Butler instantly rose and allayed the excitement by assuring the assembly that he did not apprehend the least danger, but as the architect was present, for the greater certainty,



Painted by Alonso Chappel

Benj. F. Butler

Likeness from the latest Photograph from life

[illegible] Fry [illegible]

[illegible] Fry [illegible] N.Y

he would go with him and make an instant examination. The investigation at once convinced him of the utter insecurity of the edifice and the probability of a fearful disaster to the whole company if there was any disturbance or haste to escape. Making his way through the dense crowd on his return with perfect calmness, he approached the speaker and apparently communicating to him some pleasing intelligence, while he was with startling emphasis actually whispering the terrific sentence in his ear, "Mr. Choate, I must clear this house, or we shall all be in h—l in five minutes," turned to the audience and blandly remarked, "My friends, there is no present danger; but as the house is overcrowded it will be better to quietly adjourn to the open air; and I therefore invite you to the front of the Merrimac House." The assembly, in blissful ignorance of the danger, quietly adopting the suggestion, retired in safety.

A clever sketch of General Butler written a year or two previously by a member of the New England bar was reproduced at the time of his new military appointment, pleasantly shows us something of the man. "He was born in New Hampshire. He worked his own way to college, and through it, at Waterville, Maine. It is safe to say that his *alma mater* never graduated such another. He supported himself in college by making chairs. Through life he has cut his own way, and a wide, long breadth of swarth has he carried. He has wrung success from men and circumstances, moreover, that were reluctant to concede it to him. And in so doing he has indicated his great strength. When he first came to the Bar the Courts looked upon him as a sort of portentous phenomenon, such as never before came athwart the judicial vision. He had no family influence to aid his young steps. He had no friends to 'blow for him,' as the phrase is. His early days were spent in steady rowing up stream, with a strong wind and the current both dead against him. But he never faltered. He cleared the rapids, and up he continued to sail. He is in calmer water now. He might anchor if he would. But his temperament will never suffer him to rest this side the 'narrow house.' But the fact that all he has and all he is, are the conquest of his own energy, is a fact that indicates this pluck. He may be safely set down as a man of irrepressible energy. . . . He is not a fluent nor graceful speaker. His voice is harsh and grating. There is no mistaking his meaning. He uses 'talk words' with fiery vehemence. He makes awkward work when he undertakes to utter compliments. But he smites an adversary with the plainest of Anglo-Saxon epithets, as though he had had long practice in their use, as, indeed, he has. The laughs he creates are more apt to be in the rear seats than on the bench or in the bar. . . . He is a faithful and steadfast friend. His zeal in his client's cause never flags for an instant. His fidelity to his client is never shaken; and fidelity is equally strong in all cases. It isn't at all measured by the fees received. Pay or no pay—the earnestness and the energy are the same so long as the relation of attorney and client continues. The General has a memory we think especially tenacious of friendly acts. He is quite apt not to forget or wholly to forgive injuries, real or fancied. But no temptation would cause him to desert or betray a friend. He lives in a style anything but Democratic, according to our New England ideas. Scarcely any other lawyer, from the income of his profession, could maintain such an establishment as his. But he has earned it by his energy, industry and perseverance. And though we hope he may be unsuccessful in his politics, we hope he may survive through many years of happy life in his elegant residence on the banks of the Merrimac, with its 'shrubbery' which Shenstone indeed might envy. 'Ability,' quoth the lexicographer, 'means the art of accomplishing.' Then General Butler is as able a man as walks the soil of Massachusetts. He has all the elements necessary for the successful accomplishment of whatever he undertakes. He has a resolute will. He is fertile in resources. He is ingenious. He is a genial companion. His wit, in conversation, tells better than in formal speeches or arguments. He can set and keep the 'table in a roar.'"

Brigadier-General Butler having been appointed by Governor Andrew to command the Massachusetts men sent to Washington, left Boston on the 18th of April, with the 8th State Regiment, and was with it in Philadelphia on the day of the attack upon the advanced portion of his force in the riot at Baltimore. Quickly appreciating the state of affairs in Maryland, and conscious of the obstacles which would be interposed in the way of direct communication with the National Capital, with characteristic promptness and decision he resolved upon opening the way by a path of his own. "I propose," said he, in a despatch to Governor Andrew, from Philadelphia, written on the morning of the 20th, "to take the 1,500 troops to Annapolis, arriving there to-morrow about 4 o'clock, and occupy the capital of Maryland, and thus call the State to account for the death of Massachusetts men,—my friends and neighbors. . . In pursuance of this plan I have detailed Captains Devereux and Briggs with their commands to hold the boat at Havre de Grace. . . If I succeed, success will justify me. If I fail, purity of intention will excuse want of judgment or rashness."[*] In accordance with this resolution he travelled that night with the regiment by rail to Havre de Grace on the Susquehanna, where, in pursuance of his scheme, he at once took military possession of the powerful steam ferry boat Maryland at the station, and sailed with his troops down the Chesapeake to Annapolis, from which place there was railway communication with Washington.

Arriving before the town he found it in the hands of a body of insurgents, and the United States property at the Naval Academy stationed there, especially the frigate Constitution,—"old Ironsides,"—which lay at the dock and was employed as a practice ship by the pupils of the school, in immediate danger of capture. A number of men selected from his command on the deck of the Maryland for their acquaintance with nautical duties, were promptly put on board of the frigate, and by their exertions and the aid of the ferry boat, the honored old ship was worked into the stream and placed out of danger. A special order of General Butler, dated on board the Maryland, addressed to his Eighth Regiment, handsomely, and not without a few pardonable patriotic flourishes, acknowledged their services. "The frigate Constitution," said he, "has lain for a long time at this port, substantially at the mercy of the armed mob which sometimes paralyzes the otherwise loyal State of Maryland. Deeds of daring, successful contests and glorious victories, had rendered 'old Ironsides' so conspicuous in the naval history of the country, that she was fitly chosen as the school in which to train the future officers of the Navy to like heroic acts. It was given to Massachusetts and Essex County first to man her; it was reserved to Massachussetts to have the honor to retain her for the service of the Union and the laws. This is a sufficient triumph of right, a sufficient triumph for us. By this the blood of our friends, shed by the Baltimore mob, is so far avenged. The Eighth Regiment may hereafter cheer lustily upon all proper occasions, but never without orders. The old Constitution, by their efforts, aided untiringly by the United States officers having her in charge, is now 'possessed, occupied and enjoyed' by the Government of the United States, and is safe from all her enemies." We may add, as a sequel to this chapter in the history of the old frigate, so splendidly illuminated by the heroism of Hall, Stewart and Bainbridge, that the Constitution was shortly after brought to New York with the pupils of the Naval Academy on board, and that she thence passed to a permanent station in the harbor of Newport, where without delay the usual discipline of the school was resumed.

---

[*] Report of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts. December 31, 1861, p. 22.

While General Butler with his troops was still on board the Maryland, detained by the grounding of that vessel on a sand bar, the steamer Boston, on the morning of the 22d, came into the harbor, bringing the Seventh New York regiment, which, despairing of the communication by Baltimore, had taken the ocean route from Philadelphia. The joint forces landed in the afternoon, and took up their quarters at the grounds of the Naval Academy with no more formidable opposition than a protest against the proceeding from Governor Hicks, who, being in the town, had been engaged from the first arrival of the troops in a correspondence with General Butler on the subject of their reception. "I would most earnestly advise," he wrote, on the appearance of the Maryland, "that you do not land your men at Annapolis. The excitement here is very great, and I think that you should take your men elsewhere." To this the General replied with exceeding moderation, pleading the necessities of his position, the wants of his men and their extreme and unhealthy confinement on a transport not fitted to receive them, and above all, his duty in obedience to the requisitions of the President to proceed to Washington. In amendment of the terms in which the Governor had spoken of his troops, he added, "I beg leave to call your excellency's attention to what I hope I may be pardoned for deeming an ill-advised designation of the men under my command. They are not Northern troops; they are a part of the whole militia of the United States, obeying the call of the President." The commander's resolution was decided, and the Governor yielded, if not to the logic of the lawyer, at least to the equally stubborn arguments of the general. "I content myself," he wrote in reply, "with protesting against this movement, which in view of the excited condition of the people of this State, I cannot but consider an unwise step on the part of the government." Thus beset with difficulties, at this time, was the execution by its constituted officers of the simplest duties to the nation.

The landing being now accomplished, the troops began the work of repairing the railway connecting with Washington, which had been broken up within the last few days by the disaffected population. The Massachusetts soldiers took the lead, and were particularly efficient in this employment, the 8th regiment numbering many skilled artisans accustomed to this species of labor. With a keen scent the abstracted rails were quickly discovered where they had been hidden in wood and field, and drew them forth from their lurking-places near, and remote : one enterprising detective, arguing from the probabilities of the case, inferred that a missing link of the iron road must be in the bed of the river, plunged in headlong and brought it to the surface. Forges were extemporized, and an engine which had been purposely disabled was put in order for its work. Oddly enough, though not without its significance for a contest in which Northern labor was to be so important a principle, the very maker of the now dilapidated machine,—Charles Homans of the Beverley Light Guard,—stepped forward from the ranks to repair it ; and when it was restored there were Massachusetts engineers ready to carry it forward. In two days' time from the landing, all was in sufficient order to afford means of transit for the sick of the New York "Seventh," their howitzers, ammunition and medical stores on the way to the Junction, from which point, by the vigilant precautions of General Scott, the remainder of the road to Washington was sufficiently protected.

The march of the Seventh across Maryland was a striking event in the early annals of the war—not so formidable and extraordinary perhaps to old campaigners as it appeared to the inexperienced youths suddenly removed from the comforts and luxuries of their homes, but sufficiently rigorous under the circumstances, and undoubtedly attended with many unmilitary privations of needed repose and a proper commissariat. After four or five days of excitement and hardships, ill supplied with food, and beset with dangers in the midst of a hostile population, word was given at Annapolis to advance and open the route to the Capital. On the morning of the 24th of April, says O'Brien, a member of the regiment, in the narrative already alluded to, "we started on what afterwards proved to be one of the hardest marches on record. The secessionists of Annapolis and the surrounding district had threatened to cut us off in our march, and even went so far as to say that they would attack our quarters. This, of course, was the drunken Southern ebullition. A civilian told me that he met in the streets of Annapolis two cavalry soldiers who came to cut our throats without delay, but as each brave warrior was endeavoring to hold the other up, my friend did not apprehend much danger. A curious revulsion of feeling took place at Annapolis, and indeed all through Maryland after our arrival. The admirable good conduct which characterizes the regiment, the open liberality which it displays in all pecuniary transactions, and the courteous demeanour which it exhibits to all classes, took the narrow-minded population of this excessively wretched town by surprise. They were prepared for pillage. They thought we were going to sack the place. They found, instead, that we were prepared and willing to pay liberal prices for everything, and that even patriotic presentations were steadily refused. While we were in the Navy School, of course all sorts of rumors as to our operations were floating about. It surprised me that no one suggested that we were to go off in a balloon; however, all surmises were put an end to by our receiving orders, the evening of the 23d, to assemble in marching order next morning. The dawn saw us up. Knapsacks, with our blankets and overcoats strapped on them, were piled on the green. A brief and insufficient breakfast was taken, our canteens filled with vinegar and water, cartridges distributed to each man, and after mustering and loading, we started on our first march through a hostile country. We marched the first eight miles under a burning sun, in heavy marching order, in less than three hours; and it is well known that, placing all elementary considerations out of the way, marching on a railroad track is the most harassing. We started at about 8 o'clock A. M., and for the first time, saw the town of Annapolis, which, without any disrespect to that place, I may say, looked very much as if some celestial schoolboy, with a box of toys under his arm, had dropped a few houses and men as he was going home from school, and that the accidental settlement was called Annapolis. The tracks had been torn up between Annapolis and the Junction, and here it was that the wonderful qualities of the Massachusetts Eighth regiment came out. The locomotives had been taken to pieces by the inhabitants, in order to prevent our travel. In steps a Massachusetts volunteer, looks at the piece-meal, and then takes up a flange, and says coolly, 'I made this engine, and I can put it together again.' Engineers were wanted when the engine was ready. Nineteen stepped out of the ranks. The rails were torn up. Practical railroad makers out of the regiment laid them again, and all this, mind you, without care or food. These brave boys, I say, were starving while they were doing all this good work. What their Colonel was doing I can't say. As we marched along the track that they had laid, they greeted us with ranks of smiling but hungry faces. One boy told me, with a laugh on his young lips, that he had not ate anything for thirty hours. There was not, thank God, a haversack in our regiment that was not emptied into the hands of these ill-treated heroes, nor a flask that was not at their disposal. I am glad to pay them tribute here, and mentally doff my cap.

"Our march lay through an arid, sandy, tobacco-growing country. The sun poured on our heads like hot lava. The Sixth and Second companies were sent on for skirmishing duty, under the command of Captains Clarke and Nevers, the latter commanding as senior officer. A car, on which was placed a howitzer, loaded with grape and canister, headed the column, manned by the engineer and artillery corps, commanded by Lieutenant Bunting. This was the rallying point of the skirmishing party, on which, in case of difficulty, they could fall back. In the centre of the column came the cars laden with medical stores, and bearing our sick and wounded, while the extreme rear was brought up with a second howitzer, loaded also with grape and canister. The engineer corps, of course, had to do the forwarding work. New York dandies, sir—but they built bridges, laid rails, and headed the regiment through that terrible march. After marching about eight miles, during which time several men caved in from exhaustion, and one young gentleman was sunstruck and sent back to New York, we halted, and instantly, with the divine instinct which characterizes the hungry soldier, proceeded to forage. The worst of it was there was no foraging to be done. The only house within reach was inhabited by a lethargic person, who, like most Southern men, had no idea of gaining money by labor. We offered him extravagant prices to get us fresh water, and it was with the utmost reluctance we could get him to obtain us a few pailsful. Over the mantel-piece of his miserable shanty I saw—a curious coincidence—the portrait of Colonel Duryea, of our regiment.

"After a brief rest of about an hour, we again commenced our march; a march which lasted until the next morning—a march than which in history nothing but those marches in which defeated troops have fled from the enemy can equal. Our Colonel, it seems, determined to march by railroad, in preference to the common road, inasmuch as he had obtained such secret information as led him to suppose that we were waited for on the latter route. Events justified his judgment. There were cavalry troops posted in defiles to cut us off. They could not have done it, of course, but they could have harassed us severely. As we went along the railroad, we threw out skirmishing parties from the Second and Sixth companies, to keep the road clear. I know not if I can describe that night's march. I have dim recollections of deep cuts through which we passed, gloomy and treacherous-looking, with the moon shining full on our muskets, while the banks were wrapped in shade, and each moment expecting to see the flash and hear the crack of the rifle of the Southern guerilla. The tree frogs and lizards made a mournful music as we passed. The soil on which we travelled was soft and heavy. The sleepers lying at intervals across the track, made the marching terribly fatiguing. On all sides dark, lonely pine woods stretched away, and high over the hooting of owls or the plantive petition of the whip-poor-will rose the bass commands of Halt! Forward, march!—and when we came to any ticklish spot, the word would run from the head of the column along the line, 'Holes,' 'Bridge, pass it along,' etc. As the night wore on, the monotony of the march became oppressive. Owing to our having to explore every inch of the way, we did not make more than a mile or mile and a half an hour. We ran out of stimulants, and almost out of water. Most of us had not slept for four nights, and as the night advanced, our march was almost a stagger. This was not so much fatigue as want of excitement. Our fellows were spoiling for a fight, and when a dropping shot was heard in the distance, it was wonderful to see how the languid legs straightened, and the column braced itself for action. If we had had even the smallest kind of a skirmish the men would have been able to walk to Washington. As it was, we went sleepily on. I myself fell asleep walking in the ranks. Numbers, I find, followed my example; but never before was there shown such indomitable pluck and perseverance as the Seventh showed in that march of twenty miles."*

---

* The Seventh Regiment. How it Got from New York to Washington. New York *Times*, May 2, 1862.

The Seventh found a hearty welcome at Washington. Their presence completed the trio of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York regiments quartered at the Capital, which with several hundred United States troops at hand, and a few companies of volunteers, constituted the defence of the city. The threatening events in Virginia following so rapidly the fall of Sumter, the secession of the State and the too-well founded rumors of attack upon the national property, naturally produced something like a panic at Washington. We have seen the anticipations by the Southern press of its easy capture, and many an anxious patriot in the metropolis, no doubt, during the week after the fall of Sumter, trembled to think that a bold hand only was wanted to convert them into realities. Washington, however, had a powerful defender in General Scott, who was fully prepared to dispose of his little force to the best advantage. The entrance to the city by the Long Bridge was doubly guarded and batteries were arranged at convenient points, while officers of the army, navy and marine corps were abandoning the service, notable among them Commodore Buchanan at the Washington Navy Yard and Colonel Magruder of the Flying Artillery. The work of organizing a volunteer force was vigorously prosecuted at the War Department and by the well known Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky, who drilled a company of guards, and James H. Lane, who mustered a little band of Kansas volunteers at the Presidential mansion. Defections were so numerous, and it was thought in certain quarters so much a matter of course that an officer, whatever his relations to the Government, should follow the fortunes of his State, that it was supposed at the South that General Scott would resign his command in the United States Army, and take command in the Confederate service. It is said that an overture of this kind was made him by an old personal friend from Richmond. "I remember," said Secretary Cameron, speaking of those days, "General Scott came to me, apparently in great tribulation. 'I have spent,' said he, 'the most miserable day of my life; a friend of my boyhood has just told me I am disgracing myself by staying here and serving this fragment of the government in place of going to Virginia and serving under the banner of my native State.'"* In answer to some such ignorant suggestion, he telegraphed to Senator Crittenden of Kentucky, on the 21st of April:—"I have not changed; have no thought of changing; always a Union man."

The leading spirits of the administration in Washington were actively providing for defence. Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, immediately on issuing the call for troops, sent his son into Pennsylvania to expedite the work of recruiting, and within three days, on the afternoon of the 18th of April, had the satisfaction of welcoming at Washington a body of about 500 troops from his native State, the first who arrived in answer to the President's Proclamation for the defence of the Capital. They came unarmed and were without experience as soldiers; but arms were found for them at the arsenal, and they were installed with satisfaction in the House wing of the Capitol. The next day brought Colonel Jones with his Massachusetts men, who escaped the violence of the mob at Baltimore. They were quartered alongside of the Pennsylvanians in the national Senate Chamber, where these New England laborers from the forge, the loom and the plough, enjoyed the patriotic gratification of dating their letters from the late desks of Davis, Toombs, Wigfall, Hunter, Mason and other prominent seceders. The Capitol meanwhile was boarded and barricaded as if to withstand a siege. The iron plates intended for the new dome were used for breastworks between the marble columns. Behind them were placed barrels of cement, piles of stone and timber. The statuary in the hall was boxed, and the pictures in the panels covered with a heavy planking to protect them from harm. The basement, where there was shortly established an immense bakery for the army, was assigned for the culinary department. The Hall of the House of Representatives was made ready for the New York Seventh Regiment and received them on their arrival.

---

* Speech of Hon. Simon Cameron at Harrisburgh, Penn May 3, 1862.

General Butler meanwhile remained at Annapolis in possession of the heights which commanded the town and of the railway leading to it. Governor Hicks in a communication, dated the 23d of April, objected to his holding the latter, lest it should prevent the members of the Legislature from reaching the city, where he had called a session of that body for the 26th; to which the Massachusetts lawyer General astutely replied:—"You are credibly informed that I have taken possession of the Annapolis and Elk Ridge Railroad. It might have escaped your notice, but at the official meeting which was had between your Excellency and the Mayor of Annapolis and the Committee of the Government and myself, as to the landing of my troops, it was expressly stated as the reason why I should not land, that my troops could not pass the railroad, because the company had taken up the rails and they were private property. It is difficult to see how it can be, that if my troops could not pass over the railroad one way, the members of the Legislature could pass the other way. I have taken possession for the purpose of preventing the execution of the threats of the mob, as officially represented to me by the Master of Transportation of the railroad in this city, 'that if my troops passed over the railroad, the railroad should be destroyed.'"* The result of the matter was that another place of meeting was found for the Legislature at Frederick. When it assembled its councils were disturbed and uncertain, from the presence of a large number of members deeply tainted with disaffection to the Union; but happily by the influence of earnest and judicious counsellors and the obvious embarrassments attending a disloyal course, time was gained for reflection and the State was saved the bitter experiences of a professedly rebel administration. The efforts made to bring about that dangerous agency, a convention of the people, which had proved so tyrannical a means of suppressing Southern loyalty, and the kindred establishment of a Board of Public Safety to take into its hands the military power of the State, proved alike abortive. The Legislature ungraciously protesting against the unavoidable policy of the national Government, was compelled by the pressure of events to submit to the preservation of the prosperity of the citizens.

Among those who guided the opinions

---

* Brigadier-General B. F. Butler to Governor Thos. H Hicks. Annapolis, April 23, 1861.

of the people at this crisis in Maryland, her eminent representative the Hon. Reverdy Johnson was distinguished by his candor and earnestness. With manly resistance to the prejudices of the hour he vindicated the national Government from the aspersions which had been cast upon it, and warned his fellow-citizens of the abyss upon the edge of which they were treading. "That the end," said he, on an important occasion, in speaking of the plans of the Confederate conspiracy, "must fail, who can doubt? The recent census furnishes pregnant proof of this. It shows that the Free States have a population of males between eighteen and forty-five of 3,778,000 and all the Slave States only 1,655,000, and the seceding States, excluding Virginia, but 531,000; and if to this vast difference of men is added that of wealth, inventive skill, habits of industry, and the absence of any element of domestic danger, the disparity is infinitely greater." Looking to the welfare of Maryland, the inference from the statement on the score of policy, to say nothing of the higher claims of patriotic duty, was obvious. "Let those," said he, "who have produced the rebellion exclusively share its certain adverse fate. Let them not, by specious promises of assistance and future prosperity, swerve us from our allegiance. They are even now promising themselves comparative exemption from the perils of the struggle. A recent Secretary, after having used his high position to produce the result, and by his grossly ignorant or faithless measures bankrupt the Treasury, is now addressing the people of his immediate section to persuade them that the coming war and its horrors will be kept far from them, and confined to the Border States. Let us, as far as ours is concerned, be wise enough to frustrate this cowardly policy. If to gain their traitorous views war is to be waged, let them bear its entire brunt. Let us not be their deluded victims."

"What is there," he asked with withering emphasis, and keen insight into the calculations of the rebellion, "in the modern history of South Carolina which should recommend her teachings to Maryland? What is there in the intellects of the Rhetts, the Yanceys, the Cobbs, and *id genus omne*, to make them our leaders? They did all they could to achieve the election of Mr. Lincoln, and hailed its accomplishment with undissembled delight. They thought they saw in it the realization of their long-cherished hopes—the precipitation of the Cotton States into a revolution; and then fancied exemption from the worst of the perils—and they now seek to effect it—in the intervention of the other Slave States between them and the danger. Shortsighted men, they never anticipated the calamities already upon them, and the greater certain to follow. Besides relying on the fact just stated, they also counted securely on a large and influential support in the Free States. Little did they know the true patriotic heart of the land. The first gun fired on the nation's flag raised that feeling in the Northern heart. That gun, fired without cause, and upon a noble garrison about to be starved into a surrender, by being, through timidity or a worse cause, left in that condition, caused every man able to bear arms to rush to the support of the Government. Where, in the past, the South could count its friends by thousands and hundreds of thousands, not one is now to be found. The cry is the Government must be sustained—the flag must be vindicated. Heaven forbid that the duty of that vindication should be forgotten by Maryland!"[*]

While General Butler was at Annapolis an incident occurred, of interest as the first formal consideration in the war, of an important question of the treatment of the negro population. On the morning after his arrival he was informed that the city and its environs were in danger from an insurrection of the slaves. The report proved groundless, but General Butler, while it was credited, promptly offered the services of his command to Governor Hicks to put down the movement. A report of the affair reached Governor Andrew of Massachusetts, who addressed a letter to General Butler inquiring into the circumstances and expressing the opinion that "the matter of servile insurrection among a community in arms against the Federal Union is no longer to be regarded by our troops in a political but solely in a military point of view, and is to be contemplated as one of the inherent weaknesses of the enemy, from the disastrous operations of which we are under no obligation of a military character to guard them, in order that they may be enabled to improve the security which our arms would afford, so as to prosecute with more energy their traitorous attacks upon the Federal Government and the Capital." To this General Butler replied, that he regarded the State of Maryland as generally friendly to the Union, that the disaffection was confined to rebellious insurgents and that consequently it was in the way of his duty to offer aid. In regard to the suggestion of the weakness of the rebels from their slave population, General Butler deprecated the horrors of a servile insurrection, which he presented in vivid terms, and recalled the odium which attached to the British government for their employment of the savages in their war with the colonies. "Shall history," he asked, "teach us in vain? Could we justify ourselves to ourselves, although with arms in our hands amid the savage wildness of camp and field, we may have blunted many of the finer moral sensibilities, in letting loose four millions of worse than savages upon the homes and hearths of the South." He, however, added this pregnant intimation, should dishonorable means be taken by the rebels against the Government. "If," said he, "as has been done in a single instance, my men are to be attacked by poison, or as in another, stricken down by the assassin's knife, and thus murdered, the community using such weapons may be required to be taught that it holds within it own border a more potent means for deadly purposes and indiscriminate slaughter than any which it can administer to us."[*]

On the 5th of May, General Butler, the route from Annapolis to the Capital being effectually guarded, advanced a portion of his command toward Baltimore, and took possession of the important position of the Relay House, about ten miles from Baltimore, on the Patapsco, where the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad joins the line to Washington. In a special order of the 8th of May he congratulated the troops on their promptness and efficiency, and particularly noticed several incidents of camp life, among them one which it would be a pleasure to a philanthropist if possible to discredit. "Wishing," he said to his soldiers, "to establish the most friendly relations between you and this neighborhood, the General invited all venders of supplies to visit our camp and replenish our somewhat scanty commissariat. But to his disgust and horror he finds well-authenticated evidence that a private in the Sixth Regiment has been poisoned by means of strychnine administered in the food brought into the camp by one of these peddlers. I am happy to be informed that the man is now out of danger. This act, of course, will render it necessary for me to cut off all purchases from unauthorized persons. Are our few insane enemies among the loyal men of Maryland, prepared to wage war upon us in this manner? Do they know the terrible lesson of warfare they are teaching us? Can it be that they realize the fact that we can put an agent with a word into every household armed with this terrible weapon? In view of the terrible consequences of this mode of warfare, if adopted by us from their teaching, with every sentiment of devotional prayer, may we not exclaim, 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.' Certain it is that any other such attempt, reasonably authenticated as to the person committing it, will be followed by the swiftest, surest, and most condign punishment."*

---

[*] Speech at Frederick, Maryland, May 7, 1861. *National Intelligencer*, May 11.

[*] General Butler to Governor Andrew, May 9, 1861.

Tales of this kind were frequent at the beginning of the war. For the honor of human nature let us hope that, with other rumors of the camp, they were often exaggerated. The fact that a considerable portion of the population of Maryland, then and long after, was embittered and hostile to the citizen soldiery who were ordered thither for the preservation of the Union unhappily admits of no question.

An exploit which enlivened the uniform duties at the Relay House was the capture by a scouting party from that station of the Winans' steam gun, a formidable looking military apparatus, a species of locomotive, designed by the inventor, a wealthy and enterprising gentleman of Baltimore, of reputation as an engineer, whose name it bore, "to inaugurate a new era in the science of war." Ball-proof, protected by an iron roof, mounted on a four-wheeled carriage, it was constructed to discharge from an ill-looking mouth at the apex of its projecting cone, a hundred or more balls a minute of any capacity from an ounce to a 24-pound shot. The prospectus in which the extraordinary merits of this invention were set forth by the patentee, Mr. Charles S. Dickinson, represented it as capable on the field of battle of "mowing down opposing troops as the scythe mows standing grain," while in sea fights, "mounted on low deck steamers it would be capable of sinking any ordinary war vessel." In fact it was enthusiastically predicted that "the day was not far distant when, through its instrumentality, the new era in the science of war (already alluded to) being inaugurated, it would be generally adopted by the Powers of the Old and New Worlds, and from its very destructiveness prove the means and medium of peace." This ingeniously constructed weapon was taken on the road in course of transportation from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, whither the rebel citizens were flocking, carrying aid and comfort to the Virginians in arms. There was some talk of making the engine serviceable in the national defence; but we may presume there were inherent difficulties in the way, else the inventive people into whose hands it fell would have turned it to some account. The "Winans' Steam Gun," after supplying paragraphs to the newspapers till all interest in it was exhausted, was transported by way of the Chesapeake and Fortress Monroe as a trophy of war to Boston.

---

* General Order. Relay House, May 8, 1861.

On the 14th of May, General Butler entered the city of Baltimore, included in the department of Annapolis, with his troops, among them a detachment of the very Massachusetts regiment which had been assailed in the riot, and established his headquarters in a fortified camp on Federal Hill, a position which thoroughly commanded the town. The Proclamation which he sent forth on the occasion was business-like and judicious. While it was resolutely set against acts of rebellion, the administration of the city government was left to the civil authorities, a profitable traffic was invited for the supply of the wants of the army, and every assurance given of good will. "A detachment," was its language, "of the forces of the Federal Government under my command have occupied the city of Baltimore for the purpose, among other things, of enforcing respect and obedience to the laws, as well of the State—if requested thereto by the civil authorities—as of the United States laws, which are being violated within its limits by some malignant and traitorous men, and in order to testify the acceptance by the Federal Government of the fact that the city and all the well-intentioned portion of its inhabitants are loyal to the Union and the Constitution, and are to be so regarded and treated by all. To the end, therefore, that all misunderstanding of the purpose of the Government may be prevented, and to set at rest all unfounded, false, and seditious rumors; to relieve all apprehensions, if any are felt, by the well-disposed portion of the community, and to make it thoroughly understood by all traitors, their aiders and abettors, that rebellious acts must cease; I hereby, by the authority vested in me as commander of the department of Annapolis, of which Baltimore forms a part, do now command and make known that no loyal and well-disposed citizen will be disturbed in his lawful occupation or business, that private property will not be interfered with by the men under my command, or allowed to be interfered with by others, except in so far as it may be used to afford aid and comfort to those in rebellion against the Government, whether here or elsewhere; all of which property, munitions of war, and that fitted to aid and support the rebellion, will be seized and held subject to confiscation, and, therefore, all manufacturers of arms and munitions of war are hereby requested to report to me forthwith, so that the lawfulness of their occupation may be known and understood, and all misconstruction of their doings be avoided. No transportation from the city to the rebels of articles fitted to aid and support troops in the field will be permitted, and the fact of such transportation, after the publication of this proclamation, will be taken and received as proof of illegal intention on the part of the consignors, and will render the goods liable to seizure and confiscation.

"The Government being ready to receive all such stores and supplies, arrangements will be made to contract for them immediately, and the owners and manufacturers of such articles of equipment and clothing, and munitions of war and provisions, are desired to keep themselves in communication with the Commissary-General, in order that their workshops may be employed for loyal purposes, and the artisans of the city resume and carry on their profitable occupations. The acting Assistant-Quartermaster and Commissary of Subsistence of the United States here stationed, has been instructed to proceed and furnish, at fair prices, 40,000 rations for the use of the army of the United States, and further supplies will be drawn from the city to the full extent of its capacity, if the patriotic and loyal men choose so to furnish supplies. All assemblages, except the ordinary police, of armed bodies of men, other than those regularly organized and commissioned by the State of Maryland, and acting under the orders of the Governor thereof, for drill and other purposes, are forbidden within the department. All officers of the militia of Maryland, having command within the limits of the department, are requested to report through their officers forthwith to the General in command, so that he may be able to know and distinguish the regularly commissioned and loyal troops of Maryland from armed bodies who may claim to be such. The ordinary operations of the corporate government of the city of Baltimore and of the civil authorities will not be interfered with, but, on the contrary, will be aided by all the power at the command of the General, upon proper call being made, and all such authorities are cordially invited to coöperate with the General in command to carry out the purposes set forth in the proclamation, so that the city of Baltimore may be shown to the country to be, what she is in fact, patriotic and loyal to the Union, the Constitution, and the laws.

"No flag, banner, ensign, or device of the so-called Confederate States or any of them will be permitted to be raised or shown in this department, and the exhibition of either of them by evil-disposed persons will be deemed, and taken to be evidence of a design to afford aid and comfort to the enemies of the country. To make it the more apparent that the Government of the United States by far more relies upon the loyalty, patriotism, and zeal of the good citizens of Baltimore and vicinity than upon any exhibition of force calculated to intimidate them into that obedience to the laws which the Government doubts not will be paid from inherent respect and love of order, the commanding General has brought to the city with him, of the many thousand troops in the immediate neighborhood, which might be at once concentrated here, scarcely more than an ordinary guard, and until it fails him, he will continue to rely upon that loyalty and patriotism of the citizens of Maryland, which have never yet been found wanting to the Government in time of need. The General in command desires to greet and treat in this part of his department all the citizens thereof as friends and brothers, having a common purpose, a common loyalty, and a common country. Any infractions of the laws by the troops under his command, or any disorderly, unsoldierlike conduct, or any interference with private property, he desires to have immediately reported to him, and pledges himself that if any soldier so far forgets himself as to break those laws that he has sworn to defend and enforce, he shall be most rigorously punished.

"The General believes that if the suggestions and requests contained in this proclamation are faithfully carried out by the coöperation of all good and Union-loving citizens, and peace and quiet, and certainty of future peace and quiet are thus restored, business will resume its accustomed channels, trade take the place of dullness and inactivity, efficient labor displace idleness, and Baltimore will be in fact what she is entitled to be, in the front rank of the commercial cities of the nation."

Thenceforth, under the control and security of these provisions, arms were seized, disorder suppressed and peaceable citizens protected. The route through Baltimore was again open from the North, the trade of the city began to revive, Union men uttered their sentiments with confidence, the Confederate flag was proscribed and the Stars and Stripes, the exhibition of which had been forbidden by the municipal authorities, were restored to their old honors ; loyalty was recognized as the rule, and sedition, for unhappily it was not as yet altogether extinguished, became the exception. In accordance with the friendly design of the occupation, Governor Hicks the same day issued the following Proclamation, meeting under certain conditions the original requisition of the President :—" *Whereas*, The President of the United States, by his Proclamation of the 15th of April, 1861, has called upon me, the Governor of Maryland, for four regiments of infantry or riflemen to serve for a period of three months, the said requisition being made in the spirit and in pursuance of the law, and *Whereas*, To the said requisition has been added the written assurance of the Secretary of War, that said four regiments shall be detailed to serve within the limits of the State of Maryland, or for the defence of the Capital of the United States and not to serve beyond the limits aforesaid ; Now, therefore, I, Thomas Holliday Hicks, Governor of Maryland, do, by this my proclamation, call upon loyal citizens of Maryland to volunteer their services to the extent of four regiments, as aforesaid, to serve during a period of three months within the limits of Maryland, or for the defence of the Capital of the United States, to be subject under the conditions aforesaid, to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States. Given under my hand and the great seal of the State of Maryland, at the city of Frederick, this 14th day of May, 1861."

General Butler having thus by his firm but moderate course, seconding the wishes of the majority of the people whom he came to serve, secured the safety of his district from the violence of the secessionists, was rewarded by the Government with the rank of Major-General and assigned the command of a new military district of Virginia and North and South Carolina with his headquarters at Fortress Monroe. His new commission was dated the 16th of May, the same day on which General McClellan was also made a Major-General. General Cadwalader of Philadelphia succeeded to the command at Baltimore.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADVANCE ACROSS THE POTOMAC.

The month of May found the country everywhere engaged in preparations for active war. The forces called for by the President were mustering into service in the loyal States; officers were busy at the recruiting stations; companies were forming; men were enlisting in favorite regiments; State and municipal authorities were lending their aid; money in private contributions and legislative loans or grants was liberally placed at the disposition of the local committees and the government agents. Millions were furnished for the war, in the fortnight following the day of Sumter, of which a large proportion was the voluntary gift of individuals. Within the same time at least one hundred thousand men were in active preparation for the field. Of these about thirty thousand New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania troops were already at Washington or on their way thither. On one day, Sunday the 21st of April, while the land route was interrupted, more than four thousand men of New York, Rhode Island and Massachusetts left the city of New York for the Capital, by way of the Potomac, in five ocean steamers. The alacrity and efficiency of the Rhode Islanders was the subject of general comment. A meeting of the Legislature of the State, specially summoned, was held within a few days of the call of the President, money was liberally voted, and before the week was over a regiment was in arms and on its way to Washington. "Not only the officers of the regiment," says an enthusiastic chronicler of the day, "but the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor led the van, bearing with them the sovereignty of the State. With the side-arms of the officers and the shouldered muskets of the privates, came, in the simple blouse of their uniform, the representatives of more than $30,000,000 of wealth. No such event has ever before been recorded in war, nor has there been seen, by the past or present generation, such an impersonation of the muscle and the material aid of a campaign upon its muster and within its roll call." The Massachusetts men were attended to the Capital with similar plaudits. "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!" exclaimed another journalist—"the State that compromise was to leave out of the new Confederacy, and blessings be upon the State of Roger Williams, so confidently calculated on as the first of the Northern States that would avow its allegiance to the piratical government of Jeff. Davis." Nor were the other eastern, middle and western States deficient in the work. Under the animating impulse of their several Governors, all moved quickly and steadily onward according to their several opportunities. New York, under Governor Morgan, assisted by General Wool and the Union Defence Committee, gathered her tens of thousands to the camp;

Governor Curtin did the same in Pennsylvania, and Governor Dennison of Ohio speedily laid the foundation of an Army of the West. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak particularly of the services of Governor Yates of Illinois. Nor should the names of Morton of Indiana or Randall of Wisconsin be here forgotten. In the message which the latter delivered to the State legislature in May he had, with the full sympathy of the people, urged the energetic prosecution of the war; recommending the immediate equipment of six regiments of volunteers, the purchase of rifled cannon, and an appropriation of one million of dollars. In conclusion on that occasion he said, with indignant severity, "The people will never consent to any cessation of the war, forced so wickedly upon us, until the traitors are hung or driven into an ignominious exile. This war begun where Charleston *is*—it should end where Charleston *was*. The Supreme Ruler can but smile upon the efforts of the law-loving, government-loving, liberty-loving people of this land, in resisting the disruption of this Union. These gathering armies are instruments of His vengeance, to execute His judgments—they are His flails, wherewith on God's great southern threshing floor He will pound rebellion for its sins."* In less than eight days after the call of Governor Morton for the quota of troops to be furnished by Indiana in accordance with the President's Proclamation, more than 12,000 men, about three times the number asked for, tendered their services in eager emulation for a place in the ranks. This response, says the Governor, "has been most gratifying and extraordinary, and furnishes indubitable evidence of the patriotism of Indiana and her entire devotion to the Union. Without distinction of party, condition or occupation, men have rallied round the national standard, and in every part of the State may be heard the sound of martial music, and witnessed the mustering of companies into the field."*

On the 3d of May President Lincoln, by a Proclamation, made a second call upon the country for troops. Avoiding the threatened evils of the short three months' enlistment, he made the requisition for a period of three years, unless sooner discharged. 42,034 volunteers were thus called for, while the regular army was directed to be increased by the addition of eight regiments of infantry, one of cavalry and one of artillery, making an aggregate of nearly 23,000, officers and men. 18,000 seamen were at the same time ordered to be enlisted for the naval service of the United States. The several proceedings, the Proclamation announced, would be submitted to Congress as soon as it assembled. "In the mean time," added the President, "I earnestly invoke the cooperation of all good citizens in the measures hereby adopted for the effectual suppression of unlawful violence, for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and with those, of happiness and prosperity throughout our country.

While these preparations were being made at the North a similar activity was witnessed at the South. The work of spoliation begun at Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans, was also vigorously carried on in other regions of the country. Within a few days of the fall of Sumter the steam transport Star of the West, loaded with provisions, sent for the relief of the United States troops in Texas, was treacherously seized at Indianola by a body of insurgents, under Colonel Van Dorn; the arsenals at Liberty, Missouri, Fayetteville, North Carolina, Napoleon, Arkansas, with stores of arms and ammunition, were plundered by the rebels; Fort Smith, Arkansas, was taken possession of by Colonel Solon Borland, the leader of a volunteer band of secessionists. In consequence of the various acts of robbery and violence in Virginia and North Carolina, defeating the exercise of the proper powers of the Federal Government, President Lincoln, on the 27th of April, by proclamation, extended the blockade of the Southern coast to those States.

---

* Message of Governor Alexander W. Randall to the Legislature of Wisconsin, at its extra session May, 1861.

* Message of Governor Oliver P. Morton delivered at the called session of the Indiana Legislature. April 25, 1861.

The formal work of revolt was going on with great rapidity under the impulses of the leading conspirators. Two new States, Arkansas and Tennessee, passed ordinances of secession on the same day, the 6th of May, and fourteen days after, North Carolina followed their example. The proceedings by which the last mentioned State was separated from the Union were of the most unhappy character, conflicting as they evidently did with the better judgment and long settled convictions of the people. The majority at the outset was clearly for the preservation of the national Union, and had the State authorities been disposed to consult the popular will in this matter, there is reason to believe North Carolina might have been saved from her destructive alliance with the Southern Confederacy. Early in the year, on the 30th of January, an act was passed by the Democratic Legislature referring the question of a State convention to a vote of the people and, taking it for granted that the convention would be authorized, delegates were at the same time directed to be chosen for that body. When the vote was taken on the 28th of February, it stood 46,672 in favor of calling the convention, and 47,333 against it, giving a "no convention" majority of 661; while at the same time 84 Union delegates were elected to 36 disunion, showing on the latter issue a popular Union majority of at least 10,000 voters. The convention, of course, did not meet and matters remained in their old condition till the fall of Sumter. We have seen the irate and intemperate reply which Governor Ellis made to the call of President Lincoln for troops to sustain the Government and the terms in which he summoned a special session of the Legislature to meet on the 1st of May.* That body when it did assemble, in accordance with its previous inclinations, promptly passed an act directing a new election for a convention to be held on the 13th. It was no time then for an impartial verdict of the people when, as in Virginia, Union men were coerced and proscribed and allegiance to the national Government was denounced as treason to their own State. Under the influence of violence, artfully stimulated prejudices and false political doctrines, the voice of the Union-loving people was so far silenced or their judgments perverted that a majority of secessionists were elected for the convention. This body met a week after on the 20th and, without submission of their act to the people for their confirmation, the same day passed an ordinance of secession and handed the State over to the Southern Confederacy.*

---

* Ante, p. 128.

In Tennessee, early in May, a virtual act of secession was passed by the Legislature in secret session, in direct disagreement with a previous expression of the will of the people of the State, who had in February refused to hold a convention for the purpose. By this act a "Declaration of Independence and ordinance dissolving the Federal relations between the State of Tennessee and the United States of America," was nominally required to be submitted to a popular vote, to be taken a month afterward, on the 8th of June; but the Legislature did not wait for this ratification. Already, on the 1st of May, previous even to the passage of the act, the two Houses, following the precedent of Virginia, had taken the preliminary steps for the formation of an intimate alliance with the rebel government at Montgomery, by adopting a resolution that commissioners should be appointed on the part of Tennessee "to enter into a military league with the authorities of the Confederate States, and with the authorities of such other slaveholding States as may wish to enter into it; having in view the protection and defence of the entire South against the war that is now being carried on against it." Governor Harris accordingly appointed Gustavus A. Henry, Archibald O. W. Totten and Washington Barrow commissioners. They were promptly met at Nashville by Henry W. Hilliard, a delegate with similar powers from the Confederate States, with whom a convention was entered into on the 7th of May. By the terms of this instrument "the whole military force and military operations, offensive and defensive, of the State of Tennessee, in the impending conflict with the United States, were placed, to be employed for the common defence under the chief control and direction of the President of the Confederate States, upon the same basis, principles and footing as if said State were now, and during the intervals, a member of the said confederacy." The league thus formed was on the same day consummated and ratified by a joint resolution of the Senate and General Assembly. In the former the vote stood for the adoption ayes 14, nays 6, absent and not voting 5; in the latter, ayes 42, nays 15, absent and not voting 18. There was one peculiarity in the language of the Declaration of Independence submitted to the people. It frankly put the proceeding forward as a revolutionary measure. "Waiving an expression of opinion," were its words, "as to the abstract doctrine of secession, but asserting the right as a free and independent people to alter, reform or abolish our form of government in such manner as we think proper, do ordain and declare that all the laws and ordinances by which the State of Tennessee became a member of the Federal Union of the United States of America are hereby abrogated and annulled, and that all obligations on our part be withdrawn therefrom." We shall see in another chapter how the "act" was received by the people.

Eleven States were thus enrolled under the government of Jefferson Davis and the Southern Confederacy. Missouri might probably have made a twelfth but for the strong arm of military interference. Kentucky was saved by the energy of her own people. Mindful of Henry Clay, and with no disposition to follow Southern dictation, they would not desert the old flag of the Union.

---

* N. Y. *Herald*, May 20, 1862. N. Y. *Tribune*, May 22, 1862.

The Administration at Washington, meanwhile, impatient of the work of revolt, and determined, at the hazard of a stretch of prerogative, to arrest if possible the traitorous communications of agents and sympathizers with secession, gave instruction for the seizure at the leading telegraph offices through the northern States of "any despatches that may have been sent or received with purposes hostile to the Government or in relation to supplies of arms or provisions purchased or forwarded to the Southern rebels."* This was successfully accomplished by the United States Marshal by a simultaneous movement on the afternoon of the 20th of May. As the despatches which had been sent and received were kept on file at the offices, and the secrecy and suddenness of the descent gave no opportunity for their destruction, much valuable information was gained in this way which was doubtless employed with effect in repressing the acts of northern "sympathizers," and checking the schemes of the rebellion.

A flag raising over the General Post-Office building at Washington at noon of the 22d of May, was a proceeding of more than ordinary interest among the frequent displays of this kind, attended as it was by the President and several members of the Cabinet who spoke on the occasion. The flag was the gift of the officers and clerks of the Department, who took this opportunity in the midst of rumors of disaffection prevalent concerning the employès at the public offices, to testify their loyalty to the Administration. To the President was assigned the honor of raising the flag to the mast-head. After a few preliminary words suitable to the business in hand, the cords were placed in his hands and the banner ascended to its position. The air happening to be quiet at the moment it at first clung motionless to the staff, when it was caught by a gentle wind rising from the north and fully displayed to the assembly, who hailed the sight with enthusiasm. Pleasantly turning the incident to account, the President said to the multitude, "I had not thought to say a word, but it has occurred to me that a few weeks ago the 'Stars and Stripes' hung rather languidly about the staff all over the nation. So, too, with this flag, when it was elevated to its place. At first it hung rather languidly but the glorious breeze came and it now floats as it should. And we hope that the same breeze is swelling the glorious flag throughout the whole nation."

Postmaster-General Blair was then called for, and replied in a few remarks, in which he maintained the national cause still, spite of Southern disunion, represented by the flag. It was the especial emblem, he said, of that popular government so dear to the heart of the nation. "It is for that and that only, that the people of this country are rising, not as a party, for we have ceased to be parties. We are no longer democrats, we are no longer whigs, we are no longer republicans—we are Americans—standing up for free institutions. And we intend to exhibit to the world that in the presence of the great principle of maintaining free institutions we are as one people, devoted unto the end, be that end far or near. Do not mistake my own people of the South. I am a Southern man, and the people speaking through my voice, beg you to come and preserve them from a military despotism."

---

* Instructions of E. Delafield Smith, United States District Attorney, New York, to the United States Marshal for the Southern District of New York.

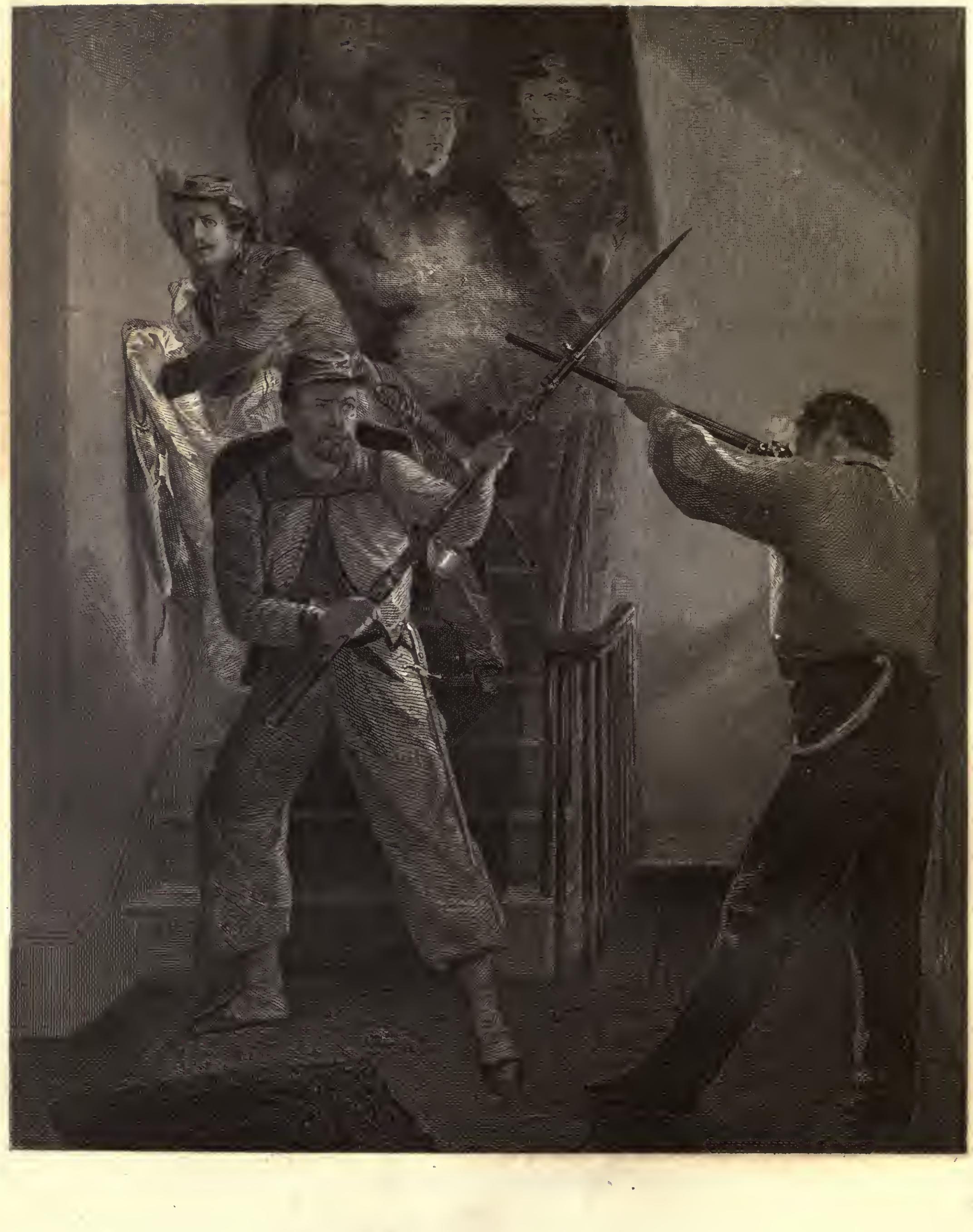
Mr. Seward also addressed a few pertinent words to the assembly identifying the cause, as was his wont, with a life-giving principle. "Fellow citizens," said he, "you here have known well the statesmen and orators of some of the Southern States. We have known their courage, and the courage, the spirit and the resolution of the people of all the Southern States. But knowing all these, we know two things which even they cannot do—one is to destroy 'Hail Columbia,' and the other is to destroy the Star Spangled Banner. They will fail to do it only because human nature needs that the one shall continue to be so, and that the other shall float over the sea and the land. And what human nature needs, God Almighty, the father of human nature decrees." The Hon. Caleb B. Smith, the Secretary of the Interior, in a similar hearty strain declared his conviction that the American people were equal to the work before them, the work of preserving the Union which Washington and the men of his day had founded. "I have to-day," he said, "an abiding faith that treason will be repelled, that rebellion will be crushed out, and that the foundations of this glorious republic will be found firmer, stronger and more enduring when this time of tribulation shall pass than they ever have been."

A sufficient force being now established at Washington, it was frequently asked why orders were not given for the occupation of the commanding positions on the opposite bank of the Potomac. The enemy were represented as hovering within range of the city, and nothing appeared more probable than that they would permanently fortify the heights at Arlington. The Secession flag was openly displayed in sight of the Capital. Would the Government, it was inquired, respect the absurd pretensions of an inviolable soil, urged by men who were in arms against their country? Should the Capital be endangered for a technical scruple? Would the hesitation which was the besetting sin of the old Administration be carried into the new? The answer was at length rendered, and the occasion shows how scrupulously the respect due the deliberations of a separate State was maintained. It was not till the day on which, by the act of the Convention, the people were to vote on the question of Secession had arrived and was concluded, and it was evident that the voting, such as it was, confirmed the ordinance, that any invasion of the State was attempted. The moment, however, that fatal act was fully accomplished and Virginia assumed to herself the position of a foreign belligerent power, the Government hesitated no longer.

A forward movement into Virginia was resolved upon, and on the night of the 23d of May was carried into effect. The passage across the Potomac under the direction of General Mansfield was highly imposing in the cool, pure atmosphere and bright moonlight, particularly at the Long Bridge where the largest body of troops crossed. At 2 o'clock in the morning eight thousand infantry, two regular cavalry companies, and two sections of Sherman's artillery battalion were in line on the Washington side. The 12th New York Regiment, followed by the 25th, led the way. The 1st Michigan regiment succeeded, and then the regiments of the New Jersey Brigade. The cavalry and artillery next crossed, and the New York 7th, followed by a long train of wagons filled with trenching tools brought up the rear. The transit was rapidly made, the first regiment passing the Long Bridge at twenty-two minutes past 2, and the last a quarter to 4 o'clock. Major-General Sandford and staff of the New York militia then joined the forces and took command in the advance to Arlington. The troops quartered at Georgetown, the 69th and other New York regiments under the command of General McDowell, crossed by the Chain Bridge above the Aqueduct and took possession of the heights in that direction. The regiment of Colonel Ellsworth's Fire Zouaves at the same time embarked at their camp at the Navy Yard to proceed to Alexandria. The 3d Michigan regiment and a portion of Sherman's Battery were to advance by land and coöperate with them; when it was expected the town would be taken, the railway communication cut off, and the rebel soldiers stationed there captured. As it happened, however, notice of the attack was given in the night to the occupants of Alexandria by the commander of the United States steamer Pawnee which was stationed in the river to guard the place. The military fled in consequence, and when the Michigan troops arrived in the morning to cut off their retreat there was but a small detachment of cavalry, which was found at the station, left to conquer. The prisoners taken were a company of Fairfax county, thirty-seven in number, commanded by Captain Ball. Meanwhile Colonel Ellsworth with his Zouaves had arrived by water, and made good his landing in the town.

We have seen this officer setting forth from Illinois in the train of the President, intent upon military service and occupation. It was his desire to obtain a chief clerkship in the War Department, where he might bring forward his favorite scheme of a uniform organization and equipment of the militia throughout the country; but finding the pursuit of office too fatiguing for his temper, or the position already occupied, he received from the President a commission in the army as Lieutenant. With this, in ordinary times he might have been content, relying upon the opportunities he would have secured for proving his usefulness in a capacity for which he seems to have always had an ardent inclination; but a wider field now presented itself to him than that afforded in the slow promotion of the regular service. The demand for volunteers summoned men of enthusiasm and energy into the field as leaders—whose personal influence might enlist their fellow-citizens as combatants in the national cause. Ellsworth was essentially one of these popular and desirable personages. He had already in the previous summer attracted general attention by a triumphant holiday tour through the Atlantic cities from the West, when he had exhibited to the public the extraordinary agility and feats of arms of his well-drilled band of Chicago Zouave Cadets, a corps which, after the plan of the French service, he had equipped and disciplined and brought to great perfection in their military exercises. They had appeared in the public squares, parks and theatres, and had everywhere elicited the public admiration. With his reputation thus established, immediately after the fall of Sumter, taking advantage of the first burst of excitement, he presented himself at New York and prepared to carry out a plan of enlistment, which as soon as it was mentioned was received with favor. This was to form a regiment from the New York firemen, a body of men, young, bold and enterprising, who in the pursuit of their voluntary duties in the city were accustomed to encounter with alacrity well nigh every form of fatigue and danger. He saw in their fearless qualities and thoroughly organized employments the proper elements for the camp and the assault. In agreement with his anticipations the regiment quickly came at his call, and were immediately well-armed and equipped by the aid of the New York Union Defence Committee, a body of distinguished citizens organized for the public service in accordance with a resolution of the meeting in Union Square on the 20th of April, who had entered upon their duties with praiseworthy devotion to the national cause. Much was expected from the Fire Zouaves, and they were certainly sent on their way when they left New York, on the 29th of April, under the happiest auspices. Three stands of colors were presented to them at different stations of their procession through the city as they were escorted by their brethren of the Fire Department in full uniform; one the gift of the Corporation and the Fire Department, another from Mrs. Astor, and the third by the ladies of the Astor House. On each of these occasions speeches were delivered and the best feeling manifested. On its arrival at Washington the regiment was well received, and in a few days had an opportunity to distinguish itself and ingratiate itself farther with the inhabitants in a characteristic manner in the line of the old vocation of its members. A fire broke out in a building adjoining Willard's Hotel, which threatened the destruction of that edifice. The Fire Zouaves, then lodged in the Capitol, nothing loth, were called in, and after performing the most extraordinary feats of agility in their attempts to compensate for the lack of the necessary apparatus, succeeded to the admiration of the townspeople in saving the structure. They were presently provided with tents and settled down in their encampment on the Potomac. From this they were now aroused to advance into the hostile territory.

Colonel Ellsworth reached Alexandria by steamboat with his force about half-past 5 in the morning, and landed in safety. In fact the town being commanded by the guns of the Pawnee in the river, however belligerent might have been the disposition of its inhabitants, was not disposed to make much resistance, and having received warning, as we have seen, from the commander of that vessel, its military occupants were anxious only to secure their departure. At this early hour of the morning the streets were seemingly in their usual quiet. Giving some directions for the destruction of the railway to prevent the passage of the Virginia troops, Ellsworth himself hastened forward to take possession of the telegraph office, to break up the rebel communication with the interior. He was accompanied by three persons, two correspondents of New York daily papers, Mr. A. J. Winser of the *Times*, Mr. E. M. House of the *Tribune*, and the Rev. E. W. Dodge the Chaplain of the Regiment. What followed may be best told in the narrative of one of these eye witnesses of the transaction. "At first," says Mr. House



DEATH OF ELLSWORTH.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

[illegible]

in his graphic report of the affair, "Colonel Ellsworth summoned no guard to follow him, but he afterward turned and called forward a single squad, with a sergeant from the first company. We passed quickly through the streets, meeting a few bewildered travellers issuing from the principal hotel, which seemed to be slowly coming to its daily senses, and were about to turn toward the telegraph office, when the Colonel, first of all, caught sight of the secession flag, which has so long swung insolently in full view of the President's House. He immediately sent back the sergeant, with an order for the advance of the entire first company, and leaving the matter of the telegraph office for a while, pushed on to the hotel, which proved to be the Marshall House, a second-class inn. On entering the open door, the Colonel met a man in his shirt and trowsers, of whom he demanded what sort of flag it was that hung above the roof. The stranger, who seemed greatly alarmed, declared he knew nothing of it, and that he was only a boarder there. Without questioning him further the Colonel sprang up stairs, and we all followed to the topmost story, whence, by means of a ladder, he clambered to the roof, cut down the flag with Winser's knife, and brought it from its staff. There were two men in bed in the garret whom we had not observed at all when we entered, their position being somewhat concealed, but who now rose in great apparent amazement, although I observed that they were more than half dressed. We at once turned to descend, Private Brownell leading the way, and Colonel Ellsworth immediately following him with the flag. As Brownell reached the first landing-place, or entry, after a descent of some dozen steps, a man jumped from a dark passage, and hardly noticing the private, leveled a double-barreled gun square at the Colonel's breast. Brownell made a quick pass to turn the weapon aside, but the fellow's hand was firm, and he discharged one barrel straight to its aim, the slugs or buckshot with which it was loaded entering the Colonel's heart, and killing him at the instant. I think my arm was resting on poor Ellsworth's shoulder at the moment. At any rate he seemed to fall almost from my own grasp. He was on the second or third step from the landing, and he dropped forward with that heavy, horrible, headlong weight which always comes of sudden death inflicted in this manner. His assailant had turned like a flash to give the contents of the other barrel to Brownell, but either he could not command his aim or the Zouave was too quick with him, for the slugs went over his head, and passed through the panels and wainscot of a door which sheltered some sleeping lodgers. Simultaneously with this second shot, and sounding like the echo of the first, Brownell's rifle was heard, and the assassin staggered backward. He was hit exactly in the middle of the face, and the wound, as I afterward saw it, was the most frightful I ever witnessed. Of course Brownell did not know how fatal his shot had been, and so before the man dropped, he thrust his sabre-bayonet through and through the body, the force of the blow sending the dead man violently down the upper section of the second flight of stairs, at the foot of which he lay with his face to the floor. Winser ran from above crying, 'Who is hit?' but as he glanced downward by our feet, he needed no answer.

"Bewildered for an instant by the

suddenness of this attack, and not knowing what more might be in store, we forbore to proceed, and gathered together defensively. There were but seven of us altogether, and one was without a weapon of any kind. Brownell instantly reloaded, and while doing so perceived the door through which the assailant's shot had passed, beginning to open. He brought his rifle to the shoulder, and menaced the occupants, two travellers, with immediate death if they stirred. The three other privates guarded the passages, of which there were quite a number converging to the point where we stood, while the Chaplain and Winser looked to the stair-case by which we had descended, and the adjoining chambers. I ran down stairs to see if anything was threatened from the story below, but it soon appeared there was no danger from that quarter. However, we were not at all disposed to move from our position. From the opening doors, and through the passages, we discerned a sufficient number of forms to assure us that we were dreadfully in the minority. I think now that there was no danger, and that the single assailant acted without concert with anybody; but it is impossible to know accurately, and it was certainly a doubtful question then. The first thing to be done was to look to our dead friend and leader. He had fallen on his face, and the streams of blood that flowed from his wound had literally flooded the way. The Chaplain turned him gently over, and I stooped and called his name aloud, at which I thought then he murmured inarticulately. I presume I was mistaken, and I am not sure that he spoke a word after being struck, although in my dispatch I repeated a single exclamation which I had believed he uttered. It might have been Brownell, or the Chaplain, who was close behind me. Winser and I lifted the body with all the care we could apply, and laid it upon a bed in a room near by. The rebel flag, stained with his blood, and purified by this contact from the baseness of its former meaning, we laid about his feet. It was at first difficult to discover the precise locality of his wound, for all parts of his coat were equally saturated with blood. By cautiously loosening his belt and unbuttoning his coat, we found where the shot had penetrated. None of us had any medical knowledge, but we saw that all hope must be resigned. Nevertheless, it seemed proper to summon the surgeon as speedily as possible. This could not easily be done, for, secluded as we were in that part of the town, and uncertain whether an ambush might not be awaiting us also, no man could volunteer to venture forth alone, and to go together, and leave the Colonel's body behind, was out of the question. We wondered at the long delay of the first company, for the advance of which the Colonel had sent back before approaching the hotel, but we subsequently learned that they had mistaken a street, and gone a little out of their way. Before they arrived we had removed some of the unsightly stains from the Colonel's features, and composed his limbs. His expression in death was beautifully natural. The Colonel was a singularly handsome man, and, excepting the pallor, there was nothing different in his countenance now from what all his friends had so lately been accustomed to gladly recognize. The detachment was heard approaching at last, a reënforcement was easily called up, and the surgeon was sent for. His arrival, not long after, of course sealed our own unhappy belief. A sufficient guard was presently distributed over the house, but meanwhile I had remembered the Colonel's earnestness about the telegraph seizure, and obtained permission to guide a squad of Zouaves to the office, which was found to be entirely open, with all the doors ajar, yet apparently deserted. It looked a little like another chance of a surprise. The men remained in charge. I presume it was not wholly in order for me, a civilian, to start upon this mission, but I was the only person who knew the whereabouts of the office, and the Colonel had been very positive about the matter. When I returned to the hotel, there was a terrible scene enacting. A woman had run from a lower room to the stairway where the body of the defender of the secession flag lay, and recognizing it, cried aloud with an agony so heart-rending that no person could witness it without emotion. She flung her arms in the air, struck her brow madly, and seemed in every way utterly abandoned to desolation and frenzy. She offered no reproaches—appeared indeed almost regardless of our presence, and yielded only to her own frantic despair. It was her husband that had been shot. He was the proprietor of the hotel. His name was James T. Jackson. Winser was confident it was the same man who met us at the door when we entered, and told us he was a boarder. His wife, as I said, was wild almost to insanity. Yet she listened when spoken to, and although no consolation could be offered her by us for what she had lost, she seemed sensible to the assurance that the safety of her children, for whom she expressed fears, could not possibly be endangered.

"It is not from any wish to fasten obloquy upon the slayer of Colonel Ellsworth, but simply because it struck me as a frightful fact, that I say the face of the dead man wore the most revolting expression of rage and hatred that I ever saw. Perhaps the nature of his wound added to this effect, and the wound was something so appalling that I shall not attempt to describe it, as it impressed me. It is probable that such a result from a bullet-wound could not ensue once in a thousand times. Either of Brownell's onslaughts would have been instantaneously fatal. The sabre-wound was not less effective than that of the ball. The gun which Jackson had fired lay beneath him, clasped in his arms, and as we did not at first all know that both barrels had been discharged, it was thought necessary to remove it, lest it should be suddenly seized and made use of from below. In doing this his countenance was revealed.

"As the morning advanced, the townspeople began to gather in the vicinity, and a guard was fixed, preventing ingress and egress. This was done to keep all parties from knowing what had occurred, for the Zouaves were so devoted to their Colonel that it was feared if they all were made acquainted with the real fact, they would sack the house. On the other hand, it was not thought wise to let the Alexandrians know thus early the fate of their townsman. The Zouaves were the only regiment that had arrived, and their head and soul was gone. Besides, the duties which the Colonel had hurriedly assigned before leaving them had scattered some companies in various quarters of the town. Several persons sought admission to the Marshall House, among them a sister of the dead man, who had heard the rumor, but who was not allowed to know the true state of the case. It was painful to hear her remark, as she went away, that 'of course they wouldn't shoot a man dead in his own house about a bit of old bunting.' Many of the lodgers were anxious to go forth, but they were detained until after I left. All sorts of arguments and persuasions were employed, but the Zouave guards were inexorable.

"At about 7 o'clock, a mounted officer rode up, and informed us that the Michigan First had arrived, and had captured a troop of rebels, who had at first demanded time for reflection, but who afterward concluded to yield at discretion. Not long after this, the surgeon made arrangements for the conveyance of Colonel Ellsworth's body to Washington. It was properly vailed from sight, and, with great tenderness, taken by a detachment of the Zouaves and the 71st New York Regiment (a small number of whom embarked in the morning at the Navy Yard, and came down with us), to the steamboat, by which it was brought to the Navy Yard."*

The remains of Ellsworth were borne to the Navy Yard at Washington and thence to the President's mansion, where the funeral services were performed. On their arrival in New York they were received at the City Hall and carried in an imposing public procession through the city. In the military orders directing the funeral rites issued by Major-General Dix, then in command of the 1st division New York Volunteers, that officer thus spoke of the deceased and the circumstances attending his death: "Three weeks ago, strong in health and in hope, he led his command through our streets to the place of embarkation, followed by five thousand of the gallant and self-sacrificing firemen of the city to greet the departure of their associates with their good wishes and prayers. To-morrow his lifeless remains will be borne through the same streets, followed by a hundred thousand of his sorrowing countrymen and friends. Had he met his fate in battle, in the face of honorable adversaries no feeling of bitterness would mingle with the tears which will be shed for him. But it has pleased God, for purposes inscrutable to us, that he should be the victim of a double perfidy; that he should be struck down by the hand of an assassin and a conspirator against the Government of his country—illustrating the painful truth that the career of Secession, which began in public treachery, is to be carried out in a spirit of bloodthirstiness and private revenge." From New York the remains were taken to Mechanicsville, the native place of Ellsworth and the residence of his parents, on the banks of the Hudson near Troy, where they were interred with military honors.

Much has been said of the conduct of Jackson in taking the life of Ellsworth. The act certainly exhibited a rough species of heroism, however misguided and brutal we may think it, for it was performed deliberately in defence of the cherished symbol which he had publicly pledged himself to maintain, and with little, if any, prospect of escaping with his life. On the other hand, the town having virtually surrendered, the murderous assault upon the unsuspecting officer may be regarded as a simple act of assassination. It was so regarded at the North, and not without reason. At the South, of course, a very different temper prevailed. The deed of Jackson was everywhere proclaimed as that of a hero; his praises were sung and recorded and his example put forward as an incentive to all defenders of their homes, and an instructive warning to all Northern invaders. Sums of money were subscribed and collections taken up even in churches for a fund for his family.

---

* New York *Tribune*, May 26, 1861.

"The deed of patriotism," was the language of an article in the *Charleston Mercury*, written in that tone of exaggeration which seemed to be an element of the Southern cause, "performed by Jackson has stained, for the first time, the 'Stars and Bars' of the Confederate flag with blood—and that blood worthy of a true Southern heart—the blood of a hero. Upon his own hearth he fell, arms in hand, dealing death to the insulter of that flag—one man against a thousand murderers. He fell hewed to pieces by the rabble horde. But his spirit will live—will live upon the storm—and like the hurricanes of the South, will sweep from the uttermost shores of the Gulf to the rugged mountain peaks of the North. It will soar over the field of bloody battle to come and shriek aloud for vengeance amid carnage. It shall rush forth in the booming of every cannon, and shall gleam in the flash of every Southern blade. And it will live, too, in times to come, when the smoke of battle shall have passed away, and the memory of blood shall have almost been forgotten. The name of Jackson shall be enshrined in the heart of Virginia as the name of Jasper in South Carolina, and recorded upon the brightest pages of her history. His death is a victory won, and his name should be inscribed, in monumental marble, by the side of Virginia's worthiest sons."

The injudicious act, for such it must be regarded in any proper military estimate of the unnecessary exposure, by which Ellsworth thus lost his life, was forgotten in the impressions of his youth, his strength and beauty, his enthusiasm and devotion to the cause of his country. The resolution with which he had overcome the obstacles of fortune and raised himself, thus early, to an honored position, the purity of his character, the friendship of the President which he enjoyed, the welfare and conduct of his corps so immediately and wholly depending on his personal influence, all, with the circumstances of his foremost place among the martyrs of the war, enhanced the appreciation of his loss. His chivalric enthusiasm was called to mind, while the account of his last midnight hours in the camp added a touch of personal feeling and pathos to the story of his brief career. In those silent hours, seemingly more silent, in anticipation of the coming tumult, after arranging the details of his command he wrote two letters, one addressed to a lady in the West to whom he was betrothed, the other to his parents. The latter has been published. It is sadly in earnest, yet cheerful in its reliance on Providence. We can offer no better tribute to the memory of the gallant young officer whom "the Fates but showed to the earth," than to recite it. It reads, "My dear father and mother—The regiment is ordered to move across the river to-night. We have no means of knowing what reception we are to meet with. I am inclined to the opinion that our entrance to the city of Alexandria will be hotly contested, as I am just informed a large force has arrived there to-day. Should this happen, my dear parents, it may be my lot to be injured in some manner. Whatever may happen, cherish the consolation that I was engaged in the performance of a sacred duty ; and, to-night, thinking over the probabilities of to-morrow, and the occurrences of the past, I am perfectly content to accept whatever my future may be, confident that He who noteth even the fall of a sparrow, will have some purpose even in the fate of one like me. My darling and ever-loved parents, good-bye. God bless, protect and care for you."

CHAPTER XIV.

AFFAIRS ON THE POTOMAC.

MILITARY possession having thus been taken of the positions in Virginia fronting the Capital, the main avenues to the city between Georgetown and Alexandria guarded, the railway approaches from the interior cut off and intrenchments thrown up for protection, Major-General Charles W. Sandford of the New York militia established his headquarters at Arlington House, the well-known seat of the Custis family, which had been a few days before vacated by its owner and occupant, General Robert E. Lee, formerly of the United States army, and of late commander of the insurgent forces in the vicinity. As an indication of the courteous spirit in which these novel military proceedings were commenced, it may be mentioned that on presenting himself before the mansion General Sandford sent to inquire if the family of the rebel officer remained, and if so that he would place a guard for their protection. On being assured that they had left a fortnight before, he sent to General Lee to say that he was obliged to make Arlington House his quarters, and would see that the premises received no damage.*

Immediately on his arrival at these desirable headquarters, General Sandford issued the following proclamation: "Fairfax County being occupied by the troops under my command, I deem it proper to repeat publicly the assurances I have personally given to many of the good citizens about me that all of its inhabitants may return to or remain in their homes and usual pacific occupations in peace and confidence, and with assured protection to their persons and property, as the United States forces in Virginia will be employed for no other purpose than that of suppressing unlawful combinations against the constituted authorities of the Union, and of causing the laws thereof to be duly respected and executed."*

Colonel O. B. Wilcox, of the 1st Regiment Michigan Volunteers, was at the same time in command of the Union forces in and about Alexandria. In a proclamation of the 26th he announced the moderate course of policy he would pursue towards the city. "The peace of the city," he promised, "will be preserved unless attacked by the enemy. Private property will be respected and protected by the officers and men of the whole command. Peaceable citizens will be held inviolate in the persons of themselves, their families and servants."

---

* Special Dispatch to the New York *Tribune*, May 26, 1861.

* Proclamation of Major-General Sandford, May 25 1861.

Colonel Wilcox was presently succeeded in command of the brigade at Alexandria by Colonel Charles P. Stone of the 14th regular infantry, a native of Massachusetts, whose experience in the Mexican war and in other responsible relations had commended him to General Scott to take charge of the early military preparations for the defence of Washington at the close of President Buchanan's administration, a service which he had performed with efficiency. Colonel Stone held his new position but a few days, being recalled to Washington to resume command of the District militia. He was succeeded at Alexandria by Colonel Samuel P. Heintzelman of the 17th regular infantry. This officer, who was presently raised to the rank of Brigadier-General, was born at Manheim, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1806, became a graduate of West Point of the year 1826, when he was appointed to a 2d Lieutenancy in the 3d Infantry, and had since been engaged in every active duty which had fallen to the army. He had served in Florida and Mexico, and particularly distinguished himself in Southern California and Texas, where independent commands had been assigned to him, and he had executed some brilliant military manœuvres with energy and success. Foreseeing the difficulties at hand, he had at the beginning of the year obtained leave of absence from General Twiggs, in whose department of the Southwest he was stationed, and reporting himself at Washington, had been employed in the recruiting service, and within the last month as acting Inspector-General on General Mansfield's staff.

One of the agreeable results of the occupation of Alexandria, was to give the public assurance of the safety of the remains of Washington in the cemetery at the neighboring Mount Vernon. It had been currently reported, with some show of probability, that the tomb had been violated and the remains removed to some secret place in the interior, lest they should fall under Northern protection and afford a certain prestige to the cause of the Union. The rumor was connected with the circumstance of the former owner of the estate, Colonel John A. Washington, who had retained a right of guardianship of the sepulchre, having joined the Confederate Army. There appeared, however, on examination, to be no authority for the report, the tomb being found in its usual condition. As it was some time before the lines of our army were extended in that direction, reports arose from time to time of the occupation of the grounds of Mount Vernon by the rebel troops, and fears were entertained of injury to the premises, which had come to be regarded as the property of the nation. General Scott, subsequently, when the war was assuming greater intensity, and rumors were again current of acts of spoliation, made the protection of the spot a subject of his especial concern in a general order from the Capital. "It has been," he proclaimed, "the prayer of every patriot that the tramp and din of civil war might at least spare the precincts within which repose the sacred remains of the Father of his Country; but this pious hope is disappointed. Mount Vernon, so recently consecrated anew to the immortal Washington by the ladies of America, has already been overrun by bands of rebels, who, having trampled under foot the Constitution of the United States—the ark of our freedom and prosperity—are prepared to trample on the ashes of him to whom we are all mainly indebted for those mighty blessings. Should the operations of war take the United States troops in that direction, the General-in-Chief does not doubt that each and every man will approach with due reverence and leave uninjured, not only the Tomb, but also the House, the Groves and Walks which were so loved by the best and greatest of men."*

On the 27th May, Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell of the regular army took command of the Union forces in Virginia, succeeding General Sandford in his headquarters at Arlington House. General McDowell, a native of Ohio, was a graduate of the West Point Military Academy of the year 1838, when he was promoted to the rank of Brevet 2d Lieutenant. He was assistant instructor in infantry tactics at West Point in 1841, and Adjutant from that year to 1845. For the next two years he was aid-de-camp to General Wool, serving with him throughout the Mexican war. He was engaged in the battle of Buena Vista, and for his gallant services on that field received the rank of Brevet Captain in February, 1847. In the following May he was promoted to the rank of Assistant Adjutant-General with the rank of Captain. In 1856 he became Assistant Adjutant-General with the rank of Major. His recent appointment of Brevet Brigadier-General bore date the 17th of May. Previously to that time he had been actively engaged at Washington in his department by the side of General Scott in the organization of the army. Thoroughly accomplished in military affairs, of an unusually manly and vigorous frame, strengthened by habits of strict temperance, associating rare candor and modesty with the patient, steadfast performance of duty, he was eminently qualified for the peculiar position to which he was now advanced.

The month of June opened with a spirited dash on one of the outposts of the line of the enemy, which in fact, with the exception of the short distance between Georgetown and Alexandria, closely encompassed the whole course of the Potomac from its lower waters to Harper's Ferry and the confines of North-western Virginia, where the Union army, whose proceedings we shall trace in a subsequent chapter, already held the country under control. The military positions of the enemy immediately before Washington were at Manassas Junction, an important station commanding the railway communication with Richmond and the South and the central valley of the State ; thence sweeping round the Union encampments by Fairfax Court House and Vienna to Leesburg on the north. Manassas Junction, where the rebel army was reported assembling in force and throwing up earthworks for permanent defence, lies in a south-westerly direction 27 miles from Alexandria. Fairfax Court House, intermediate between Alexandria and Georgetown, is about 18 miles distant from Washington. It was at the latter place that the first serious skirmish between the two forces arrayed against each other in front of the Capital occurred. On the night of the

---

* General Order. Head-quarters of the Army, Washington, July 31, 1861.

31st of May, Lieutenant Charles H. Tompkins of the 3d U. S. Cavalry, in pursuance of instructions from Colonel David Hunter commanding, set out from Camp Union, before Washington, in command of company B of the regiment, 47 in number, for the purpose of reconnoitreing the country in the vicinity of Fairfax Court House. On approaching that locality he fell in with a picket guard of the enemy, which he surprised and captured. He then rode onward with his men, entering the town at early dawn, when his command was fired upon by rebel troops from the windows and house tops. He was also opposed by a body of mounted men, upon whom he promptly charged, driving them from the town. Immediately, however, two or three additional companies came up to their relief and opened fire, which was returned. Finding that he was largely outnumbered, Lieutenant Tompkins then ordered a retreat, which he accomplished in good order, bringing off with him as trophies of the encounter five prisoners fully armed and equipped and two horses. The loss of the rebels was estimated by Lieutenant Tompkins in his dispatch at 20 to 25 killed and wounded. Of his own men, three were missing and three slightly wounded. He also lost six horses.* Captain John Q. Marr, whose company of the Warrenton Rifles took part in the engagement, was killed at the beginning of the fight. He was a person of note in Virginia, and his death was much lamented. He had been a member of the recent State convention, and was a member elect of the Legislature from Fauquier County. Among the prisoners taken by Lieutenant Tompkins on this occasion was Captain John B. Washington, a son of the late Colonel John A. Washington of the regular army. A trooper, it is said, in the onset caught him by the hair, lifted him on the pommel of his saddle, and holding him in this position charged twice through the town. After an interview with General Scott, the rebel prisoner accepted the more national views of duty of that eminent officer, took the oath of allegiance and was released. On the night following the gallant charge of Lieutenant Tompkins, word having been brought that two of the missing dragoons captured by the rebels were about being hung, the company was again summoned from their quarters, made a dashing descent upon the Court House, where their companions were imprisoned, rescued them and brought them back to the camp at daybreak.*

The next military incident of general interest in this quarter was an unhappy "reconnoissance" in the direction of Vienna, which occurring a few days after the melancholy affair at Bethel in General Butler's new department, of which an account will be found in another chapter, called forth many unpleasant comments from the public in association with that disaster. It was an important object for the Union troops in their advance into Virginia to secure possession of the Loudon and Hampshire railway, which, following the Potomac within a few miles of the stream, extended from Alexandria to Leesburg. The lower end being already in their possession, repairs had been made of the adjoining portion which had been broken up by the insurgents, and on the 16th of June the track was in good running order a distance of some fifteen miles to Vienna. As there was some danger of the railway communication being again interrupted, General McDowell ordered Brigadier-General Schenck of Ohio, who was in camp with his men about three miles beyond Alexandria, to go over the line and station a sufficient body of men at different points for its protection. In pursuance of these directions General Schenck early in the afternoon of the 17th set forth on the track with about 700 officers and men of the 1st Ohio regiment, under the immediate command of Colonel McCook. As the train advanced several detachments were set down at various stations where the road seemed easy of access to the enemy, leaving four companies in the cars, numbering in all 275 men, who were to be stationed at Vienna. As the same train had passed over the route the day before, carrying General Tyler and his staff beyond the town, and no enemy had been reported in the neighborhood, there were no particular steps taken on the present occasion to guard against surprise. The omission was the more important as the road at the immediate approach to Vienna passed through a deep cut succeeded by a curve. It was about 6 o'clock when the train was driven slowly forward at this point by the engine in the rear, the forward cars in which the troops were sitting being open and without protection. As the curve was turned a raking fire of shells, round shot and grape from an unsuspected battery was directed upon the foremost cars, killing and wounding a number of the men. The train was instantly stopped, and the engineer was ordered to carry it out of range. There was some difficulty about this, in consequence, as he alleged, of the brakes being down, and when that was remedied the engine with the rear car was found to be detached from the rest. The engineer was then directed to take his station a little below and await further orders. The troops had meanwhile left the remaining cars, and retired for safety to the adjoining woods. When the services of the engine and single car were required to carry back the wounded, it was found that the terrified engineer had deserted the command, and had gone off in full speed for Alexandria. The wounded had in consequence to be carried on litters and in blankets, and, what added to their misfortune, the surgeon who was with them was without the use of his instruments, which had been taken away by the absconding engineer. Six maimed and mutilated men were thus without relief till the next morning. Five were known to be killed by the enemy's fire, and nine were missing. The remainder were brought off in safety along the line of the road. The enemy's force in this affair, according to a statement in the *Louisville Courier*, was composed chiefly of a body of 600 South Carolinians, with an artillery company under the command of Colonel Gregg, who was out on a reconnoitering expedition in the neighborhood, when the distant sound of the slowly advancing locomotive led him to plant his battery on the spot. He had also, it is said, two companies of cavalry with him. Notwithstanding these advantages, however, he made no pursuit. Had our men been followed up their loss probably would have been very great. That they were not pursued was the only item of consolation in this unhappy affair. It was said that the enemy were confident only when they had every advantage of position, and would risk nothing in the open field. Much was also talked about "masked batteries," but the public, tiring of the phrase, began to think that all batteries are masked to the inexperienced.*

---

* Charles H. Tompkins, 1st Lieutenant, Commanding Co. B, 3d Cavalry, to Colonel D. Hunter, 3d Cavalry, Commanding 1st Brigade, Dept. Eastern Virginia. Camp Union, Va., June 1, 1861.

* N. Y. *Tribune*, June 3, 1861.

The condition of the navigation of the Potomac, from which quarter there had been reports for some time past of the enemy's occupation and the erection of hostile batteries on the banks, now began to attract serious attention. The public was, as usual, impatient at the apparent inaction of the Government, which gave confidence to the rebels to carry out their plans of annoyance and threaten permanently to arrest the navigation, though there was little fear but that, when the navy was called to put forth its strength, it would speedily remove all obstacles of this kind in its path. The earliest attempt of consequence to clear these impediments was made by Captain James Harman Ward, of the navy, an officer of great activity and intelligence, whose fate, as the first martyr of note in this branch of the service, renders some account of his previous career of interest. Born in the city of Hartford, Connecticut, in the year 1806, he was now at the height of his powers in his fifty-fifth year. Entering the navy at the age of seventeen, he had made his first cruise under Commodore Macdonough in the Constitution, and, rising in rank, had been employed in various service, particularly on the coast of Africa, where he suffered a severe attack of fever which threatened to put an end to his career. He subsequently returned to the sickly station as a commander in the squadron, to render good service in repressing the slave trade, and was afterward in command of the Vixen in the Gulf of Mexico. Besides this active employment at sea, which occupied the greater portion of his career, he had discharged an important duty on shore as Professor in the Naval School at Annapolis; and, having also paid particular attention to the scientific part of his profession, had written several books on naval tactics, the application of steam to naval purposes, and an elementary treatise on ordnance and gunnery. For the last few years he had been in command of the receiving ship North Carolina at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Longing for active duty, and anxious to be employed in support of the Government when the impending struggle became imminent, he engaged the attention of his fellow-townsman, the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Welles, in a plan for fitting out a steam flotilla of light draught, suitable for service in the river navigation in and about the Potomac. Four small propellers were accordingly purchased and equipped as gunboats. The flotilla was commissioned and Captain Ward placed in command in the middle of May. Sailing immediately to join the squadron in the Chesapeake, on his arrival on the 18th, before reporting himself to Commodore Stringham, he was in action exchanging shots with the rebel batteries at Sewall's Point in Hampton Roads. He was then sent to Washington, and on his way captured two prizes, with fifty prisoners, whom he carried with him.

His first action of note on the Potomac was in an attack upon the batteries placed by the enemy at the mouth of

---

* Report of Brigadier-General Robert C. Schenck to Lieutenant-General Scott. Lieutenant Raynor's Defence of General Schenck.

Acquia Creek, about forty miles below Washington, commanding the terminus at this point of the railway extending from Richmond through Fredericksburg. Captain Ward, supported by the gunboat propellers Anacostia and Resolute, opened the bombardment with vigor from his two 32-pounders, on the Thomas Freeborn, the flag-ship of his little flotilla. "After an incessant discharge," says he in his dispach, "kept up for two hours, and the expenditure of all the ammunition suitable for distant firing, and silencing completely the three batteries at the railroad terminus, the firing having been rapidly kept up by them until so silenced, and having been recommenced from the new batteries from the heights back, which reached us in volleys, dropping the shot on board and about us like hail for nearly an hour, but fortunately wounding but one man,—I hauled the vessel off, as the heights proved wholly above the reach of our elevation."* It was an especial cause of congratulation to Captain Ward that the gun carriages employed on the Freeborn, being of a new construction devised by himself, worked with such ease that the crews came out of action wholly unfatigued.

The value of this practice was not in its results upon the enemy so much as in the early proof it afforded of the courage of the men taken to man the national ships. Of the officers and men thus freely exposed to fire, Captain Ward was the only one belonging to the regular navy. All the rest had volunteered from civil life. The enemy in the meantime having reversed their works on the shore, the bombardment was resumed by Captain Ward the following day, in company with the screw sloop-of-war Pawnee, of 8 guns, S. C. Rowan, commander. For five hours a storm of shot and shell was poured upon the works from the two vessels. "More than one hundred shots," writes Captain Ward, "have fallen aboard and around us, any one of which would have struck a frigate. We had more than a thousand shots discharged at us within range, and we have ourselves fired upwards of three hundred shots and shells, with seventeen hundred pounds of powder." Yet there were neither killed nor wounded to report. The Pawnee being more heavily armed and the larger vessel was the chief object of the fire of the batteries, which were well and effectively mounted. But though the ship was under a very heavy fire of rifled shot and was struck nine times, four times in the hull, one of the shots passing through the bulwarks, tearing up the deck and glancing overboard, the men were uninjured. As the bombarding vessels came up "the enemy set fire to the large passenger and freight depot on the end of the long pier, probably to remove it as an obstruction to their aim, but were not permitted to extinguish the flames during the whole cannonade; consequently, nearly the whole pier was destroyed, only the charred piles remaining above the water to mark its former position."*

The part borne in the action by the Pawnee is well described by Commander Rowan. "Finding," says he, "my 15-second shell fell short, with all the elevation the ports admitted of, I ranged ahead of the Freeborn and edged in as near as I could, feeling the way with the lead, till I got within range of the forts with the 15-second shell, when we opened a heavy fire. I held this position as long as possible, when the ship fell off against our exertions to keep her steady and became necessary to round out into the river and approach a second time on the same tack. Having got the ship nearer than the first position, and as near as was safe, with but two feet of water to spare, and to the northward and westward of the Freeborn, we opened a terrible fire from five 9-inch guns. The batteries were twice silenced under the weight of our fire, but resumed again when our fire had ceased."*

---

* Commander J. H. Ward to the Hon. Gideon Welles, May 31, 1861.

* Commander Ward to Hon. Gideon Welles. June 1, 1861.

The result of this engagement, while it fully proved the courage of the assailants, showed also the resources of the rebel defences on the shore. They were in fact amply supplied with the best military material, and if their gunnery was not perfect, there was certainly no lack of men to continue the fight. The advantage of course, according to the old military maxims, was largely with the party on shore. If but little, however, was gained by the assault, nothing more was effected by the enemy in injury to the assailants. It was perhaps owing to this immunity that on the next occasion the attack was conducted with greater temerity, and cost the gallant commander his life.

The action to which we allude took place on the 27th June, some ten miles lower down the river, off Matthias Point, a promontory of King George County, Va., boldly projecting into the stream, which here pursues a northerly course previous to making its final descent into the waters of the Chesapeake. The point, well shielded by a forest, was a formidable position for the enemy, as it readily commanded the channel, and its hostile occupation then and long after was the occasion of serious uneasiness to the numerous merchant vessels traversing the river. Captain Ward was not the man patiently to witness the standing menace without seeking to destroy it. Accordingly, having ascertained that the enemy were about erecting a battery on the point, he resolved to make a landing and destroy the woods which afforded a covert to their sharp-shooters. In pursuance of this intention, on the evening of the 26th, while below the Point, he dispatched from his flag-ship, the Freeborn, an order to Commander Rowan, on board the Pawnee, lying above Acquia Creek, to send him two boats armed and equipped, in command of Lieutenant J. C. Chaplin, attached to that vessel—an officer upon whom, as the event proved, he might rely in any emergency. He also sent for such equipments as were necessary to cut down the trees on the point and burn them. The order was promptly executed, and the party left the ship in tow of one of the gunboat propellers of the flotilla early the next morning. Immediately on receiving the force the Freeborn weighed anchor and, accompanied by the cutters, ran up the river. As the main part of the action which ensued was conducted by Lieutenant Chaplin, we may here take up his narrative of the transactions of the day. "On arriving," says he at Matthias Point, "the Freeborn threw shot, shell, and grape into the woods near where we were to land. About 10 the landing was effected, my party under the charge of Commander Ward, who landed with me. I threw my men out as skirmishers, and, on getting about three hundred yards from the boats, discovered the enemy's pickets, who fired and retreated. My men followed them for a short distance and fired on them. I then discovered the enemy coming towards me over the brow of a hill, and judged there were some four or five hundred men. I went back to Commander Ward and reported, when he ordered me to take to the boats and lay off while he went on board of his vessel and fired into the brush again. After some fifteen minutes firing, I was ordered to land again and throw up a breastwork of sand-bags. I sent out four men as pickets and commenced the work, and at 5 had nearly completed it, when the signal was made for me to return. I sent everything to the boats, and with seven or eight men covered the bags with limbs, that the enemy might not distinguish it from the dense thicket near, and was about leaving, when the enemy opened on us with muskets at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards, and for some reason the Freeborn did not open on the place with her heavy guns to cover my retreat. I sent all my men in the boats, and stayed until I had counted and found they were all safe. By this time the boats had drifted some distance out, and rather than bring the men any nearer, swam to the 3d cutter, and pulled off to the Freeborn. My boat was riddled with shot, the flag-staff shot away, and nineteen holes through the flag."*

---

* Commander Rowan to the Hon. Gideon Welles. U. S. Steamer Pawnee, June 2, 1861.

The conduct of Lieutenant Chaplin in this affair was truly heroic, and was worthily commended by his superior officer, Commander Rowan, who called the attention of the Department to his gallantry, coolness and presence of mind. "He remained steady and cool amongst a perfect hail of musketry from hundreds of men, while he collected his own people and made good his retreat without leaving the enemy a trophy beyond a few sand-bags and some axes, and, so far as I can ascertain, the muskets of the wounded men. The last man left the shore with him, and, not being able to swim to the boat with his musket, Lieutenant Chaplin took him on his shoulders, musket and all, and safely reached the boat without a scratch, save a musket hole through the top of his cap." Commander Rowan also appropriately commemorated "the bravery of John Williams, captain maintop, of the Pawnee, who told his men, while lying off in the boat, that every man must die on his thwart sooner than leave a man behind; and when the flag-staff of his boat was shot away, and the ensign fell, he (although suffering from a gunshot wound in the thigh) seized it in his hand and bravely waved it over his head."* The only other casualty to the party, 23 in number, from the boats, was in the case of an ordinary seaman of the Pawnee, William J. Best, who was wounded in four places—the hand, the arm, the leg and body.

While Lieutenant Chaplin and his party were thus gallantly retreating under the sharp firing of the enemy, a well-aimed shot from the shore struck down Captain Ward on the deck of the Freeborn. The scene on board the vessel is thus described by an eye-witness, a correspondent of the New York *Herald*, who accompanied the expedition: "On board the Freeborn, when the enemy opened fire, Captain Ward came down from the gallows frame and seized a rifle, which he fired at the enemy, as did pilot Pierson and myself. We fired several shots, when the captain ran down to the forecastle deck and began to sight the gun, first ordering it to be loaded with a round shot. He had got the sight and was about to withdraw and give the word to fire, when he was struck by a bullet, saying to Harry Churchill, the boatswain's mate, 'Churchill, I am killed.' He fell into one of his arms, while Churchill pulled the string with the other, throwing the shot clear among the enemy. A 5-second shell and two rounds of grape were then fired from the bow-gun, while the after-gun fired about the same quantity. 'Slip the cable and start her,' was now Lieutenant Lee's order on assuming the command. It was done, and soon the Freeborn and all the boats were out of range of the deadly rifles and muskets. Dr. Moore, on examination, pronounced Captain Ward's wound mortal. The ball had entered the abdomen and come out on the right side near the back, passing through the liver and other vitals. The captain was first laid on the quarter-deck, but subsequently removed to a more convenient position. In removing him he said, 'Why remove me? I am quite comfortable.' Lieutenant Lee asked if he could do anything for him. He only said, 'Raise my head a little higher.' To Dr. Moore he once said, 'Doctor, the wound is here,' pointing to the pit of his stomach. The captain lingered for about three-quarters of an hour, when he expired after a few gasps. When it was known that the captain was mortally wounded, George Conch, captain of the after-gun, exclaimed—'Boys, let us have our revenge!' The gun was then pointed true, and the 5-seconds burst right in the midst of the enemy. He was about to fire again, when the doctor forbade the disturbance of the captain's last moments, and Conch desisted."* Two of the men on board the Freeborn also suffered gunshot wounds. Captain Ward was the only one on the Union side killed during the action. The loss experienced by the enemy is unknown.

---

* Lieutenant J. C. Chaplin to Commander Rowan. June 28, 1861

* Commander Rowan to the Hon. Gideon Welles, June 27, 1861.

The remains of Captain Ward were brought to the Navy Yard at Washington, and thence to New York, where they lay in solemn state at the Navy Yard at Brooklyn, on the deck of the North Carolina, which was fitted up to receive them according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, of which the deceased was a member. An imposing procession of the officers and men at the Yard, Captain Ward's recent comrades—among others, his successor in command of the North Carolina, Captain Meade, the commander of the Yard, Captain Foote, shortly to be famed by his eminent successes on the Mississippi—and a few personal friends from the city, and, not least noticeable in the company, a band of seven sailors, a portion of the crew of the Freeborn, accompanied the remains to a steamer on the Sound, on the way to a final resting-place at the family cemetery at Hartford.

The result of those attacks on the rebel batteries on the Potomac showed that it was hardly to be expected that they could be permanently silenced without a coöperating land force, and the naval operations on the river were consequently thereafter mostly confined to holding them in check. For months, however, the river was kept clear for commercial purposes, and the communication between the insurgents on the opposite shores to a great extent prevented only by the frequent passage of vessels of the navy. It was not till the military movements attending the evacuation of Manassas occurred, nearly a year after the events we have just related, that the rebel batteries on the banks were deserted by the enemy or taken possession of by the Union forces, and the navigation of the river was once more entirely without impediment.

---

* Correspondence of the New York *Herald*, June 29, 1861

With these notices of affairs in the immediate vicinity of Washington we may conveniently associate the movements going on at the right extremity of the line of defence at Harper's Ferry. An important division of the national army, chiefly composed of regiments from Pennsylvania, early assembled at Chambersburg, in that State, a position from which there was an easy approach through Maryland, by way of Hagerstown, to the Potomac. They were under the command of Major-General Patterson, to whom the Department of Pennsylvania had been assigned by the Government.

This officer, born in Ireland, had been brought in his boyhood to America by his father, who came with his family to Pennsylvania in consequence of his implication in the rebellion of 1798. In 1811 the parent further emigrated to Tennessee, leaving his son in the counting-house of a wealthy East India merchant at Philadelphia. The war with England breaking out the following year, young Patterson entered the army as a lieutenant of the 22d Infantry, and retiring on its close with the rank of captain, resumed his occupation in the counting house. He did not abandon, however, his military pursuits, but devoting himself to the volunteer service rose to the rank of a major-general of militia. On the breaking out of the Mexican war he was appointed a major-general of volunteers by President Polk, and served with General Taylor in his advance on the Rio Grande, and led an important expedition against Tampico. He then joined the line of General Scott and landed with that officer at Vera Cruz, when he rendered material service at the head of his volunteer division in the reduction of the city. The term of enlistment of his men having expired, he accompanied them home, but soon returned to Mexico, taking command of the volunteer division at the capital, where he remained till the establishment of peace. After the war he again resumed his mercantile pursuits. At the outbreak of the rebellion he was summoned by Governor Curtin to the service of the Government, and in a patriotic spirit immediately entered upon his new duties.

On the 3d of June we find General Patterson in command of the Department of Pennsylvania issuing the following order to his troops from his head-quarters at Chambersburg, on the eve of his advance into Maryland :—" The restraint which has necessarily been imposed upon you, impatient to overcome those who have raised their parricidal hands against our country, is about to be removed. You will soon meet the insurgents. You are not the aggressors. A turbulent faction, misled by ambitious rulers, in a time of profound peace and national prosperity, have occupied your forts, and turned the guns against you ; have seized your arsenals and armories and appropriated to themselves government supplies ; have arrested and held prisoners your companions marching to their homes under State pledge of security ; have captured vessels and provisions voluntarily assured by State legislation from molestation, and now seek to perpetuate a reign of terror over loyal citizens. They have invaded a loyal State and entrenched themselves within its boundaries in defiance of its constituted authorities. You are going on American soil to sustain the civil power, to relieve the oppressed, and to retake that which is unlawfully held. You must bear in mind you are going for the good of the whole country, and that, while it is your duty to punish sedition, you must protect the loyal, and, should occasion offer, at once suppress servile insurrection. Success will crown your efforts ; a grateful country and a happy people will reward you."

The advance of the Union army into Virginia, at the end of May, found the rebels in possession of the important position of Harper's Ferry, which they had held since its evacuation and the partial destruction of the government building by Lieutenant Jones. Various defensive works were erected by them on the hills adjoining the town, and the opposite heights in Maryland were occupied by a camp of Kentuckians. The line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad which crosses the river at this point and traverses a portion of Virginia, was thus under their control and communication between its eastern and western portions cut off. Affairs remained in this situation till the middle of June when, in view of the armies gathering on all sides, the rapid accumulation of troops in Western Virginia, the advance of the Pennsylvania division, under General Patterson, in front and a movement from the camps at Washington, under Colonel Stone, on his flank, threatening the safety of the force at Harper's Ferry, and its communication with the main army at Manassas, General Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate commander, prudently resolved to abandon the position. On the 14th accordingly he withdrew his troops in the direction of Winchester, after a complete destruction of the Baltimore and Ohio railway bridge over the Potomac, a portion of the track and other property belonging to the company. The piers only were left standing—a ghastly memorial of the fine and costly work. Two other bridges at Martinsburg and Shepherdstown, commanding the approaches from the west, were likewise destroyed. What had been left of the machinery at the national manufactories which could be transported was removed, and the arsenal buildings, which had hitherto escaped, were burnt. Not content with this work of devastation, a few days after a party of the insurgent army returned and set fire to the bridge crossing the Shenandoah and continued the injuries to the railway company, throwing into the river a valuable locomotive engine which had been left on the iron span of the Potomac bridge nearest the town.

General Patterson meanwhile having advanced his forces above to Williamsport, remained in that vicinity till the 2d of July, when he crossed the river with his command, numbering some 15,000 men, mostly Pennsylvanians, with one Wisconsin regiment, Colonel Thomas' United States cavalry, and two batteries of artillery. The advance of this army, consisting of the Wisconsin and two Pennsylvania regiments, with McMullen's Rangers, the Philadelphia City Troop, and Perkins' Battery, immediately fell in with a considerable body of the enemy under Colonel Jackson, estimated at four regiments of infantry and one of horse, with four guns, when the Union artillery opened fire and a skirmishing fight ensued, ending in the retreat of the rebels. This encounter was in the neighborhood of Falling Waters, near the Potomac, on the road to Martinsburg. The union loss was reported by General Patterson at three killed and ten wounded. On the 9th he was joined by General Sandford with the New York 5th and 12th regiments.

The main force of General Johnston was now established at Winchester, with their outposts towards Martinsburg, whither they were followed by General Patterson on the 16th, a fortnight after he had crossed the Potomac, as far as Bunker Hill, where there was some slight skirmishing within twelve miles of their position. Unhappily they were pressed no further. Had they been vigorously pushed and brought to action, we might perhaps have been spared the recital of the disastrous event which immediately ensued in front of Washington. As it was, General Patterson, turning from Winchester, withdrew his forces the next day, the 17th, to Charlestown, in communication with Harper's Ferry, while General Johnston rapidly conducted a large portion of his army to the line of the railway communicating by way of Manassas Gap with the camp at Manassas Junction.

CHAPTER XV.

MOVEMENTS OF THE CONFEDERATES.

From these scenes before Washington we turn to the movements of the Confederate Government, which, a few days before the advance of the Union troops across the Potomac, by a resolution of the Congress at Montgomery, was transferred to Richmond, Virginia. Of the proceedings of that second session, conducted as they were, for the most part, in secrecy, we have but imperfect accounts. It was called by President Davis to meet on the 29th of April, in consequence of the events growing out of the attack upon Sumter, in advance of the day to which it had been adjourned, and its deliberations were doubtless mainly, if not altogether, confined to devising the means of carrying on the long and serious war with the North in prospect. In the Message which he delivered at the opening of the session, President Davis began by presenting a formal declaration of the political circumstances and principles which constituted, in his mind, a justification of the course pursued in the formation of the Confederate Government. As a manifesto to the world, this portion of the document became of considerable importance. It was undoubtedly greatly influential in creating in many quarters in Europe opinions in favor of the pretensions of the new government.

"The occasion," said he, "is indeed an extraordinary one. It justifies me in giving a brief review of the relations heretofore existing between us and the States which now unite in warfare against us, and a succinct statement of the events which have resulted to the end, that mankind may pass intelligent and impartial judgment on our motives and objects. During the war waged against Great Britain by her colonies on this continent, a common danger impelled them to a close alliance, and to the formation of a Confederation by the terms of which the colonies, styling themselves States, entered severally into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever. In order to guard against any misconstruction of their compact, the several States made an explicit declaration in a distinct article—that each State retain its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power of jurisdiction and right which is not by this said Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled under this contract of alliance. The war of the Revolution was successfully waged, and resulted in the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783, by the terms of which the several States were each by name recognized to be independent. The articles of confederation contained a clause whereby all alterations were prohibited, unless confirmed by the Legislatures of every State after being agreed to by the Congress; and in obedience to this provision, under the resolution of Congress of the 21st of February, 1787, the several States appointed delegates for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Government and the preservation of the Union. It was by the delegates chosen by the several States under the resolution just quoted, that the Constitution of the United States was formed in 1787, and submitted to the several States for ratification, as shown by the seventh article, which is in these words: 'The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.' I have italicised certain words in the resolutions just made for the purpose of attracting attention to the singular and marked caution with which the States endeavored in every possible form to exclude the idea that the separate and independent sovereignty of each State was merged into one common government or nation; and the earnest desire they evinced to impress on the Constitution its true character — that of a compact between independent States—the Constitution of 1787, however, admitting the clause already recited from the articles of confederation, which provided in explicit terms that each State reclaimed its sovereignty and independence. Some alarm was felt in the States, when invited to ratify the Constitution, lest this omission should be construed into an abandonment of their cherished principles, and they refused to be satisfied until amendments were added to the Constitution placing beyond any pretence of doubt the reservation by the States of their sovereign rights and powers not expressly delegated to the United States by the Constitution.

"Strange, indeed, must it appear to the impartial observer, but it is none the less true that all these carefully worded clauses proved unavailing to prevent the rise and growth in the Northern States of a political school which has persistently claimed that the Government set above and over the States, an organization created by the States, to secure the blessings of liberty and independence against foreign aggression, has been gradually perverted into a machine for their control in their domestic affairs. The creature has been exalted above its Creator — the principals have been made subordinate to the agent appointed by themselves. The people of the Southern States, whose almost exclusive occupation was agriculture, early perceived a tendency in the Northern States to render a common government subservient to their own purposes by imposing burdens on commerce as protection to their manufacturing and shipping interests. Long and angry controversies grew out of these attempts, often successful, to benefit one section of the country at the expense of the other, and the danger of disruption arising from this cause was enhanced by the fact that the Northern population was increasing, by emigration and other causes, more than the population of the South. By degrees, as the Northern States gained preponderance in the National Congress, self-interest taught their people to yield ready assent to any plausible advocacy of their right as majority to govern the minority. Without control, they learn to listen with impatience to the suggestion of any constitutional impediment to the exercise of their will, and so utterly have the principles of the Constitution been corrupted in the Northern mind that, in the inaugural address delivered by President Lincoln in March last, he asserts a maxim which he plainly deems to be undeniable, that the theory of the Constitution requires, in all cases, that the majority shall govern. And in another memorable instance the same Chief Magistrate did not hesitate to liken the relations between States and the United States to those which exist between the county and the State in which it is situated, and by which it was created. This is the lamentable and fundamental error in which rests the policy that has culminated in his declaration of war against these Confederate States.

"In addition to the long-continued and deep-seated resentment felt by the Southern States at the persistent abuse of the powers they had delegated to the Congress for the purpose of enriching the manufacturing and shipping classes of the North at the expense of the South, there has existed for nearly half a century another subject of discord, involving interests of such transcendent magnitude as at all times to create apprehension in the minds of many devoted lovers of the Union that its permanence was impossible. When the several States delegated certain powers to the United States Congress, a large portion of the laboring population were imported into the colonies by the mother country. In twelve out of the fifteen States, negro slavery existed, and the right of property existing in slaves was protected by law ; this property was recognized in the Constitution, and provision was made against its loss by the escape of the slave. The increase in the number of slaves by foreign importation from Africa was also secured by a clause forbidding Congress to prohibit the slave trade anterior to a certain date, and in no clause can there be found any delegation of power to the Congress to authorize it in any manner to legislate to the prejudice, detriment or discouragement of the owners of that species of property, or excluding it from the protection of the Government. The climate and soil of the Northern States soon proved unpropitious to the continuance of slave labor, while the reverse being the case at the South, made unrestricted free intercourse between the two sections unfriendly. The Northern States consulted their own interests by selling their slaves to the South and prohibiting slavery between their limits. The South were willing purchasers of property suitable to their wants, and paid the price of the acquisition, without harboring a suspicion that their quiet possession was to be disturbed by those who were not only in want of constitutional authority, but by good faith as vendors, from disquieting a title emanating from themselves.

"As soon, however, as the Northern States, that prohibited African slavery within their limits, had reached a number sufficient to give their representation a controlling vote in the Congress, a persistent and organized system of hostile measures against the rights of the owners of slaves in the Southern States was inaugurated and gradually extended. A series of measures was devised and prosecuted for the purpose of rendering insecure the tenure of property in slaves. Fanatical organizations, supplied with money by voluntary subscriptions, were assiduously engaged in exciting amongst the slaves a spirit of discontent and revolt. Means were furnished for their escape from their owners, and agents secretly employed to entice them to abscond. The constitutional provision for their rendition to their owners was first evaded, then openly denounced as a violation of conscientious obligation and religious duty. Men were taught that it was a merit to elude, disobey, and violently oppose the execution of the laws enacted to secure the performance of the promise contained in the constitutional compact. Often owners of slaves were mobbed and even murdered in open day solely for applying to a magistrate for the arrest of a fugitive slave.

"The dogmas of the voluntary organization soon obtained control of the Legislatures of many of the Northern States, and laws were passed for the punishment, by ruinous fines, and long-continued imprisonment in gaols and penitentiaries, of citizens of the Southern States who should dare ask of the officers of the law for the recovery of their property. Emboldened by success, on the theatre of agitation and aggression, against the clearly expressed constitutional rights of the Congress, Senators and Representatives were sent to the common councils of the nation, whose chief title to this distinction consisted in the display of a spirit of ultra fanaticism, and whose business was not to promote the general welfare, or ensure domestic tranquility—but awaken the bitterest hatred against the citizens of sister States by violent denunciations of their institutions. The transaction of public affairs was impeded by repeated efforts to usurp powers not delegated by the Constitution, for the purpose of impairing the security of property in slaves, and reducing those States which held slaves to a condition of inferiority. Finally, a great party was organized for the purpose of obtaining the administration of the Government, with the avowed object of using its power for the total exclusion of the slave

States from all participation in the benefits of the public domain acquired by all the States in common, whether by conquest or purchase, surrounded them entirely by States in which slavery should be prohibited, thus rendering the property in slaves so insecure as to be comparatively worthless, and thereby annihilating in effect property worth thousands of millions of dollars. This party, thus organized, succeeded in the month of November last in the election of its candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

"In the meantime, under the mild and genial climate of the Southern States, and the increasing care for the well-being and comfort of the laboring classes, dictated alike by interest and humanity, the African slaves had augmented in number from about six hundred thousand, at the date of the adoption of the constitutional compact, to upwards of four millions. In a moral and social condition they had been elevated from brutal savages into docile, intelligent, and civilized agricultural laborers, and supplied not only with bodily comforts, but with careful religious instruction, under the supervision of a superior race. Their labor had been so directed as not only to allow a gradual and marked amelioration of their own condition, but to convert hundreds of thousands of square miles of the wilderness into cultivated lands covered with a prosperous people. Towns and cities had sprung into existence, and it rapidly increased in wealth and population under the social system of the South. The white population of the Southern slaveholding States had augmented from about 1,250,000, at the date of the adoption of the Constitution, to more than 8,500,000 in 1860, and the productions of the South in cotton, rice, sugar and tobacco, for the full development and continuance of which the labor of African slaves was and is indispensable, had swollen to an amount which formed nearly three-fourths of the export of the whole United States, and had become absolutely necessary to the wants of civilized man. With interests of such overwhelming magnitude imperiled, the people of the Southern States were driven by the conduct of the North to the adoption of some course of action to avoid the dangers with which they were openly menaced. With this view, the Legislatures of the several States invited the people to select delegates to conventions to be held for the purpose of determining for themselves what measures were best to be adopted to meet so alarming a crisis in their history.

"Here it may be proper to observe that, from a period as early as 1798, there had existed in all the States of the Union a party almost uninterruptedly in the majority, based upon the creed that each State was, in the last resort, the sole judge as well of its wrongs as of the mode and measures of redress. Indeed it is obvious that under the law of nations this principle is an axiom as applied to the relations of independent sovereign States, such as those which had united themselves under the constitutional compact. The Democratic party of the United States repeated, in its successful canvass in 1836, the deduction made in numerous previous political contests, that it would faithfully abide by, and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia Legislatures of 1799, and that it adopts those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed. The principles thus emphatically announced embrace that to which I have already adverted—the right of each State to judge of and redress the wrongs of which it complains. Their principles were maintained by overwhelming majorities of the people of all the States of the Union at different elections, especially in the election of Mr. Jefferson in 1805, Mr. Madison in 1809, and Mr. Pierce in 1852. In the exercise of a right so ancient, so well established, and so necessary for self-preservation, the people of the Confederate States in their conventions determined that the wrongs which they had suffered, and the evils with which they were menaced, required that they should revoke the delegation of powers to the Federal Government which they had ratified in their several conventions. They consequently passed ordinances resuming all their rights as sovereign and independent States, and dissolved their connection with the other States of the Union. Having done this, they proceeded to form a new compact among themselves by new articles of confederation, which have been also ratified by conventions of the several States, with an approach to unanimity far exceeding that of the conventions which adopted the Constitutions of 1787. They have organized their new government in all its departments. The functions of the executive, legislative and judicial magistrates are performed in accordance with the will of the people, as displayed not merely in a cheerful acquiescence, but in the enthusiastic support of the government thus established by themselves; and but for the interference of the Government of the United States, this legitimate exercise of a people to self-government has been manifested in every possible form."

We have seen President Davis, in advance of the meeting of the Confederate Congress, issuing a proclamation calling for privateers, as an effectual means of resistance to the warlike measures of the North, taken after the fall of Sumter. The Congress at Montgomery now gave its sanction to the proceedings by one of its earliest acts, published on the 6th of May, formally declaring war against the United States as a foreign power. The preamble recited that the efforts which had been made "to settle all questions of disagreement between the two governments upon principles of right, justice, equity and good faith, having proved unavailing by reason of the refusal of the Government of the United States to hold any intercourse with the commissioners appointed by this government for the purposes aforesaid, or to listen to any proposal they had to make for the peaceful solution of all causes of difficulties between the two governments," that "the President of the United States of America has issued his proclamation, making requisition upon the States of the American Union for 75,000 men, for the purpose, as therein indicated, of capturing forts and other strongholds within the jurisdiction of, and belonging to, the Confederate States of America, and has detailed naval armaments upon the coasts of the Confederate States of America, and raised, organized and equipped a large military force to execute the purpose aforesaid, and has issued his other proclamation, announcing his purpose to set on foot a blockade of the ports of the Confederate States,"—that "the State of Virginia has seceded from the Federal Union and entered into a convention of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Confederate States, and has adopted the Provisional Constitution of the said States, and the States of Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas and Missouri have refused, and it is believed that the State of Delaware and the inhabitants of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico and the Indian Territory south of Kansas, will refuse to coöperate with the Government of the United States in these acts of hostilities and wanton aggression, which are plainly intended to overawe, oppress and finally subjugate the people of the Confederate States," and "that by the acts and means aforesaid war exists between the Confederate States and the Government of the United States and the States and Territories thereof, excepting the States of Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri and Delaware and the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico and the Indian Territory south of Kansas." The first provision of the act, which followed this declaration, authorized President Davis "to use the whole land and naval force of the Confederate States to meet the war thus commenced, and to issue to private armed vessels commissions or letters of marque and general reprisal in such form as he shall think proper under the seal of the Confederate States, against the vessels, goods and effects of the Government of the United States and of the citizens or inhabitants of the States and Territories thereof, except the States and Territories hereinbefore named." Among other provisions, a bounty was offered of $20 "for each person on board any armed ship or vessel belonging to the United States at the commencement of an engagement, which shall be burnt, sunk or destroyed by any vessel commissioned as aforesaid, which shall be of equal or inferior force, and a bounty of $25 to the owners, officers and crew of the private armed vessels, commissioned as aforesaid, for each and every prisoner by them captured and brought into port and delivered to an agent authorized to receive them, in any port of the Confederate States."

A few days after, the Congress passed an unlimited enlistment act, authorizing the President "to accept the services of volunteers who may offer, without regard to the place of enlistment, either as cavalry, mounted riflemen, artillery or infantry, in such proportion of these several arms as he may deem expedient, to serve for and during the existing war, unless sooner discharged." A subsequent act authorized the issue of a paper currency of $50,000,000 treasury notes. Supplementary to this, in some measure, was an act passed May 21st, prohibiting debtors to individuals or corporations in what were termed the United States of America, excepting Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and the District of Columbia, from making payments to their creditors, their agents or assignees, "pending the existing war waged by that Government against the Confederate States, or any of the slaveholding States before named." Any person thus indebted was authorized to pay the amount of his indebtedness into the Treasury of the Confederate States, and receive in return a certificate "bearing like interest with the original contract, redeemable at the close of the war and the restoration of peace, in specie or its equivalent." By an act of the same date the exportation of raw cotton or cotton yarn was prohibited, under heavy penalties of fine, imprisonment and confiscation, except through the seaports of the Confederate

States. This deprived the North of the trade which, checked on the seaboard, was seeking a new channel on the Mississippi, and was retaliatory to the order issued by Secretary Chase on the 2d of May from the Treasury Department, addressed to collectors, surveyors, and other officers of the customs on the northern and northwestern waters of the United States, enjoining them to seize and detain all arms, munitions of war, provisions, or other supplies on their way to any port or place under the control of insurrectionary parties. This order established a blockade of the Mississippi, and of the railway communications from Kentucky southward. The arrest of the United States postal service in the seceded States was delayed by Postmaster-General Blair till the 31st of May, when in fact it was formally suspended by the action of the Confederates. By an order issued by Postmaster-General John H. Reagan, on the part of the rebel government, announcing the suspension, the southern postmasters acting under the authority of the United States were directed, on and after the 1st day of June, to retain in their possession, subject to the further orders of his department, "for the benefit of the Confederate States, all mail bags, locks and keys, marking and other stamps, blanks for quarterly returns, and all other property belonging to or connected with the postal service."

In addition to the measures of the Confederate Congress bearing upon the material prosecution of the war, a resolution was introduced requesting President Davis to appoint "a day of fasting and prayer, in the observance of which all shall be invited to join who recognize our dependence upon God, and who desire the happiness and security of that people 'whose God is the Lord.'" In compliance with this recommendation, President Davis issued the following proclamation to the people of the Confederate States :—

"When a people who recognize their dependence upon God, feel themselves surrounded by peril and difficulty, it becomes them to humble themselves under the dispensation of Divine Providence, to recognize His righteous government, to acknowledge His goodness in times past, and supplicate His merciful protection for the future. The manifest proofs of the Divine blessing hitherto extended to the efforts of the people of the Confederate States of America, to maintain and perpetuate public liberty, individual rights, and national independence, demand their devout and heartfelt gratitude. It becomes them to give public manifestation of this gratitude, and of their dependence upon the Judge of all the earth, and to invoke the continuance of his favor. Knowing that none but a just and righteous cause can gain the Divine favor, we would implore the Lord of Hosts to guide and direct our policy in the paths of right, duty, justice and mercy, to unite our heart and our efforts for the defence of our dearest rights ; to strengthen our weakness, crown our arms with success, and enable us to secure a speedy, just, and honorable peace. To these ends, and in conformity with the request of Congress, I invite the people of the Confederate States to the observance of a day of fasting and prayer by such religious services as may be suitable for the occasion, and I recommend Thursday, the 13th day of June next, for that purpose, and that we may all, on that day, with one accord, join in humble and reverential approach to Him in whose hands we are, invoking Him to inspire us with a proper spirit and temper of heart and mind to bear our evils, to bless us with His favor and protection, and to bestow His gracious benediction upon our government and country."

Having thus invoked a religious sanction upon its proceedings, the Congress ended its second session at Montgomery on the 21st May, by an act of adjournment to meet on the 20th of July at Richmond, which was henceforth to be the capital of the Confederacy.

A few days after the adjournment we find President Davis inditing a notable epistle to a certain committee of the Maryland Legislature who had addressed a communication to the rebel government in a "sympathizing" spirit. To this friendly overture Davis made the following smooth reply, asserting his disposition for peace, but abating nothing of the pretensions of the Confederate States to independence as a foreign nation. "I receive," says he, "with pleasure the assurance that the State of Maryland sympathizes with the people of the Confederate States in their determined vindication of the right of self-government, and that the people of Maryland are enlisted with their whole hearts on the side of reconciliation and peace. The people of these Confederate States, notwithstanding their separation from their late sister, have not ceased to feel deep solicitude in her welfare, and to hope that at no distant day that State, whose people, habits, and institutions are so closely related and assimilated with theirs, will seek to unite her fate and fortunes with those of this Confederacy. The government of the Confederate States receives with respect the suggestion of the State of Maryland, that there should be a cessation of the hostilities now impending until the meeting of Congress in July next, in order that said body may, if possible, arrange for an adjustment of the existing troubles by means of negotiations rather than the sword. But it is at a loss how to reply without a repetition of the language it has used on every possible occasion that has presented itself, since the establishment of its independence. In deference to the State of Maryland, however, it again asserts in the most emphatic terms, that its sincere and earnest desire is for peace, and that while the government would readily entertain any proposition from the Government of the United States, tending to a peaceful solution of the present difficulties, the recent attempts of this government to enter into negotiations with that of the United States were attended with results which forbid any renewal of the proposals from it to that government. If any further assurance of the desire of this government for peace were necessary, it would be sufficient to observe that being formed of a confederation of sovereign States, each acting and deciding for itself, the right of every other sovereign State to assume self-action and self-government is necessarily acknowledged. Hence conquests of other States are wholly inconsistent with the fundamental principles and subversive of the very organization of this government. Its policy cannot but be peace—peace with all nations and people."*

Sunday, the 26th of May, the day following the date of this epistle, President Davis, accompanied by his aid, Colonel

---

* Jefferson Davis to Messrs. McKaig, Yellott and Harding, Committee of the Maryland Legislature. Montgomery Ala., May 25, 1861.

Wigfall, and by Robert Toombs, the Secretary of State, set out by railway for the new seat of the rebel government at Richmond. Having recently suffered from a severe illness, it was desirable that his trip should be private, but the President was quite too distinguished a person at this season of popular anxiety and enthusiasm to be allowed to travel in quiet. "At each station," as we are informed by an enthusiastic chronicler who presents us with many curious particulars of the journey, "his friends endeavored to convey this information of the desire for privacy to the citizens, but it was really to no purpose. No matter where the cars stopped, even though it was only for wood or for water, throngs of men, women and children would gather around the cars, asking, in loud shouts, 'Where is President Davis?' 'Jeff. Davis, the old hero!' and he was forced to make his appearance, and frequently to address them. Then we could see handkerchiefs waving, and gay flags and bouquets. When the flute-like voice of Davis arose upon the air, hushed to stillness by the profound respect of his auditors, it was not long before there was an outburst of feeling which gave vent to a tornado of voices; these would break forth in constant succession to the end of his address. Every sentiment he uttered seemed to well up from his heart, and was received with the wildest enthusiasm. When he concluded, three hearty cheers went up from the multitude. The crowd then shouted for Wigfall, and no excuse was tolerated. In vain he would seek some remote part of the cars; the crowd hunted him up, and the welkin rang with rejoicings, as he addressed them in his emphatic and fervent style of oratory. Next would be heard a cry for 'Toombs!' He, too, sought to avoid the call, but the echo would ring with the name of 'Toombs!' 'Toombs!' and the sturdy Georgian statesman had to respond. His frank and open manner came home to the hearts of all. Whether in his own State, in South Carolina, in Alabama, or North Carolina, 'Bob Toombs,' as they familiarly called him in Georgia, was always welcome when he addressed the people.

"In Atlanta, Augusta, Wilmington and Goldsborough, the crowds assembled were very large, and the enthusiasm unbounded. At Goldsborough, while President Davis was partaking of his supper in the hall of the hotel, the table was thronged with beautiful girls, and many were bedecking him with garlands of flowers, while others fanned him. It was a most interesting occasion. The military had formed into squares to receive him from the cars; guns were fired, and the band struck up inspiriting martial airs during the interval of supper.

"The whole country is a camp. On every hand we see soldiers, and every day the cars were crowded with them. From appearances, they are the flower of the South. The journey of President Davis from Montgomery to the capital was one continuous ovation. The whole soul of the South is in this war; and the confidence manifested in our President, in the many scenes which transpired on the trip, shows that the mantle of Washington falls gracefully upon his shoulders. Never were a people more enraptured with their Chief Magistrate than ours are with President Davis, and the trip from Montgomery to Richmond will ever be remembered with delight by all who witnessed it. The eagerness of young and old and of all classes to catch a glimpse of him, or take him by the hand, is beyond description. This trip has infused a martial feeling in our people that knows no bounds. While, however, there is a rush to the battle-field in our older States, which threatens to fill up all the ranks in our army, we must have a thought for the far distant West, and give our young sister States an opportunity to unite their names in the history of our war on the borders of Virginia. The President and suite were welcomed to Virginia by a deputation of the Governor of the State and the Mayor of Richmond. These gentlemen reached the party at Petersburg, and accompanied them to the city."*

Upon his arrival at Richmond, on the 28th, President Davis, accompanied by an eager crowd of soldiers and civilians, was attended to the new Fair Grounds, where, addressing the multitude, he pledged himself to their service to the end. "My friends and fellow-citizens," said he, "I am deeply impressed with the kindness of your manifestation. I look upon you as the last best hope of liberty; and in our liberty alone is our constitutional government to be preserved. Upon your strong right arm depends the success of our country, and in asserting the birthright to which you were born, you are to remember that life and blood are nothing as compared with the immense interests you have at stake. It may be that you have not long been trained, and that you have much to learn of the art of war, but I know that there beats in the breasts of Southern sons a determination never to surrender—a determination never to go home but to tell a tale of honor. Though great may be the disparity of numbers, give us a fair field and a free fight, and the Southern banner will float in triumph everywhere. The country relies upon you. Upon you rests the hope of our people; and I have only to say, my friends, that to the last breath of my life I am wholly your own." A day or two after he was serenaded, and again addressed the assembled crowd. Several of his remarks were strikingly significant of the situation of affairs, for even on a chance occasion, he was not the man to content himself with platitudes. Contempt and revenge animated his thoughts with a remarkable degree of self-complacency as he uttered sentences like the following:—"Upon us is devolved the high and holy responsibility of preserving the constitutional liberty of a free government. Those with whom we have lately associated have shown themselves so incapable of appreciating the blessings of the glorious institutions they inherited, that they are to-day stripped of the liberty to which they were born. They have allowed an ignorant usurper to trample upon all the prerogatives of citizenship, and to exercise powers never delegated to him; and it has been reserved to your own State, so lately one of the original thirteen, but now, thank God, fully separated from them, to become the theatre of a great central camp, from which will pour forth thousands of brave hearts to roll back the tide of this despotism. Apart from that gratification we may well feel at being separated from such a connection, is the pride that upon you devolves the task of maintaining and defending our new government. I believe that we shall be able to achieve this noble work, and that the institutions of our fathers will go to our children as safely as they have descended to us. In these Confederate States we observe those relations which have been poetically ascribed to the United States, but which never there had the same reality—States so distinct that each existed as a Sovereign, yet so united that each was bound with the other to constitute a whole; or, as more beautifully expressed, "Distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea." Upon every hill which now overlooks Richmond you have had, and will continue to have camps containing soldiers from every State in the Confederacy; and to its remotest limits every proud heart beats high with indignation at the thought that the foot of the invader has been set upon the soil of old Virginia. There is not one true son of the South who is not ready to shoulder his musket, to bleed, to die, or to conquer in the cause of liberty here.

---

* Richmond *Enquirer*, May 28, 1861.

"Beginning under many embarrassments, the result of seventy years of taxation being in the hands of our enemies, we must at first move cautiously. It may be that we shall have to encounter sacrifices; but, my friends, under the smiles of the God of the Just, and filled with the same spirit that animated our fathers, success shall perch on our banners. I am sure you do not expect me to go into any argument upon those questions which, for twenty-five years, have agitated the country. We have now reached the points where, arguments being exhausted, it only remains for us to stand by our weapons. When the time and occasion serve, we shall smite the smiter with manly arms, as did our fathers before us, and as becomes their sons. To the enemy we leave the base acts of the assassin and incendiary, to them we leave it to insult helpless women; to us belongs vengeance upon man. Now, my friends, I thank you again for this gratifying manifestation. (A voice. 'Tell us something of Buena Vista.') Well, my friends, I can only say we will make the battlefields in Virginia another Buena Vista, and drenched with blood more precious than that which flowed there. We will make a history for ourselves. We do not ask that the past shall shed our lustre upon us, bright as our past has been, for we can achieve our own destiny. We may point to many a field, over which has floated the flag of our country when we were of the United States—upon which Southern soldiers and Southern officers reflected their brave spirits in their deeds of daring; and without intending to cast a shadow upon the courage of any portion of the United States, let me call it to your remembrance, that no man who went from these Confederate States has ever yet, as a general officer, surrendered to an enemy."

On the 1st of June, General Beauregard, having a few days previously relinquished his command of the forces around Charleston, arrived at Richmond, on his way to command a division of the Confederate army in the vicinity of the Potomac. Previously to leaving Charleston he addressed to General Martin, of that city, the following letter, from which it would appear that some other disposal of his services was at first intended. It is said that he was talked of for the command of the army in the West, with its headquarters then at Corinth, Mississippi, his occupation of which afterwards became so celebrated. The epistle, though unscrupulous in its terms, was none the less on that account characteristic of the writer's military zeal and determination. The reference to General Scott as the "octogenarian," did not pass unnoticed at the time. "I sincerely regret," wrote General Beauregard, "leaving Charleston, where the inhabitants have given me such a welcome that I now consider it as my second home. I had hoped that when relieved from here it would have been to go to Virginia, in command of the gallant Carolinians, whose courage, patience and zeal I had learned to appreciate and admire. But it seems my services are required elsewhere, and thither I shall go, not with joy, but with the firm determination to do more than my duty, if I can, and to leave as strong a mark as possible on the enemies of our beloved country, should they pollute its soil with their dastardly feet. But rest assured, my dear sir, that whatever happens at first, we are certain to have triumph at last, even if we had for arms only pitchforks and flint-lock muskets, for every bush and hay-stack will become an ambush and every barn a fortress. The history of nations proves that a gallant and free people, fighting for their independence and firesides, are invincible against even disciplined mercenaries at a few dollars per month. What, then, must be the result when its enemies are little more than an armed rabble, gathered together hastily on a false pretence and for an unholy purpose, with an octogenarian at its head? None but the demented can doubt the issue."*

It was about this time that General Beauregard presented to the volunteer battalion of Orleans Guard at New Orleans, of which he was a member, a token of his first achievement at Sumter, with the following note, addressed to the commanding officer of the battalion:—"I send you, through Mr. T. K. Wharton, a piece of the flag-staff of Fort Sumter, which was struck nine times by the balls and shells of our batteries, and finally came down with the flag attached to it. The piece sent you is intended as the staff of your battalion colors, and I have no doubt that when thus honored and under the protection of our gallant comrades, it will meet with better success."* A few days after this epistle was written the following proclamation appeared from General Beauregard, dated at his headquarters, Department of Alexandria, Camp Pickens, June 5, and addressed to the people of the counties of Loudon, Fairfax and Prince William:—"A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage, too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest. In the name, therefore, of the constituted authorities of the Confederate States—in the sacred cause of constitutional liberty and self-government, for which we are contending—in behalf of civilization itself, I, G. T. Beauregard, Brigadier-General of the

---

* General Beauregard to General Martin, Charleston, S. C., May 27. 1861. Published in the Charleston *Courier*.

* Brigadier-General P. G. T. Beauregard to Major Numa Augusten, commanding New Orleans Battalion, New Orleans. Headquarters Provisional Army C. S. A., Charleston, S. C., May 22, 1851.

Confederate States, commanding at Camp Pickens, Manassas Junction, do make this my proclamation, and invite and enjoin you by every consideration dear to the hearts of freemen and patriots, by the name and memory of your Revolutionary fathers, and by the purity and sanctity of your domestic firesides, to rally to the standard of your State and country; and, by every means in your power, compatible with honorable warfare, to drive back and expel the invaders from your land. I conjure you to be true and loyal to your country and her legal and constitutional authorities, and especially to be vigilant of the movements and acts of the enemy, so as to enable you to give the earliest authentic information at these headquarters, or to officers under his command. I desire to assure you that the utmost protection in my power will be given to you all."

The atrocious terms of this proclamation, in such striking contrast with the conciliatory addresses of the Union officers, were much commented upon as an indication of the manner in which the war was to be conducted on the part of the rebels. Was this the coming man, the "leader" for whom the Virginia secessionists were clamorous, and whose arrival for the capture of Washington the Richmond *Examiner*, a short time before, had announced with similar violence and indecency as immediately at hand? "Our people can take it—they will take it," was the language of that fanatical journal, "and Scott the arch-traitor, and Lincoln, the beast, combined, cannot prevent it. The just indignation of an outraged and deeply injured people will teach the Illinois Ape to repeat his race, and retrace his journey across the borders of the free-negro States still more rapidly than he came; and Scott, the traitor, will be given an opportunity at the same time to try the difference between 'Scott's tactics' and the Shanghai drill for quick movements. Great cleansing and purification are needed, and will be given, to that festering sink of iniquity, that wallow of Lincoln and Scott—the desecrated city of Washington; and many indeed will be the carcasses of dogs and caitiffs that will blacken the air upon the gallows before the great work is accomplished. So let it be."* This was a characteristic specimen of much of the literature of the Southern secession press, particularly in the early period of the war. A few months later, when hard blows succeeded to hard words, such effusions of Billingsgate grew somewhat rare. Even foul-mouthed editors had less to say of Lincoln as an ape and Scott as a traitor. We would not sully our page with these ridiculous ebullitions were they not an essential portion of the history of the times. The attempt to degrade the person and character of the Chief Magistrate in the opinion of the less informed people of the South, was by no means an unimportant part of the vile machinery of the rebellion. Such puerilities and absurdities, gross as they were, undoubtedly had their effect in alienating the citizens from the Government; especially as they were supported by the affected cool contempt of the upper classes.

If these unhandsome expressions were to be regarded as belonging to the vulgar depreciation common to all communities engaged in actual warfare, there were other more serious declarations of the motives or impressions of the combatants and their view of the principles at stake, from which it might be anticipated that the coming struggle on the part of the South would be maintained with earnestness and severity. An indication of the feeling with which the Southern troops were sent from their homes for the North at this time, may be gathered from the language of an address delivered from the portico of the City Hall at New Orleans, to the Washington Artillery, on their departure for the new seat of war in Virginia. It was spoken by the Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer, an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of that city, and is of course entitled to be considered a fair expression of the opinions and sentiments of the citizens. Dr. Palmer will be remembered as the preacher of a discourse on President Buchanan's Fast-day in November, in the First Presbyterian Church of New Orleans, entitled "Slavery a Divine Trust—the Duty of the South to preserve and perpetuate it," in which he not only enjoined that the "institution" should be maintained as it existed, but asserted that the South, "as its constituted guardian, can demand nothing less than that it should be left open to expansion, subject to no limitations save those imposed by God and nature." In the same discourse, he made this comparison of the social systems of the two portions of the country, which he evidently then regarded as about to be permanently disunited. "The argument," said he, "which enforces the solemnity of this providential trust is simple and condensed. It is bound upon us, then, by the *principle of self-preservation*, that 'first law' which is continually asserting its supremacy over others. Need I pause to show how this system of servitude underlies and supports our material interests? That our wealth consists in our lands, and in the serfs who till them? That from the nature of our products they can only be cultivated by labor which must be controlled in order to be certain? That any other but a tropical race must faint and wither beneath a tropical sun? Need I pause to show how this system is interwoven with our entire social fabric? That these slaves form parts of our households, even as our children; and that, too, through a relationship recognized and sanctioned in the Scriptures of God even as the other? Must I pause to show how it has fashioned our modes of life, and determined all our habits of thought and feeling, and moulded the very type of our civilization? How, then, can the hand of violence be laid upon it without involving our existence? The so-called free States of this country are working out the social problem under conditions peculiar to themselves. These conditions are sufficiently hard, and their success is too uncertain, to excite in us the least jealousy of their lot. With a teeming population, which the soil cannot support—with their wealth depending upon arts, created by artificial wants—with an eternal friction between the grades of their society—with their labor and their capital grinding against each other like the upper and nether millstones—with labor cheapened and displaced by new mechanical inventions, bursting more asunder the bonds of brotherhood; amid these intricate perils we have ever given them our sympathy and our prayers, and have never sought to weaken the foundation of their social order. God grant them complete success in the solution of all their perplexities! We, too, have our responsibilities and our trials; but they are all bound up in this one institution, which has been the object of such unrighteous assault through five and twenty years. If we are true to ourselves we shall, at this critical juncture, stand by it and work out our destiny."

---

* Richmond *Examiner*, April 23, 1861; ante, p. 150.

The conflict which Dr. Palmer in November regarded as imminent had in May become a reality, though it was not undertaken by the North on the issue set forth by the Southern divine. If the rebellion grew out of slavery, and was, as it was often popularly termed, "the slaveholder's rebellion," the war undertaken by the North, it should not be forgotten, was not for the suppression of the peculiar institution, but for the suppression of the rebellion and the preservation of the Union, a national question overriding all local interests. With this reference to the opinions of the speaker, we may the better appreciate his address to the members of the Washington Artillery. It was customary at the North, at the beginning and in the course of this struggle, to place great reliance on the justice and sanctity of the cause which it was defending, to the neglect at times of more practical suggestions. Here, it may be observed, the same appeals were made and the same religious sanctions invoked. "Soldiers," said this reverend divine, "history reads to us of wars which have been baptized as holy; but she enters upon her records none that is holier than this in which you have embarked. It is a war of defence against wicked and cruel aggression—a war of civilization against a ruthless barbarism which would dishonor the dark ages—a war of religion against a blind and bloody fanaticism. It is a war for your homes and firesides—for your wives and children—for the land which the Lord has given us for a heritage. It is a war for the maintenance of the broadest principle for which a free people can contend—the right of self-government. Eighty-five years ago our fathers fought in defence of the chartered right of Englishmen, that taxation and representation are correlative. We, their sons, contend to-day for the great American principle that all just government derives its powers from the will of the governed. It is the corner-stone of the great temple which, on this continent, has been reared to civil freedom; and its denial leads, as the events of the past two months have clearly shown, to despotism, the most absolute and intolerable, a despotism more grinding than that of the Turk or Russian, because it is the despotism of the mob, unregulated by principle or precedent, drifting at the will of an unscrupulous and irresponsible majority. The alternative which the North has laid before her people is the subjugation of the South, or what they are pleased to call absolute anarchy. The alternative before us is, the independence of the South or a despotism which will put its iron heel upon all that the human heart can hold dear. This mighty issue is to be submitted to the ordeal of battle, with the nations of the earth as spectators, and with the God of Heaven as umpire. The theatre appointed for the struggle is the soil of Virginia, beneath the shadow of her own Alleghanies. Comprehending the import of this great controversy from the first, Virginia sought to stand between the combatants, and pleaded for such an adjustment as both the civilization and the religion of the age demanded. When this became hopeless, obeying the instincts of that nature which has ever made her the Mother of

Statesmen and of States, she has opened her broad bosom to the blows of a tyrant's hand. Upon such a theatre, with such an issue pending before such a tribunal, we have no doubt of the part which will be assigned you to play; and when we hear the thunders of your cannon echoing from the mountain passes of Virginia, will understand that you mean, in the language of Cromwell at the castle of Drogheda, 'to cut this war to the heart.'"*

---

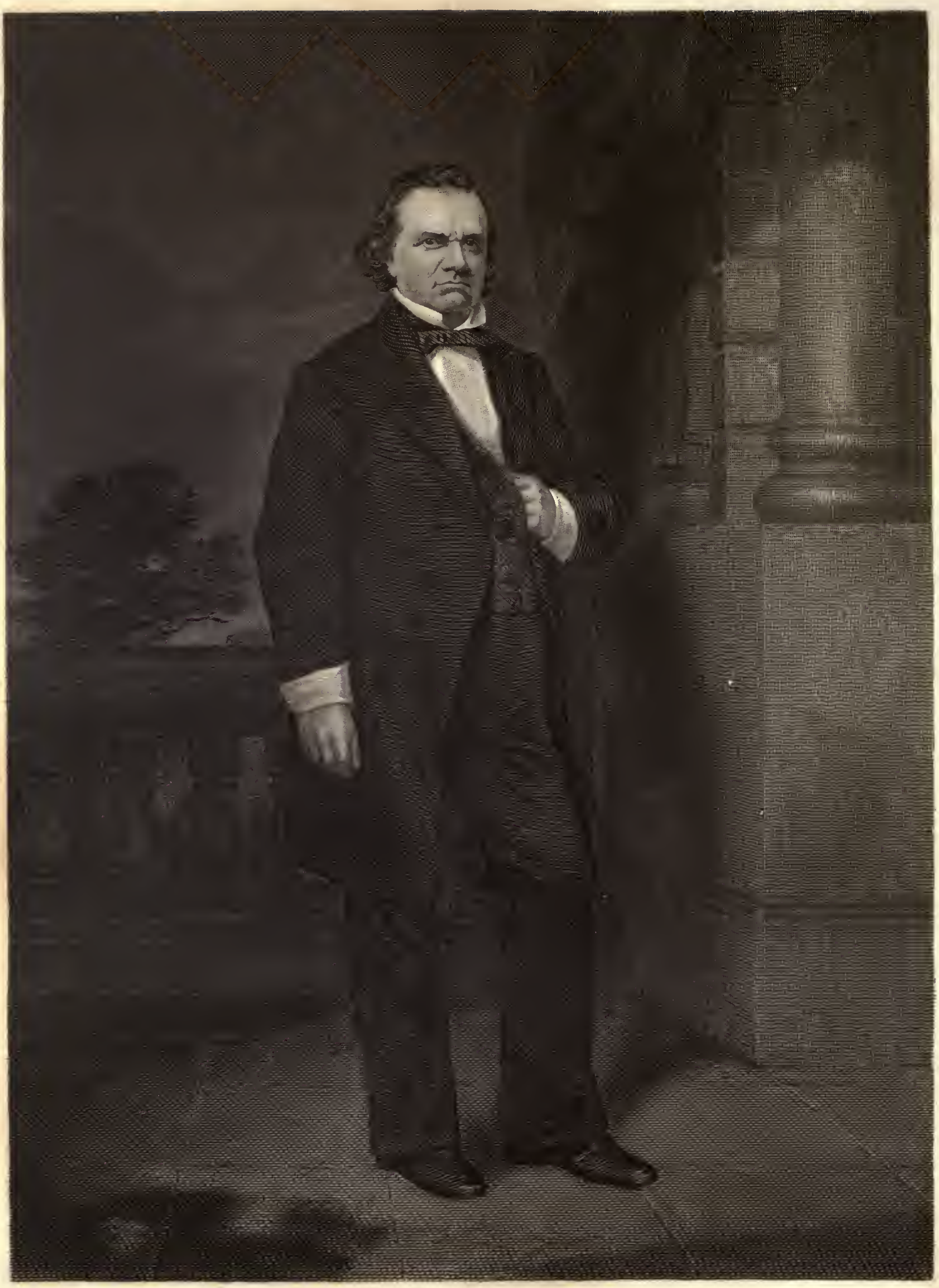
* Address of the Rev. Dr. Palmer to the Washington Artillery, New Orleans, May 27, 1861.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DEATH OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

In the midst of the anxieties attending the now inevitable recognition of the state of civil conflict into which the nation had been plunged, the public was suddenly startled by intelligence of the dangerous illness, terminating in a few days in the death of one of the foremost political actors in the great drama. Stephen Arnold Douglas, in the maturity of his mental and physical powers, died of an attack of fever at the City of Chicago, June 3, 1861. Justly considered of national importance at a critical period of affairs, this event was made the following day the subject of a special circular from the office of the Secretary of War at Washington. "The death of a great statesman in this hour of peril," was the language of Mr. Cameron in this document, "cannot be regarded otherwise than as a national calamity Stephen A. Douglas expired in the commercial capital of Illinois, yesterday morning, at 9 o'clock. A representative of the overpowering sentiment enlisted in the cause in which they are engaged; a man who nobly discarded party for country; a senator who forgot all prejudices in an earnest desire to serve the public; a statesman who lately received for the chief magistracy of the United States a vote second only to that by which the President was elected, and who had every reason to look forward to a long career of usefulness and honor; a patriot who defended with equal zeal and ability the Constitution as it came to us from our fathers, and whose last mission upon earth was that of rallying the people of his own State of Illinois as one man around the glorious flag of the Union, has been called from the scenes of life and the field of his labors. This department recognizing in his decease a loss in common with the whole country, and profoundly sensible of the grief it will excite among millions of men, hereby advises the colonels of the different regiments to have this order read to-morrow to their respective commands, and suggests that the colors of the republic be draped in mourning in honor of the illustrious dead."

The career of the statesman whose loss the country was thus called upon to deplore would be pronounced an extraordinary one in any other country than America, where similar instances of triumph over poverty in youth and early employment with rapid promotion in



S. A. Douglas

Likeness from the latest Photograph taken from life.

Johnson, Fry & Co Publishers, New York

[illegible] Johnson, Fry & Co. in the Clerk's Office of the District Court [illegible] Southern District [illegible]

political life are not uncommon. Born at Brandon, Vermont, in 1813, the son of a physician of good repute, he was left in his infancy, by the death of that parent, to the care of his mother, whose fortunes did not allow him any other opportunities for education, eager as the boy became for knowledge, beyond the instruction of the common schools of the neighborhood. Unable to gratify his desire to prepare for college, he apprenticed himself to a cabinet-maker and worked at the trade for 18 months. He then extricated himself from this employment, entered the academy at Brandon, at the age of 17, pursued his studies there with diligence for more than a year, when the family removing to Canandaigua, New York, he attended the academy at that place, and began the study of the law in the office of a lawyer of the town. With this mental stock in trade, at the age of 20, he determined to seek his fortunes in the West. Traversing various cities—Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis—he finally alighted upon the small town of Winchester, in the vicinity of Jacksonville, Illinois, where he opened a school, gave the day to the pupils and the night to the law, and in 1834 was admitted to the bar. Of ready talents, sagacious and resolute, his success was immediate. There, too, was inflamed that passion for political life which inspired his whole course to his latest moments. Illinois adopted him at once as her representative. Before he had completed his 22d year, he was chosen attorney-general of the State ; two years afterward he resigned that office to become a member of the Legislature, the year following he was appointed by President Van Buren register of the land-office at Springfield, and in 1838, but a few months after attaining the requisite age, was a candidate of the democratic party for the national House of Representatives, losing his election only by five votes. At the ensuing Presidential election, in 1840, he threw himself vigorously into the campaign on the side of Van Buren, addressing meetings of the people in all parts of the State. He was the same year appointed Secretary of State of Illinois, and in 1841, at the age of 27, was elected by the legislature a judge of the supreme court of the State. Three years afterward he was sent to Congress, and was twice reëlected; being withdrawn from his third term in the House to take a seat in 1847 in the United States Senate. In that position he remained till his death, so that for 27 years, during 18 of which he served continuously in the national legislature, he was constantly before the public in connection with political interests. He was thrice a candidate in the democratic conventions for the Presidency :—in 1852, in opposition to General Pierce ; in 1856 to Mr. Buchanan, and in 1860, when his successful nomination, as we have seen, was attended by that division of the party which secured the election of President Lincoln. Adopting generally the principles and advocating the policy of the democratic party during his career in Washington, a supporter of the ultra Oregon claim, of the annexation of Texas, of the application of the Monroe Doctrine, of the peaceful acquisition of Cuba and the like measures, Senator Douglas struck out a path for himself in his advocacy of his favorite doctrine of Popular Sovereignty, a theory by which he sought to solve the pressing difficulties of slavery in the Territories, and for the practical adoption of which he attempted to prepare the way by the introduction of the Kansas and Nebraska Bill. The passage of that act in 1854, by its abolition of the Missouri Compromise, restricting slavery, with the exception of Missouri, to the territory south of 36′ 30″ the northern line of Arkansas, was the prelude to the fearful contest which immediately ensued in Kansas, and undoubtedly opened the way for the adverse political issues which preceded the present rebellion. How far Mr. Douglas was responsible for letting loose upon the public this angry strife, it is not necessary here to inquire. Suffice it to say that his theory of Popular Sovereignty, beset with difficulties of the most formidable character, failed to work well in practice and was not only rejected by a great body of his countrymen of a different school of politics, but embarrassed him greatly with the members of his own party, whose ultra pretensions he was compelled to oppose in his resistance to the Lecompton Pro-slavery Constitution, when an attempt was made to force that measure upon Congress.

We have already called attention to the manly support which Senator Douglas, after his defeat in the Presidential election of 1860, gave to the administration of his successful rival. The patriotic course which he pursued at this crisis was the crowning glory of his life. *Finis coronat opus.* In the kindling addresses which he delivered to the people of the West in the brief interval between his final departure from Washington and his death, his words were impressed with a warmth and eloquence denied to his most ingenious and elaborate efforts in the partisan conflicts to which he had devoted so much of his life. On his journey, in April, from the capital to Illinois, he was arrested on several occasions by the enthusiasm of the people, and summoned to respond to their earnest appeals for sympathy and counsel. Ever ready for the occasion, he spoke to the citizens of Ohio and Virginia in the neighborhood of Wheeling, was again called upon at Columbus, addressed the Legislature of Illinois at Springfield, and on his arrival at Chicago, on the evening of the 1st of May, was received by an immense assemblage of the citizens, who had just been raised to a high pitch of excitement by the departure of their volunteer soldiery. It was but a fortnight after the fall of Sumter, and the State was straining every nerve for the support of the Government. The speech of Senator Douglas on this occasion, on that Western soil whose interests it was his pride to promote and with which his fame is identified, was the last which he delivered, and is thus impressed with a peculiar value, while its testimony as to the origin and nature of the rebellion is of especial significance, coming from one so intimately acquainted with the authors of the evil and the course of public events during its development. The place, it may be mentioned, in which the address was delivered, was the spacious Republican wigwam which, having performed its work in the election of President Lincoln, was now, in the spirit of the occasion—all party distinctions being for the time laid aside—named the National Hall. This was happily stated by the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Thomas B. Bryan, who in a few eloquent and patriotic remarks, welcomed the orator of the evening.

Mr. Douglas then rose. "I thank you," said he, "for the kind terms in which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the Committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception. I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent ovation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country. I will not conceal gratification at the uncontrovertible test this vast audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come—if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution—I can say before God my conscience is clean. I have struggled long for a peaceful solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity. The return we receive is war, armies marched upon our Capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. The question is, are we to maintain the country of our fathers, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy?

"What cause, what excuse do Disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays? They are dissatisfied with the result of a Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box? I understand it that the voice of the people, expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution, must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume, on the election of a particular candidate, that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this? I defy any man to show any act on which it is based. What act has been omitted to be done? I appeal to these assembled thousands that, so far as the constitutional rights of the Southern States—I will say the constitutional rights of slaveholders — are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omitted, of which they can complain. There has never been a time, from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land than they do now; there never was a time when they had not as good a cause for disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now that has not existed under every administration? If they say the Territorial question—now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints that I have heard have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfilment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they? The Slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since — formed by leaders in the Southern Confederacy more than twelve months ago. They use the Slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends. They desired the election of a Northern candidate by a sectional vote, in order to show that the two sections cannot live together. When the history of the two years, from the Lecompton charter down to the Presidential election, shall be written, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union. They desired a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote, and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may not longer live together. If the Disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the united South, their scheme was — the Northern candidate successful — to seize the Capital last spring, and, by a United South and divided North, hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the Disunion candidate in several of the Southern States.

"But this is no time for a detail of causes. The conspiracy is now known. Armies have been raised, war is levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this war—*only patriots or traitors.* Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question. I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States party questions would bring civil war between Democrats and Republicans, when the South would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of the victors. Their scheme was carnage and civil war in the North. There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois it is being so defeated by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the question comes of war in the cotton-fields of the South or the corn-fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the better. We cannot close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist. The Government must be maintained, its enemies overthrown, and the more stupendous our preparations, the less the bloodshed and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restraints on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner as recognized by Christian nations. We must not invade Constitutional rights. The innocent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized.

"The Constitution and its guarantees are our birth-right, and I am ready to enforce that inalienable right to the last extent. We cannot recognize secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revolution. Then we have a solemn duty—to maintain the Government. The greater our unanimity the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country with the United States flag floating over it and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this upon us. I have said more than I intended to say. It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war, but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country. I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position. United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed."

A few days after this address was delivered we find Senator Douglas confined to his room, deprived of the use of his hand, by a severe attack of rheumatism, dictating to an amanuensis his last public letter, enjoining upon a committee of the democratic party who had written to him for advice, the policy and duty of rendering a cordial support to the government. "It seems," says he in this epistle, "that some of my friends are unable to comprehend the difference between arguments used in favor of an equitable compromise, with the hope of averting the horrors of war, and those urged in support of the government and flag of our country, when war is being waged against the United States with the avowed purpose of producing a permanent disruption of the Union and a total destruction of its government. All hope of compromise with the Cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they would never consent to a reconstruction in any contingency--not even if we would furnish them with a blank sheet of paper and permit them to inscribe their own terms. Still the hope was cherished that reasonable and satisfactory terms of adjustment could be agreed upon with Tennessee, North Carolina, and the Border States, and that whatever terms would prove satisfactory to these loyal States would create a Union party in the Cotton States which would be powerful enough at the ballot-box to destroy the Revolutionary government, and bring those States back into the Union by the voice of their own people. This hope was cherished by Union men North and South, and was never abandoned until actual war was levied at Charleston, and the authoritative announcement made by the Revolutionary government at Montgomery, that the secession flag should be planted upon the walls of the Capitol at Washington, and a proclamation issued inviting the pirates of the world to prey upon the commerce of the United States. These startling facts, taken in connection with the boastful announcement that the ravages of war and carnage should be quickly transferred from the cotton fields of the South to the wheat fields and corn fields of the North, furnish conclusive evidence that it was the fixed purpose of the secessionists utterly to destroy the government of our fathers and obliterate the United States from the map of the world. In view of this state of facts there was but one path of duty left to patriotic men. It was not a party question, nor a question involving partisan policy; it was a question of government or no government; country or no country; and hence it became the imperative duty of Union men, every friend of constitutional liberty, to rally to the support of our common country, its government and flag, as the only means of checking the progress of revolution and of preserving the Union of the States.

"I am unable to answer your questions

in respect to the policy of Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet. I am not in their confidence, as you and the whole country ought to be aware. I am neither the supporter of the partisan policy nor the apologist for the errors of the Administration.. My previous relations to them remain unchanged; but I trust the time will never come when I shall not be willing to make any needful sacrifice of personal feeling and party policy for the honor and integrity of my country. I know of no mode by which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the Flag, the Constitution, and the Union, under all circumstances, and under every administration (regardless of party politics), against all assailants, at home and abroad. The course of Clay and Webster toward the administration of General Jackson, in the days of Nullification, presents a noble and worthy example for all true patriots. At the very moment when that fearful crisis was precipitated upon the country, partisan strife between whigs and democrats was quite as bitter and relentless as now between democrats and republicans. The gulf which separated party leaders in those days was quite as broad and deep as that which now separates the democracy from the republicans. But the moment an enemy rose in our midst, plotting the dismemberment of the Union and the destruction of the government, the voice of partisan strife was hushed in patriotic silence. One of the brightest chapters in the history of our country will record the fact that during this eventful period the great leaders of the Opposition, sinking the partisan into the patriot, rushed to the support of the government, and became its ablest and bravest defenders against all assailants until the conspiracy was crushed and abandoned, when they resumed their former positions as party leaders upon political issues. These acts of patriotic devotion have never been deemed evidences of infidelity or political treachery on the part of Clay and Webster, to the principles and organization of the old whig party. Nor have I any apprehension that the firm and unanimous support which the democratic leaders and masses are now giving to the Constitution and the Union will ever be deemed evidences of infidelity to democratic principles, or a want of loyalty to the organization and creed of the democratic party. If we hope to regain and perpetuate the ascendency of our party, we should never forget that a man cannot be a true democrat unless he is a loyal patriot."*

In accordance with these patriotic injunctions were his last words, a parting legacy of advice to his children, as his wife leaned over him in his dying moments:—"Tell them to support the Constitution and the Laws."

When Congress met in extra session in July, according to the custom of that body a day was set apart for the expression of sentiments of respect to the memory of the deceased senator. Eulogies were pronounced in the Senate by his colleague Mr. Trumbull, by his successor Mr. Browning, by Mr. McDougall of California, Mr. Nesmith of Oregon, Mr. Collamer of Vermont, Mr. Anthony of Rhode Island; and in the House by Messrs. Richardson, McClernand, Arnold and Fouke of Illinois, Messrs. Crittenden and Wickliffe of Kentucky, Mr. Cox of Ohio, Mr. Lane of Indiana, and others. Many things were said in honor of the departed senator's career, his energy, his public services, his patriotism, his superiority to party in the last months of his life. From the collection of these obituary addresses published by Congress we select a passage from the remarks offered by a Republican member of the House of Representatives, for its bearing on the topics of this narrative. The following enumeration of the eminent men furnished by Illinois to the annals of the country in the present generation is certainly noticeable, embracing as it does several of the distinguished actors of the present war. "About twenty years," said Mr. Isaac N. Arnold of Illinois, "there practiced at the same bar, in the small town of Springfield, Illinois, a very remarkable combination of men. Among them Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States; Stephen A. Douglas—not less distinguished; Lyman Trumbull, the eminent colleague of Douglas; James Shields, who won a high reputation on the battle fields of Mexico, and in this Capitol; E. D. Baker, Senator from Oregon; John J. Hardin, who fell upon the bloody field of Buena Vista; James A. McDougall, Senator from California; O. H. Browning, the successor of Judge Douglas. Besides these, there was the late Governor Bissell, whose eloquence, in vindication of the bravery of the Illinois volunteers against the aspersions of the traitor Davis, is still remembered in this House; and there was also Richard Yates, the present Governor of Illinois, and my distinguished friends and colleagues, Colonels Richardson and McClernand."

---

* Letter of Stephen A. Douglas, Chicago, May 10, 1861, to Virgil Hicox, Chairman State Democratic Committee.

Of the personal relations between Senator Douglas and President Lincoln he said, "Among the many incidents in the life of Douglas, upon which the people will linger with pleasure, are events growing out of the relations between him and the President of the United States. Those relations were, in my opinion, alike honorable to the departed Senator and the living President. The country knows they had long been rivals, the acknowledged leaders of their respective parties. They passed through the senatorial contest of 1858, (a contest which was really a battle of giants,) with their personal relations cordial and friendly. The great presidential contest of 1860, in which victory changed from Douglas to Lincoln, left them still friends. You, Mr. Speaker, and most of the members of this House, witnessed the graceful courtesies extended by the distinguished Senator to the President elect on his arrival here in February last. The conduct and bearing of Douglas were certainly in the highest degree graceful and magnanimous. None who witnessed it can ever forget the scene on the eastern portico of this Capitol, when Mr. Lincoln, in the presence of the Representatives of the people, assumed the sublime prerogatives of Government, and swore by the eternal God that he would faithfully support the Constitution and enforce the laws of his country. Douglas, not by accident, stood by his side; and, in the midst of scowling traitors, whispered in the ear of the President that, come what might in the dark and cloudy future darkening before him, he would stand by the Government and strengthen its arm to crush treason and rebellion."

In conclusion said he, "Douglas died at a moment when he had the ability and the disposition to have rendered the greatest services to his country. He died on the eve of this grapple between government and anarchy—between law and lawlessness—between liberty and slavery—between civilization and barbarism; the result of which is to shape the destiny of this continent. Had he lived he would have led this grand, sublime uprising of the people—this majestic popular movement now sweeping onward like the deep and resistless volume of waters of the great lakes over Niagara; he would have led it onward to crush and overthrow this wicked rebellion. Yes, Mr. Speaker, had he lived until this day, there would have been heard in these Halls no voice louder, clearer, more emphatic than his, demanding action—*action—prompt*, *vigorous*, *decisive action*."

CHAPTER XVII.

AFFAIRS AT BALTIMORE.

Turning our attention from the occurrences in front of the Capital to the important city in the rear, we find the military administration of General Cadwalader, at Baltimore, conducted with the prudence and moderation which had marked the policy of the Government from the outset. The object was, from the beginning, while proper protection was given to the Union interests, and the insurrectionary tendencies of a portion of the inhabitants were firmly held in check, that the city should feel as little as possible the interference of a foreign authority. The successive appointments of military rulers afforded proofs of this disposition on the part of the Government. The officers chosen were known for their moderation. They were prudent and conciliatory, and their power when it was displayed, being obviously exerted for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of the common welfare, and strictly limited to the necessities of the occasion, a majority of the citizens sustained their action. As the authority, however, was an unusual one, abhorrent to the habits and cherished ideas of the people of the country, who had known no other regulations of their conduct than those incident to a state of peace, it is not to be wondered at that its exercise was looked upon in many quarters with alarm. This was especially shown in regard to the arrests which at this time began to be made of suspected persons, and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which became a necessary part of the system. The conflict of military and civil law in these proceedings called forth considerable discussion.

One case in particular became of especial note, as the occasion of a strongly pronounced judicial opinion from Chief Justice Taney, who resolutely opposed the action of the Administration. John Merryman, a wealthy and influential citizen of Maryland, residing in Baltimore County, was, at 2 o'clock on the morning of the 25th May, arrested on general charges of treason and rebellion, by an armed force under orders of General Keim of Pennsylvania, and lodged as a prisoner in Fort McHenry, in custody of General Cadwalader. Under these circumstances, Chief Justice Taney was applied to for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to bring the prisoner before a Justice of the Supreme Court, to test the legality of the arrest. The writ was granted, and duly served upon General Cadwalader, who declined obedience to it, alleging, in a written communication to the Chief Justice, that the prisoner was charged with various acts of treason, such as holding a commission as lieutenant in a company in possession of arms belonging to the United States and avowing his purpose of armed hostility against the Government, and in such cases he was authorized by President Lincoln to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, for the public safety. "This is a high and delicate trust," he added, "and it has been enjoined upon him that it should be exercised with judgment and discretion, but he is nevertheless also instructed, that in times of civil strife, errors, if any, should be on the side of safety to the country. He most respectfully submits to your consideration that those who should co-operate in the present trying and painful position in which our country is placed, should not by reason of any unnecessary want of confidence in each other, increase our embarrassments." He concluded by requesting the postponement of further action till he could receive instructions from the President.*

President Lincoln had in fact already in a somewhat similar case publicly announced the suspension of the privilege of the writ in his Proclamation of the 10th of May, when, for the better preservation of the portion of Florida still remaining under the national control, he had directed the commander of the forces of the United States on the coast of that State, "to permit no person to exercise any office or authority upon the islands of Key West, the Tortugas and Santa Rosa, which may be inconsistent with the Laws and Constitution of the United States, authorizing him at the same time if he shall find it necessary, to suspend there the writ of *habeas corpus*, and to remove from the vicinity of the United States fortresses all dangerous or suspected persons."

On receiving the answer of General Cadwalader to the writ, Chief Justice Taney, on the 27th May, ordered an attachment against that military commander of the department, for contempt of court, to which the marshal returned, on the following day, that on going to Fort McHenry to serve the writ, he was refused admittance. Upon this the Chief Justice read in court a statement declaring that "the President under the Constitution and Laws of the United States cannot suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*. nor authorize any officer to do so. And that a military officer has no right to arrest and detain a person, nor subject him to the rules and articles of war for an offence against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority and subject to its control, and if the party is arrested by the military, it is the duty of the officer to deliver him over immediately to the civil authority to be dealt with according to law." Under ordinary circumstances he said, it would be the duty of the marshal to proceed with *posse comitatus* and bring the party into court, but as this was impossible from the superior force he would meet, that officer in the present instance had done all in his power to discharge his duty. He himself would during the week prepare his opinion in the premises and submit it to the President, calling upon him to perform his constitutional duty and see that the laws be faithfully executed and enforce the decree of the court.

---

* Major-General Geo. Cadwalader to Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice. Headquarters Department of Annapolis, Fort McHenry, May 25, 1861.

In the written "decision" which he subsequently rendered, Chief Justice Taney supported the opinion which he had given by a review of the provisions of the Constitution for the protection of liberty, "life and property," an examination of the limited powers expressly conferred upon the President, a deduction from the analogies between the English and American Governments, and the citation of several eminent judicial authorities, including Marshall and Story. Having thus argued that the power to suspend the writ resided in Congress, and not in the Executive, he presented in conclusion the following view of the particular circumstances attending the Merryman arrest:—"The documents before me show that the military authority in this case has gone beyond the mere suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus.* It has, by force of arms, thrust aside the judicial authorities and officers to whom the Constitution has confided the power and duty of interpreting and administering the laws, and substituted a military government in its place, to be administered and executed by military officers, for at the time these proceedings were had against John Merryman, the District Judge of Maryland, the Commissioner appointed under the act of Congress, the District Attorney and the Marshal, all resided in the city of Baltimore, a few miles only from the home of the prisoner. Up to that time there had never been the slightest resistance or obstruction to the process of any court or judicial officer of the United States in Maryland, except by the military authority. And if a military officer, or any other person, had reason to believe that the prisoner had committed any offence against the laws of the United States, it was his duty to give information of the fact, and the evidence to support it, to the District Attorney; and it would then have become the duty of that officer to bring the matter before the District Judge or Commissioner, and if there was sufficient legal evidence to justify his arrest, the Judge or Commissioner would have issued his warrant to the Marshal to arrest him; and upon the hearing of the party would have held him to bail, or committed him for trial, according to the character of the offence, as it appeared in the testimony, or would have discharged him immediately, if there was not sufficient evidence to support the accusation. There was no danger of any obstruction or resistance to the action of the civil authorities, and therefore no reason whatever for the interposition of the military. And yet, under these circumstances, a military officer, stationed in Pennsylvania, without giving any information to the District Attorney, and without any application to the judicial authorities, assumes to himself the judicial power in the District of Maryland; undertakes to decide what constitutes the crime of treason or rebellion; what evidence (if, indeed, he required any) is sufficient to support the accusation and justify the commitment; and commits the party, without having a hearing even before himself, to close custody in a strongly garrisoned fort, to be there held, it would seem, during the pleasure of those who committed him.

"The Constitution provides, as I have before said, that 'no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.' It declares that 'the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.' It provides that the party accused shall be entitled to a speedy trial in a court of justice. And these great and fundamental laws which Congress itself could not suspend, have been disregarded and suspended, like the writ of *habeas corpus*, by a military officer, supported by force of arms. Such is the case now before me, and I can only say that if the authority which the Constitution has confided to the Judiciary Department, and judicial offices may thus upon any pretext and under any circumstances be usurped by the military power at its discretion, the people of the United States are no longer living under a Government of laws, but every citizen holds life, liberty and property at the will and pleasure of the army officer in whose military district he may happen to be found."

The obvious explanation and justification of the act of the President, and undoubtedly the one which was accepted by the majority of the people of the country who looked into the matter, was presented by Judge Theophilus Parsons, the Dane Professor of the Law School at Harvard, in a lecture on martial law, delivered just previous to the time when the Merryman case arose. Defining the authority as the creature of a state of war, and as wholly arbitrary in its nature, he found its exercise justifiable by adequate necessity, of which the governing power was obviously the judge. Though necessarily undefined in its principles, extent and operation, "practically," said he, "the very essence and substance of martial law is, in England and the United States, the suspension of the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*," and consequently its supremacy, for the time, over the civil law. Citing next the provision of the Constitution that "the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion and invasion, the public safety may require it," he fairly interpreted it as a declaration that, when the conditions spoken of arose, the writ might be suspended. He thus in a few sentences, with great clearness, sets forth his interpretation of the mode of exercising the authority conferred or allowed. "The first and most important question is, who may decide when the exigency occurs, and who may, if it occurs, declare martial law? On this point I have myself no doubt. The clause on this subject is contained in the first article of the Constitution, and this article relates principally to Congress. Nor can there be any doubt that Congress may, when the necessity occurs, suspend the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*, or, which is the same thing, declare or authorize martial law. The question is, has the President this power? The Constitution does not expressly give this power to any department of Government, nor does it expressly reserve it to Congress, although, in the same article, it does make this express reservation as to some of the provisions contained in the article. This may be a mere accidental omission, but it seems to me more reasonable, and more consonant with the principles of legal interpretation, to infer from it an absence of intention to confine it to Congress. And I am confirmed in this opinion by the nature of the case. The very instances specified as those in which the right to *habeas corpus* may be suspended (invasion and rebellion), are precisely those in which the reason for doing so may come suddenly, the necessity of determination be immediate, and a certainty exist that the suspension shall be useless, and the whole mischief which the suspension might prevent, take place if there be any delay. To guard against the suspension by limiting the cases, as is done, seems to me wise; to obstruct it by requiring the delay necessarily arising from legislative action, would seem to be unreasonable. It is true that my construction gives to the President, in the two cases of rebellion and invasion, a vast power; but so is all military power. It is a vast power to send into a rebellious district fifteen thousand soldiers, as Washington did, whose duty it would be to meet the rebels, and, if necessary, kill as many as they could. But it was a power which belonged to him, of necessity, as President; and so, I think, did the power of martial law. If it did not, then when his troops had captured the armed rebels whom they were sent to subdue, the nearest magistrate who could issue a writ of *habeas corpus* might have summoned the officer having them in charge to bring them before him, and might have liberated them at once to fight again, and this as often as they were captured, until a law could be passed by Congress. If the power belongs to the President, he may exercise it at his discretion, when either invasion or rebellion occurs, subject, however, to two qualifications. One—a universal one—applicable to his exercise of every power. If he abuses it, or exercises it wrongfully, he is liable to impeachment. The other is more a matter of discretion or propriety. I suppose that he would, of course, report his doings in such a matter to Congress when he could, and be governed by their action. My conclusion is, therefore, that in case of invasion from abroad or rebellion at home, the President may declare or exercise, or authorize martial law, at his discretion."

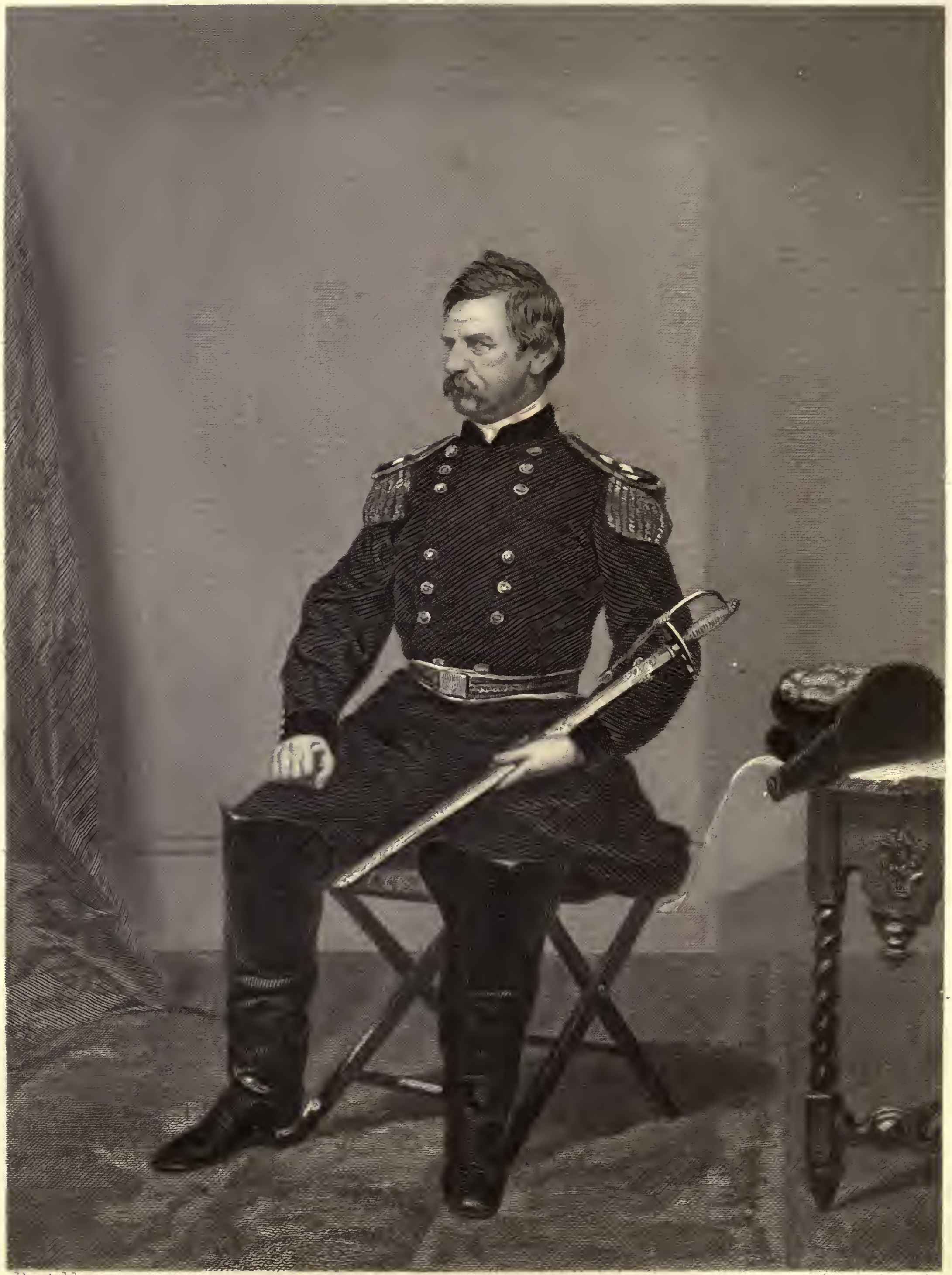
Another high authority in questions of civil law and polity, Mr. Horace Binney of Philadelphia, in an elaborate pamphlet discussing "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* under the Constitution," differing from Chief Justice Taney, unhesitatingly assigned the exercise of the power of suspension to the President. An idea of the range of his argument may be gathered from the final paragraph of his essay. "The conclusion," says he "of the whole matter is this: that the Constitution itself is the law of the privilege, and of the exception to it; that the exception is expressed in the Constitution, and that the Constitution gives effect to the act of suspension when the conditions occur: that the conditions consist of two matters of fact, one a naked matter of fact, and the other a matter-of-fact conclusion from facts, that is to say, rebellion and the public danger, or the requirement of public safety. Whichever power of the constituted government can most properly decide these facts, is master of the exception, and competent to apply it. Whether it be Congress or the President, the power can only be derived by implication, as there is no express delegation of the power in the Constitution; and it must be derived to that department whose functions are the most appropriate to it. Congress cannot *executively* suspend. All that a Legislative body can do, is to authorize suspension, by giving that effect to an Executive act; and the Constitution having authorized *that,* there is no room for the exercise of Legislative power. The Constitution intended, that for the defence of the nation against rebellion and invasion, the power should always be kept open in either of these events, to be used by that department, which is the most competent in the same events to say what the public safety requires in this behalf. The President being the properest and the safest depositary of the power, and being the only power which can exercise it under real and effective responsibilities to the people, it is both constitutional and safe to argue, that the Constitution has placed it with him."

The positions taken by Chief Justice Taney were also ably reviewed, with some important additional illustrations of the subject, by the Hon. Reverdy Johnson of Maryland, in an elaborate essay on the power of the President to suspend the *habeas corpus* writ. He maintained the constitutionality of the proceedings of the President as the direct and necessary discharge of his duty as the Executive, according to established principles and precedents, instancing in particular the authority of Hamilton in reference to the interpretation of the powers of the President, when the question arose in General Washington's Administration out of his Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793, and the position laid down by President Jackson in 1834, in regard to the constitutional independence of the Executive department.

It was evidently in reply to the remonstrance of Chief Justice Taney that President Lincoln in his message to Congress, at its session in July, presented the following explanation of his course. "Soon after the first call for militia," says he, "it was considered a duty to authorize the commanding general, in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, or, in other words, to arrest and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to 'take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power, and propriety, before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed, were being resisted, and failing of execution in nearly one-third of of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear, that by the use of the means necessary to their execution, some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty, that practically, it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should, to a very limited extent, be violated? To state the question more directly, are all the laws *but one* to go unexecuted, and the government itself to go to pieces, lest that one be violated?

Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken, if the government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law, would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it,' is equivalent to a provision—is a provision—that such privilege may be suspended when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety *does* require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which, or who, is to exercise the power; and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that, in every case, the danger should run its course, until Congress could be called together; the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion."

On the 10th of June General Cadwalader, having been ordered to active service on the line of the Potomac in co-operation with General Patterson, was succeeded in the command of the military department, including Baltimore, by Major-General Nathaniel Prentiss Banks. The career of this officer, who brought from civil life an eminent reputation for high moral and mental qualities, is of peculiar interest as an illustration of the facility with which, freed from the impediments which obstruct the way in other lands and older states of society, the individual, relying upon integrity, industry and ability, may, under the protection of the free institutions of America, rise from a humble position to offices in the State of the highest trust and honor. Born at the manufacturing town of Waltham, in Massachusetts, in 1816, the son of an overseer of a cotton mill, he was placed as a boy in the same factory, where he was employed in cleaning bobbins. But "the bobbin boy," as he was called, was not content to rest there. Like all New England youth of any spirit, however poor, he managed to divide his time between his daily labor and the village school, where he acquired those elements of knowledge which, after all, are the greatest acquisitions we ever obtain from our instructors—so much does the rest depend upon ourselves and experience of the world and affairs. The boy was apt to learn, and, it is said, was such a proficient in recitation, as a member of a dramatic company formed by his associates, that he was offered inducements to become a professional actor. If there is any importance to be attached to the anecdote, it was something in evidence of the boy's character that he turned from a temptation so agreeable to youthful vanity, to the sober labors of a machinist, learning the trade and working at it as a journeyman in Boston. He also, we are told, taught an evening school some time, and edited a newspaper at Waltham, meantime occasionally lecturing before Lyceums, temperance meetings, and political gatherings, all which prepared him for public life on a larger scene. Presenting himself to his townspeople of Waltham as a Democratic can-



Painted by Alonzo Chappel.

Nath'l P. Banks

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1863 by Johnson, Fry & Co. at the clerks office of the district court for the southern district of N.Y.

didate for the State Legislature, he was six times defeated. At the next election, in 1849, he was successful. Previously, under President Polk's administration, he held an office in the Boston Custom-House. In 1850, we find him admitted a member of the Suffolk bar. He was, the following year, chosen Speaker of the lower House of the Massachusetts Legislature; and in 1852, by a coalition of the Free-Soil and Democratic parties, which he had done much to assist, was elected a Representative to Congress. In 1853 he presided over the Massachusetts Convention held to revise the State Constitution. During his first term in Congress he separated himself from the Democratic party of that day by his vote in opposition to the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He was returned to the next Congress by a combination of the Native Americans with the Republicans, and being put forward by the latter party for Speaker of the House, was elected by a plurality vote, after an unprecedented contest of two months' duration, in the course of which more than a hundred ballots were taken. From Congress he was called, in 1857, to be Governor of Massachusetts, to which high office he was reëlected the succeeding term. At the end of this period, in 1860, retiring from political life, he removed to Chicago, having accepted the lucrative position of General Superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad. Like McClellan, Burnside and others, who held similar engagements, he left this post at the beginning of the war to offer his services to the Government. His abilities were too well appreciated by the Administration for the offer to be neglected, and on the 30th May, 1861, he was created a Major-General of Volunteers. Though heretofore mainly engaged in civil life, his duties as Governor of Massachusetts had necessarily made him familiar, to a certain extent, with the routine of military affairs.

The most important acts of General Banks's administration of his department of Annapolis were connected with the breaking up of the Board of Police in Baltimore, an organization which had shown from the beginning an active and dangerous sympathy with the rebellion. The motives which influenced him in this matter, the nature of the obstacles he had to encounter, and the extent to which he was willing to carry his authority, are fully exhibited in the proclamation which he set forth on the occasion of the arrest, which he ordered on the 27th of June, of Mr. George P. Kane the Chief of Police. "I deem it proper at this the moment of arrest," says he, in that document, "to make formal and public declaration of the motive by which I have been governed in this proceeding. It is not my purpose, neither is it in consonance with my instructions, to interfere in any manner whatever with the legitimate government of the people of Baltimore or Maryland. I desire to support the public authorities in all appropriate duties; in preserving peace, protecting property and the rights of persons, in obeying and upholding every municipal regulation and public statute, consistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States and of Maryland. But unlawful combinations of men, organized for resistance to such laws, that provide hidden deposits of arms and ammunition, encourage contraband traffic with men at war with the Government, and while enjoying its protection and privileges, stealthily wait opportunity to combine their means and forces with those in rebellion against its authority, are not among the recognized or legal rights of any class of men, and cannot be permitted under any form of government whatever. Such combinations are well known to exist in this Department. The mass of citizens of Baltimore and of Maryland, loyal to the Constitution and the Union, are neither parties to, nor responsible for them. But the Chief of Police is not only believed to be cognizant of these facts, but, in contravention of his duty, and in violation of law, he is, by direction or indirection, both witness and protector to the transactions and the parties engaged therein. Under such circumstances the Government cannot regard him otherwise than as the head of an armed force, hostile to its authority and acting in concert with its avowed enemies. For this reason, superseding his official authority and that of the Commissioners of Police, I have arrested and do now detain him in custody of the United States; and in further pursuance of my instructions, I have appointed for the time being Colonel Kenly of the 1st Regiment of Maryland Volunteers, Provost Marshal, in and for the City of Baltimore, 'to superintend and cause to be executed the Police laws provided by the Legislature of Maryland,' with the aid and assistance of the subordinate officers of the Police Department. And he will be respected accordingly. Whenever a loyal citizen shall be otherwise named for the performance of this duty, who will execute these laws impartially and in good faith to the Government of the United States, the military force of this department will render to him that instant and willing obedience which is due from every good citizen to his Government."

A second proclamation of General Banks, on the 1st of July, exhibits the efforts of the superseded members of the old Board to defeat his new regulations, and the effective measures which he was instructed by the Government to take for the safety of the State. "In pursuance," says he, "of orders issued from the headquarters of the army at Washington for the preservation of the public peace in this department, I have arrested, and now detain in the custody of the United States, the late members of the Board of Police, Messrs. Charles Howard, William Getchell, John Hincks, and John W. Davis. The incidents of the past week have afforded justification of this order. The headquarters under the charge of the Board, when abandoned by their officers, resembled in some respects a concealed arsenal. After a public recognition and protest against the suspension of their functions, they continued their sessions daily. Upon a forced and unwarrantable interpretation of my proclamation of the 28th ult., they declared that the police law was suspended, and that the police officers and men were put off duty for the present, intending to leave the city without any police protection whatever. They refused to recognize the officers and men necessarily selected by the Provost Marshal for its protection, and hold subject to their orders, now and hereafter, the old police force, a large body of armed men for some purpose not known to the Government, and inconsistent with its peace and security. To anticipate any intentions or orders on their part, I have placed temporarily a portion of the force under my command within the city. I disclaim, on the part of the Government I represent, all desire, intention and purpose to interfere in any manner with the ordinary municipal affairs of the city of Baltimore. Whenever a loyal citizen can be named who will execute its police laws with impartiality and good faith to the United States, the military force will be withdrawn from the principal portions of said city. No soldiers will be permitted in the city, except under regulations to the marshal; and if any so admitted violate the municipal laws and regulations, they shall be punished by the civil law and by the civil tribunals."

By these vigorous measures Maryland was rescued from what, there is every reason to believe, would have proved an active complicity with the rebels in the work of insurrection; for though a large majority of the people of the State, as had been exhibited by the recent elections for Congress, were decidedly in favor of the preservation of the Union—yet, as was shown by the example of Virginia and North Carolina, there was no little danger from the secession minority, especially with the constituted authorities working in its favor. The Governor, indeed, was loyal; but his efforts for the safety and honor of Maryland were constantly thwarted by a factious majority of the Legislature, who kept up the meetings of that body with the evident design, if possible, of delivering the State into the hands of Jefferson Davis, whose Confederate army was threatening its frontier, and for a time held possession of a portion of its territory.

We have seen the "sympathizing" correspondence of a legislative committee with Jefferson Davis at the end of May. In a speech delivered by Senator Mason at Richmond, on the 8th of June, we have an equally authoritative exposition of the calculations made upon Maryland by the rebel leaders. The occasion was a most discreditable one to the people of the latter State, who, enjoying the protection of their legitimate government, were complimenting a band of traitors who had stealthily crossed the frontier to make war upon their brethren at home, and the horror naturally felt at the transaction is augmented when we find the ladies of Baltimore—"wives and daughters" they styled themselves—prominently engaged in the affair. A number of secessionist refugees from Maryland, it seems, on their arrival in Virginia had organized themselves into a "Maryland Guard," and offered their services to the Confederate Army. They were, of course, promptly accepted; and, to give *eclat* to the occasion of their admission, they were honored with a public presentation at Richmond of their new Confederate flag. To make the ceremony more striking, it took place before the national monument which the State had erected to the memory of Washington and the Virginia founders of the Republic. To increase still further the interest of the scene, the flag to be presented was the gift of "the ladies of Baltimore," and as such an article was of course contraband of war and not to be allowed to pass the lines of the Potomac, we are informed by the Richmond journal which chronicles the incident, of the method of its transmission. "Mrs. Augustus McLaughlen, the wife of one of the officers of the late United States Navy, who brought the flag from Baltimore, concealed as only a lady knows how, was present and received the compliments of a large number of ladies and gentlemen who surrounded her upon the steps of the monument."* The flag itself was accompanied by the inscription, "The ladies of Baltimore present this flag of the Confederate States of America to the soldiers composing the Maryland Regiment now serving in Virginia, as a slight testimonial of the esteem in which their valor, their love of right, and determination to uphold true constitutional liberty are approved, applauded and appreciated by the wives and daughters of the monumental city."

---

* Richmond *Dispatch*, June 10, 1861. Moore's Rebellion Record, I. D. 96.

Yet more ;—the orator of the day was no less a person than the distinguished seceding senator of the United States the Hon. J. M. Mason, who thus stated the anticipations which he had formed of the disloyalty of Maryland. "Your own honored State," said he, "is with us heart and soul in this great controversy. By your enterprise, your bravery and determined will, you have escaped from the thraldom of tyranny which envelopes that State ; and you know, I know—for I have been among its people—we all know, that the same spirit which brought you here, actuates thousands who remain at home." He then proceeded to pay a compliment to Chief Justice Taney, for his recent decision in the *habeas corpus* Case adverse to the action of the President. "In after ages," said he, with apparent forgetfulness of the position he had assumed toward the federal government as he spoke of "our liberties" and "our nation," "when history records the transactions of this epoch—when the passions of men shall have subsided, and the historian can take a calm and philosophical view of the events which have led to the present collision between the two sections, he will write that the people of the Southern States understood and protected civil liberty, and that the misguided North either did not comprehend, or abandoned it? For what have we witnessed ? The spectacle of the Chief Justice of the United States, the man who stands at the head of the principal department of the Federal Government—the man who has illustrated in his life, for more than four generations, all that adorns honor, virtue, and patriotism—a native-born citizen of your own State of Maryland—Roger B. Taney—that man has put the judicial fiat of condemnation upon the Government of the United States for its shameless abandonment of the very corner-stone of our liberties. A native Marylander, he remains at home to defend the last refuge of civil liberty against the atrocious aggressions of a remorseless tyranny. I honor him for it ; the world will honor him, posterity will honor him ; and there will be inscribed on his monument the highest tribute ever paid to a man. He has stood bravely in the breach, and interposed the unspotted arm of justice between the right of the South and the malignant usurpation of power by the North. There he still remains 'a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night,' to direct the welfare of our nation in this atrocious aggression upon our liberty."

Returning to the position of Maryland at the moment, he said, "My own home is upon the confines of your State. I went there four weeks ago, immediately after Virginia had denounced the unholy movements in the North, to learn the spirit of your people. I went to Frederickstown, where the Legislature were assembled, anxious to ascertain whether Virginia could rely upon you in the hour of trial. I knew the political incubus by which your people were crushed to the earth ; but such were the indications I perceived on every side, that when I returned to Virginia I unhesitatingly reported that Maryland is with the South. I staked my word upon it as a man of principle and a man of truth. The giant arm of the oppressor has been too strong for the time being, but the spirit is still alive, unsubdued and unrepressed."

Comparing the defenders of the Union with its assailants, he said, "They are mercenaries fighting for pay; you are men fighting for your homes and rights. All you require is subsistence. 'Give us,' you say, 'the means of living, the arms to fight with, and show us the enemy.' It may be, that in the providences of war, not one among all those who are before me will return. You have come here, if necessary, to lay your lives upon the altar of your country, and I feel assured that every man will do his duty. I will tell you an incident connected with the Alabama troops. They were attended by a minister of the gospel, who was a guest at my house. He told me that he had with him a purse of gold, which had been given to him by the parents of two young men in the ranks, with the injunction that it should be sacredly preserved during the war, unless his sons should fall upon the field of battle. Then, said the father, 'Give them a Christian burial.' There was a patriot father, who had devoted his sons to the service of his country, and that man does not stand alone."

In conclusion he thus alluded to the new star which he already saw gracing the banner of the rebel Confederacy. "I will not detain you longer, except to discharge the grateful duty which remains, of presenting to you in behalf of the ladies of Baltimore this beautiful banner. There it is unfurled before you for the first time. There are emblazoned the fifteen stars of the Southern States, looking prospectively to the day when they will all be with us! The star of Maryland is among them, and the women of your State have put it there, confiding it to your safe keeping. Look upon it as a sacred trust. In passing through the storm of battle, it may be tattered and soiled, but I believe I can say that you will bring it back without a spot of dishonor upon it. But you are not only to return that flag here—you are to take it back to Baltimore. It came here in the hands of the fair lady who stands by my side, who brought it through the camp of the enemy, with a woman's fortitude, courage, and devotion to our cause; and you are to take it back to Baltimore, unfurl it in your streets, and challenge the applause of your citizens."

Nor were these expectations, from the disloyal faction in Maryland, confined to Senator Mason and the oratorical display at a moment of popular excitement. If we may trust a Richmond correspondent of the Charleston *Courier*, the belief was confidently entertained at the rebel capital on the 4th of July, the date of his letter, that a civil conflict at Baltimore was imminent, in coöperation with the advancing army of General Johnston, and that the result would undoubtedly be the separation of Maryland from the Union. "Should a fight result," said this writer, "we shall hear of scenes that only find a parallel in the bloody records of the French Revolution, when the people fought and conquered the trained soldiers of their king behind barricades. The blow may be precipitated in less than a week. Everything depends upon the success and movements of General Johnston. If he has orders from the President (Davis) to march into Marv land and towards Baltimore, the game commences at once. Lincoln will find himself encompassed by forces in front and rear. Cut off from the North and West, Washington will be destroyed, and the footsteps of the retreating army, though tracked in blood across the soil of Maryland—as they assuredly will be in such an event—may possibly pave the way to an honorable peace."* It was to prevent the occurrence of scenes like these that the military authority of the Government was interposed at Baltimore, that the city was occupied by troops, the officials imprisoned, and a quantity of secreted arms taken possession of. On the 10th of July, the peace of the city having been secured, Colonel John R. Kenly was relieved of the duties of Provost Marshal, and George R. Dodge, a loyal citizen, appointed Chief of Police, and at the same time the troops which had been stationed in the centre of the city resumed their former position in the suburbs. Colonel Kenly returned to the charge of his 1st Regiment of faithful Marylanders, at whose head we shall hereafter find him "in the ranks of death," nobly resisting to the last one of the most ruthless attacks of the enemy. He was a lawyer by profession, and had served with credit as an officer in the Maryland regiment through the Mexican war.

Among the incidents of this period about Baltimore, a piratical adventure of a ludicrous character exhibits the desperate straits to which the rebels in Maryland were driven to accomplish their treasonable intentions. There was a steamer named the St. Nicholas, one of the vessels plying the waters of the Chesapeake, from Baltimore to the extremity of the State on the Potomac, which it was contrived should be seized and handed over to the service of the Virginians. The plan was thus carried out: On the 28th of June, the steamer left Baltimore on her usual trip to Point Lookout, at the mouth of the Potomac, with about forty-five passengers, including several ladies and a party of some twenty-five persons, apparently mechanics, with their carpenter's, blacksmith's and other tools, One of the passengers was a "French lady," amply enveloped in crinoline, who, professing herself indisposed, was, on coming aboard, immediately shown to her state-room. Everything went on satisfactorily, as the boat made her customary landings, till her arrival the next morning near Point Lookout, when the officers on deck were confronted by the appearance of the French lady, her female garb being laid aside, in the new and undoubted character of a stalwart young man. There was no mistaking the situation, as the resolute Captain Thomas, the son of a prominent citizen of St. Mary's County — for such the lady proved to be — surrounded by his band of conspirators — the pretended mechanics — stepped up to Captain Kirwan, and politely imformed him that he intended to take command of his vessel. Resistance under the circumstances was out of the question and the captain submitted. The boat was then steered for Cone Point on the Virginia shore and received on board a hundred and fifty armed men, who were there by concert. The passengers were landed, Captain Kirwan and his crew were retained as prisoners and the armed vessel went on to the mouth of the Rappahannock, where capture was made of three brigs, respectively laden with coffee, ice and coal, a highly acceptable prize under the privations of the blockade to the people of Fredericksburg, whither the whole was transported. The winners, of course, laughed as the vessels were sold and the prize money distributed, and the purchasers munched the longed-for ice in their cobblers and scented the unaccustomed flavor of the coffee. Indeed the joke was thought so good a one that the people of Fredericksburg gave a dinner to the captors, when, at a proper moment of the festivities, the exhilaration of the occasion was immensely heightened by the appearance of Captain Thomas, in unbounded female attire, in his original part of "The French Lady." In the absence of more active proceedings of the war, the newspapers on both sides, of course, liberally entertained their readers with the incident. Presently, however, the tables were turned. The nine days' wonder over this valorous affair had barely expired when news came of the accidental capture of the redoubtable Captain Thomas, and his safe delivery to the guardianship of Fort McHenry. On the 8th of July, officers Carmichael and Horner of the Baltimore Police were on a visit down the Chesapeake, at Fair Haven, to arrest an offending barber, charged with participation in the street riot and assault on the Massachusetts soldiers. They secured the culprit and took the up river boat, the Mary Washington, on their return. It so happened that on board the steamer were the released officers of the St. Nicholas and several of their captors, including Captain Thomas, the "French lady," who was supposed to be bent on some repetition of his previous adventure. Lieutenant Carmichael of the police, becoming aware of the presence of these distinguished personages, directed Captain Mason L. Weems to land his passengers at Fort McHenry. Captain Thomas loudly questioned the propriety of the order, when he was informed that it was by authority from the Provost-Marshal of Baltimore. Upon this he drew his pistol, called his comrades around him, and threatened to throw the officers overboard. The latter drew their revolvers and invited them to try it. The ladies screamed, the male passengers supported the police, and order was maintained till the arrival at McHenry, when the lieutenant informed General Banks of the capture. A company of infantry was sent on board and arrested the rebel party, with the exception of the main actor, Thomas, who had disappeared. At length, still true to the millinery associations of the French lady, he was found hidden away in the drawer of a bureau in the ladies' cabin, when he was unpacked and, without further resistance, lodged a prisoner in the Fort. An explanation of his attempted return to Baltimore was afforded in certain mysterious approaches which had been made to another steamer of the Bay, which it was supposed it might have been his purpose to "convey" somewhat after the fashion of the St. Nicholas.

---

* See the debate in Congress July 18, 1861, between Messrs. May and Thomas, Representatives from Maryland, in which the arrest of the Police Commissioners and the policy of General Banks were discussed.

On the 19th July, General Banks succeeded General Patterson in his command on the Potomac, and the vacated Department of Annapolis was conferred on General Dix.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL BUTLER AT FORTRESS MONROE.

On the 22d of May, two days before the advance across the Potomac, General Butler entered upon his command at Fortress Monroe, and immediately began preparations for the occupation of points of military importance in the vicinity upon the mainland. Up to that time the Government authority had been confined to the narrow peninsula, mostly occupied by the fort itself, an ample area, however, for the small force gathered at the spot. With barely three hundred regulars, Colonel Justin Dimick of the 1st Artillery, the commander of the post, had at the outset of the rebellion held the work free from assault of the surrounding conspirators, not indeed without certain envious glances of Governor Letcher and his associates. The Governor who, doubtless, was compelled to listen to many complaints of his neglect in this matter, afterward publicly expressed his regret that Fortress Monroe was not in his possession, and that it had not been as easily captured as the Navy Yard at Norfolk and the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. It would certainly have completed the trio very handsomely, and been the most important acquisition of the three. "As far back as the 8th of January last," said Governor Letcher in his message to the Senate and House of Delegates of Virginia, at the close of the year, "I consulted with a gentleman, whose position enabled him to know the strength of that fortress, and whose experience in military matters enabled him to form an opinion as to the number of men that would be required to capture it. He represented it to be one of the strongest fortifications in the world, and expressed his doubts whether it could be taken, unless assailed by water as well as by land, and simultaneously. He stated, emphatically and distinctly, that with the force then in the fortress, it would be useless to attempt its capture without a large force, thoroughly equipped and well appointed. At no time previous to the secession of Virginia had we a military organization sufficient to justify an attempt to take it, and events since that occurrence demonstrate very clearly that with our military organization since, and now existing, it has not been deemed prudent to make the attempt."*

So it was owing to no good will on the part of Governor Letcher that the valuable possession of Fortress Monroe was delivered in safety by President Buchanan to the keeping of his successor. It owed that immunity from the withering touch of treason to the strength of its defences and the equally unapproachable loyal officers who had it in charge. "Three hundred men to guard a mile and a half of ramparts!" wrote Theodore Winthrop on his arrival shortly after General Butler. "Three hundred to protect some sixty-five broad acres within the walls. But the place was a Thermopylæ, and there was a fine old Leonidas at the head of its three hundred. He was enough to make Spartans of them. Colonel Dimick was the man,—a quiet, modest, shrewd, faithful, Christian gentleman; and he held all Virginia at bay. The traitors knew, that, so long as the Colonel was here, these black muzzles with their white tompions, like a black eye with a white pupil, meant mischief. To him and his guns, flanking the approaches and ready to pile the moat full of seceders, the country owes the safety of Fortress Monroe."

---

* Message of Governor Letcher, Dec. 2, 1861.

As the key to the waters of Virginia and Maryland; the great Chesapeake Bay with its numerous affluents from the Susquehannah to Hampton Roads; the approaches to the national Capital, to Baltimore, to Fredericksburg, Yorktown, Richmond and Norfolk by the vast series of river communication of the Potomac, the Patapsco, the Rappahannock, the York, the James and the Elizabeth, the fortress was of inestimable advantage. Its possession immediately controlled a great part of the Confederate territory, secured the blockade of some of its most important products, and as a base of operations might at any time be turned to the most profitable account in the suppression of the rebellion. As a defensive work it was second to none in the country. Commenced in 1819, under the direction of the eminent French engineer, General Bernard, it had been an object of attention with successive administrations, at a cost to the country of nearly $2,500,000. The walls, thirty-five feet in height, mostly built of granite, casemated below, were surmounted on the ramparts by a formidable series of heavy ordnance. The armament numbered nearly four hundred guns of all descriptions, columbiads, mortars, 42-pounders, 32's, and lower denominations. Outside of the walls were the work-shops, foundery and machine-shops, for the manufacture of shot and shell; the Hygeia Hotel, kept by permission of the Government, for the convenience of summer visitors to Old Point Comfort; and on the beach was mounted the famous experimental 15-inch columbiad the Constitution, sometimes called after the late Secretary of War, the Floyd. Within the fortress, the officers were lodged in the casemates and separate residences, which, with their gardens and foliage and the finely shaded parade ground of twenty-five acres, with a neat Episcopal chapel, gave the interior the appearance of a rural village. The water battery, the most substantial part of the work, facing the sea, mounted the heaviest guns in its forty-two embrasures. The inner side was less protected, but a deep and wide moat, communicating with the sea, surrounding the work on all sides, gave security to the whole. Even toward the mainland, however, the fort was nearly isolated by the waters of the bay, a narrow dyke or causeway, about half a mile in length, terminating in a wooden bridge of some three hundred feet, being the only communication by land with the neighboring region. Beyond the bridge the country extended mostly in a dead level, broken at a distance of about two miles to the northwest by an inlet of the bay, where the traveller from the fort, crossing a second bridge, entered the village of Hampton.

The first reinforcement of Fortress Monroe, when it was threatened by the rebellion, was immediately after the affair at Sumter, when the garrison was strengthened by the 3d and 4th Massachusetts Regiments, a portion of whom, it will be remembered, were immediately on their arrival embarked with Captain Paulding in his hurried expedition to save the public property at the Gosport Navy Yard. It was not till three weeks after this event, on the 13th of May, that the pickets of the rebel guard, who flaunted their Confederate flag within sight of the fortress, were driven from the bridge by Colonel Dimick, and the Government authority thus established over the whole of its property at the Point. The same day Colonel Phelps' 1st Vermont Regiment was added to the force, and within the next fortnight the arrival of other troops, including Colonel Duryee's Advance Guard, 5th Regiment New York Volunteers, gave General Butler, upon entering on his new department of Virginia, a body of about 6,000 men, to carry out a system of operations on the mainland, which, though they were attended with one memorable repulse, secured most important advantages for the ultimate prosecution of the war.

On the 23d of May, the day after his arrival, General Butler ordered a reconnoissance of the neighboring country by Colonel Phelps, who advanced towards Hampton, when an attempt was made by the rebels to burn the bridge leading to the village. The Vermonters, however, were too quick for them. They arrested the conflagration, saved the bridge, and passed over it into the town, where they met with no further serious opposition. A place for an encampment was marked out, between the fort and the village, on the Segar farm, and the next day Camp Hamilton was regularly established there, occupied by Colonel Carr's Troy, New York, and Colonel Phelps' Vermont regiments. On the 27th, Colonel Phelps was sent with a detachment of several of the regiments to occupy Newport News, the promontory some twelve miles distant, commanding the entrance to James River. The place was successfully taken possession of, entrenchments were thrown up, and a permanent occupation effected. Colonel Phelps, the energetic officer placed in charge of the expedition, and who for some months held command of the camp, was a graduate of West Point, who had long served with distinction in the army, and having resigned his position about two years before, was living at Brattleboro, when the call for volunteers again summoned him to the field. He was early appointed a Brigadier-General. We shall find him hereafter again in intimate military relations with General Butler, as second in command in the operations leading to the capture of New Orleans.

To Colonel Duryee was assigned the command, as Acting Brigadier-General, of the camp before Hampton. This officer, a native of New York, had shown an early fondness for military life, having risen through the various grades of the militia service of the State to the Coloneloy of the 7th Regiment, which he held for ten years. He was in command the night of the Astor Place Riots in New York, and had, with a portion of the regiment, escorted the remains of President Monroe to Richmond. Colonel Duryee remained in command of Camp Hamilton till the arrival of Brigadier-General Pierce, when he returned to his regiment. We shall meet with him presently in action at Great Bethel. Shortly after that event his regiment was removed to Washington. On the 31st of August he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, and placed in command of a reserve corps in the vicinity of Baltimore.

Colonel Duryee, on taking command of Camp Hamilton, issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Hampton and its vicinity, marked by the moderate, earnest tone of friendly expostulation which the army had adopted in proceedings of this kind as its settled policy. "Having been placed," said he, "by order of Major-General Butler, in command of the troops in this vicinity, outside of the walls of Fortress Monroe: I hereby notify all, that their rights of person and property will be entirely respected; that their co-operation in maintaining law and order is expected, both by reporting every violation of them, when committed by any one attached to the camp, and by preserving local order and restraining such of their fellow-citizens as may entertain perverted intentions. You can rely that all offences against you will be severely punished; that no effort will be spared to detect the guilty, and that you, as a community, will also be held responsible for every act committed by any one of your numbers, where the particular offender is not surrendered. Be assured that we are here in no war against you, your liberty, your property, or even your local customs; but to keep on high that flag of which your own great son was the bearer; to sustain those institutions and those laws made by our ancestors and defended by their common blood. Remember all these things, and if there be those among you who, maddened by party feeling, misled by wilful falsehoods, or a mistaken sense of duty, have thought to obliterate the national existence, let them at least pause till they learn the true value of what they have imperilled, and the nature of that into which they are asked to plunge. We have all confidence that, in Virginians in arms against us, we have honorable foes, whom we hope yet to make our friends."

These military demonstrations on the part of General Butler, were attended with a circumstance which considerably taxed his ingenuity, fertile as it was in expedients. The advance upon Hampton, while it repelled the white population brought back into the camp a considerable number of negroes, whose arrival occasioned no little perplexity. How should they be treated? Many men of General Butler's political antecedents would have been content to answer the question by sending them back to their masters. But our Boston military lawyer was of too astute and practical a turn for that. He saw that in the hands of their owners those nondescript personages, whether regarded as human beings or chattels, were very important aids in carrying on the war, and very dangerous instruments to be employed against the advancing armies of the Union. He had, indeed, a hint on the subject in the shots fired at his transports from the batteries at Sewell's Point, on the opposite side of the Roads, when they were making their way from the Fortress to Newport News. The shots were ineffectual, indeed, but the batteries were there with evil intent, and it was known to General Butler that they were largely indebted for their construction to slave labor. This unpleasant reflection, disheartening to his schemes of military progress, brought his mind to a speedy conclusion. He resolved to consider the slave property contraband of war, an ingenious, if not conclusive, solution of the difficulty.

The first application of the new doctrine was on the appearance at the Fort of three colored fugitives seeking protection, the property of Colonel Mallory, a lawyer of Hampton, who had taken command in the rebel service. They were promptly demanded by Major Cary, another rebel officer, late principal of an academy in Hampton, a delegate to the Charleston Convention, and a seceder with General Butler from the Convention at Baltimore, who came as the representative of Colonel Mallory, bearing a flag of truce, and rather illogically asked the surrender of the negroes under the Fugitive Slave law. To this General Butler replied that he considered them "contraband of war," adding, however, in reference to the claim under the Constitution, that it could hardly be urged by a member of a foreign State, which Virginia pretended to be; but that if their owner would report himself at the Fortress and take the oath of allegiance to the United States he should have them. The General then took an early opportunity to bring his view of the matter to the notice of the authorities at Washington.

"The question in regard to slave property," he wrote to General Scott, the Commander-in-Chief, on the 27th May, four days after assuming the command at Fortress Monroe, "is becoming one of very serious magnitude. The inhabitants of Virginia are using their negroes in the batteries, and are preparing to send the women and children South. The escapes from them are very numerous, and a squad has come in this morning to my pickets, bringing their women and children. Of course these cannot be dealt with upon the theory on which I designed to treat the services of able-bodied men and women who might come within my lines. I am in the utmost doubt what to do with this species of property. Up to this time I have had come within my lines men and women with their children, in entire families, each family belonging to the same owner. I have therefore determined to employ, as I can do very profitably, the able-bodied persons in the party, issuing proper food for the support of all, and charging against their services the expense of care and sustenance of the non-laborers, keeping a strict and accurate account, as well of the services as the expenditures, having the worth of the services and the cost of the expenditure determined by a board of survey, hereafter to be detailed. I know of no other manner in which to dispose of this subject and the questions connected herewith. As a matter of property to the insurgents, it will be of very great moment—the number that I now have amounting, as I am informed, to what in good times would be of the value of $60,000. Twelve of these negroes, I am informed, have escaped from the erection of the batteries on Sewell's Point, which this morning fired upon my expedition as it passed by out of range. As a means of offence, therefore, in the enemy's hands, these negroes, when able-bodied, are of the last importance. Without them the batteries could not have been erected, at least for many weeks. As a military question, it would seem to be a measure of necessity to deprive their masters of their services. How can this be done? As a political question and a question of humanity, can I receive the services of a father and a mother, and not take the children? Of the humanitarian aspect there is no doubt; of the political one, I have no right to judge. I therefore submit all this to your better judgment. As these questions have a political aspect, I have ventured, and I trust I am not wrong in so doing, to duplicate the parts of my despatch relating to this subject, and forward them to the Secretary of War."

The subject, doubtless, was considered with care, according to the importance of the precedent about to be established. Some days were taken for reflection, and on the 30th Mr. Cameron, the Secretary of War, replied as follows, admitting the propriety of the course pursued by General Butler, forbidding in certain cases the return of the fugitives, but avoiding any positive statement as to their future position:—"Your action in respect to the negroes who came within your lines, from the service of the rebels, is approved. The department is sensible of the embarrassments which must surround officers conducting military operations in a State by the laws of which slavery is sanctioned. The Government cannot recognize the rejection by any State of its Federal obligation, resting upon itself, among these Federal obligations. However, no one can be more important than that of suppressing and dispersing any combination of the former for the purpose of overthrowing its whole constitutional authority. While, therefore, you will permit no interference, by persons under your command, with the relations of persons held to service under the laws of any State, you will, on the other hand, so long as any State within which your military operations are conducted, remain under the control of such armed combinations, refrain from surrendering to alleged masters any persons who come within your lines. You will employ such persons in the services to which they will be best adapted, keeping an account of the labor by them performed, of the value of it, and the expense of their maintenance. The question of their final disposition will be reserved for future determination."

On the 5th of June, Captain John Faunce, in command of the United States steamer Harriet Lane, in obedience to orders from General Butler, made a spirited reconnoissance of Pig Point, a promontory south of Newport News, on the opposite side of the Roads, at the entrance to James River. Approaching the rebel battery, which he observed on the shore, he opened fire at a distance of about 1,800 yards, as near as the flats would allow, throwing thirty rounds of shot and shell, some of which struck within the enemy's works, but most of which fell short. The rebel battery was more effective, the vessel being twice hit, and five of her men were wounded. The engagement began at half-past 8 in the forenoon, and lasted 45 minutes, when the Harriet Lane, having succeeded in her purpose of testing the strength of the enemy's position, drew off out of range."[*] A similar spirited naval reconnoissance of Sewell's Point, at the entrance to Elizabeth River, on the 18th and 19th of May, a few days previous to General Butler's arrival, conducted by Commander Eagle, in the gunboat Star, late Monticello, in which Captain Ward, in the Freeborn, took a part, had established the fact of the rebel preparations in that quarter, and as authoritatively proved the readiness and skill of our naval officers in grasping every opportunity for distinction in the service. But little injury appears to have been

33

---

[*] Captain John Faunce to Flag Officer G. J. Pendergrast, Commanding the Cumberland. Hampton Roads, June 5, 1861.

received on either side; though, as the first conflict between the land and naval forces at this important station, the details of the affair, variously represented, occupied at the time a considerable share of the public attention. The rebels who had every facility for manning their works, from the store of heavy guns which they had taken possession of at Gosport, presently strengthened their positions at Craney Island, Sewell's Point and other approaches to Norfolk, and continued to hold them with effect during the ensuing year, till the movements consequent upon the grand attack upon Yorktown compelled their abandonment.

The first military expedition in the vicinity of Fortress Monroe was directed against the positions of the rebels at Little and Great Bethel. "Having learned," says General Butler in his official report of the affair, "that the enemy had established an outpost of some strength at a place called Little Bethel, a small church, about eight miles from Newport News, and the same distance from Hampton, from whence they were accustomed nightly to advance both on Newport News and the picket guards of Hampton, to annoy them, and also from whence they had come down in small squads of cavalry and taken a number of Union men, some of whom had the safeguard and protection of the troops of the United States, and forced them into the rebel ranks, and that they were also gathering up the slaves of citizens who had moved away and left their farms in charge of their negroes, carrying them to work in entrenchments, at Williamsburg and Yorktown, I had determined to send up a force to drive them back and destroy their camp, the headquarters of which was this small church. I had also learned that at a place a short distance further on, on the road to Yorktown, was an outwork of the rebels, on the Hampton side of a place called Big Bethel, a large church, near the head of Back River, and that here was a very considerable rendezvous, with works of more or less strength in process of erection, and from this point the whole country was laid under contribution."

Under these circumstances the expedition was projected at Fortress Monroe on Sunday morning the 9th of June, in general accordance with a plan, of which the outlines are presented in a private memorandum drawn up by Major Theodore Winthrop, military secretary of General Butler, "partly made up from the General's hints and partly from his own fancies." This document, which afterwards became of peculiar interest, read as follows:—"Notes of the plan of attack—by two detachments upon Little Bethel and Big Bethel. A regiment or a battalion to march from Newport, and a regiment or a battalion to march from Camp Hamilton, Duryee's. Each regiment to be supported by sufficient reserves under arms in camp, and with advanced guards out on the road of march. Duryee to push out two pickets at 10 P. M., one two and a half miles beyond Hampton, on the county road, but not so far as to alarm the enemy. This is important. Second picket half as far as the first. Both pickets to keep as much out of sight as possible. No one whatever to be allowed to pass out through their lines. Persons to be allowed to pass inward towards Hampton, unless it appears that they intend to go round about and dodge through to the front. At 12 midnight, Colonel Duryee will march his regiment, with fifteen rounds cartridges, on the county road toward Little Bethel. Scows will be provided to ferry them across Hampton Creek. March will be rapid, but not hurried. A howitzer with canister and shrapnell to go. A wagon with planks and material to repair the New Market bridge. Duryee to have the two hundred rifles (Sharpe's rifles) purchased the day previous. He will pick the men to whom to intrust them. Rocket to be thrown up from Newport News. Notify Commodore Pendergrast (flag officer) of this to prevent general alarm. Newport News movement to be made somewhat later than this, as the distance is less. If we find and surprise them, we will fire one volley, if desirable —not reload, and go ahead with the bayonet. As the attack is to be by night, or dusk of morning and in detachments, our people should have some token, say a white rag on the left arm. Perhaps the detachments which are to do the job should be smaller than a regiment; three or five hundred on the right and left of the attack would be more easily handled. If we bag the Little Bethel men, push on to Big Bethel and similarly bag them. Burn both the Bethels or blow up if brick. To protect our rear, in case we take the field pieces and the enemy should march his main body (if he has any) to recover them, it would be well to have a squad of competent artillerists, regular or other, to handle the captured guns on the retirement of our main body. Also, to spike them if retaken. George Scott (colored guide) to have a shooting iron. Perhaps Duryee's men would be awkward with a new arm in a night or early dawn attack, where there will be little marksman duty to perform. Most of the work will be done with the bayonet, and they are already handy with the old ones."

The troops detached for the performance of this service, placed under command of Brigadier-General E. W. Pierce, of Massachusetts, who had been appointed by Governor Andrew to succeed General Butler, on the promotion of the latter to the rank of Major-General, consisted of Colonel Duryee's 5th Regiment of New York Volunteers, Colonel Townsend's Albany 3d Regiment of New York Volunteers, a battalion of Vermont and Massachusetts troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn, from Colonel Phelps' command at Newport News, and Colonel Bendix's German Seventh Steuben Regiment of New York Volunteers. To these were added a battery of three light pieces, commanded by Lieutenant Greble of the United States Second artillery.

The movements of the several regiments were thus conducted: At midnight of the 9th of June, Colonel Duryee, preceded by two companies of skirmishers, advanced with his regiment of Zouaves from Camp Hamilton, at Hampton, toward Little Bethel. Crossing the Hampton River, after some delay in the surf-boats manned by seamen from the Naval Brigade at the station, the force moved rapidly onward, and at four in the morning had accomplished its march of thirteen miles to Little Bethel. A picket-guard was discovered and surprised, and a mounted officer, with four or five men on foot, taken prisoners. The further direct attack upon the position was to be made by Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn's command, which was approaching from Newport News. Colonel Duryee, meanwhile, according to instructions, was pushing on to put his force in a position to cut off the retreat of the rebels at Little Bethel, when he suddenly heard a heavy fire of musketry and cannon in his rear, indicating a severe engagement. "Supposing it to be an attempt of the enemy to cut off our reserve, we immediately," says Colonel Duryee in his report, "countermanded in quick and double-quick time, when, having proceeded about five miles, we came upon two of our regiments, and learned that, in the darkness of the night, they had mistaken each other for enemies, and that an unfortunate engagement had taken place." These regiments were those of Colonel Townsend and Colonel Bendix, which had been sent forward respectively from Camp Hamilton and Newport News with the intention of forming a junction at a point where the two roads leading from their respective camps met. The Germans, having the shorter distance to go, were first on the ground. As the Albany men came up, in the uncertain light of early morning, by a singular fatality, under the circumstances—for express directions had been given by General Butler to prevent any confusion in the darkness by requiring that no attack should be made until the watchword (Boston) should be given by the attacking regiment, and that the members of Colonel Townsend's regiment should be known, if in daylight, by something white worn on the arm—they were yet mistaken by the Germans for the enemy. Fire was opened upon the head of the advancing column with artillery and musketry, at a distance of a hundred yards, and was returned by some of the Albany men, who were under the impression that they had fallen into an ambuscade. Colonel Townsend then withdrew his men to a neighboring eminence, and the disaster was checked. Various explanations were afterwards offered in extenuation of this affair. It was stated that Colonel Bendix had received no intimation of the white badges to be worn by Colonel Townsend's men, and that if he had, it would have been impossible to distinguish them in the darkness of the morning; that the dress of the Albany regiment resembled that usually worn by the rebel soldiers; and that, as General Pierce and General Townsend rode in advance of their forces, they were mistaken for the enemy's cavalry. An advance guard, it was fairly alleged should, under any circumstances, have been thrown out. The evil effects of the disaster, however, remained incontrovertible, whatever may have been its cause. The loss by this unhappy encounter—two killed and nineteen wounded—was considerable; but its destruction of the entire plan of the attack was a greater injury. Lieutenant-Colonel Washburn, like Colonel Duryee, had reversed his forward movement, and the enemy, warned by the noise of the artillery, made their retreat in safety from Little Bethel. When the Union forces presently reached the place, it was found deserted. Colonel Duryee then destroyed the camp which he found there.

Here the affair might well have ended, leaving the further attack upon the enemy in their position at Great Bethel to a better opportunity. Officers and men, however, were sanguine of their ability to carry out the original programme, and had no disposition to return to their comrades with the simple story of an unfortunate blunder. Holding a consultation with his colonels, General Pierce, with their advice, resolved to go forward and "attempt to carry the works of the enemy at Big Bethel." The whole force was accordingly advanced, Colonel Duryee, as before, keeping the lead. A correspondent of the

New York *Daily Times*, who was with the column, may here take up the story. "It was ten o'clock," he writes, "and the soldiers, with their long and rapid march and want of sleep, were marching listlessly at the route step, when the scouts brought word that the enemy, 3,000 strong, were entrenched behind sand batteries, right in front, and that without waiting for an attack they were about to sally forth. It put a new spirit into the men as the word passed down the line. They were no longer tired and sleepy. Each freshened up to his place in the ranks, and closed up in column. Each regiment deployed into the adjoining fields, right and left, and drew up in order of battle.

"Over a small stream twelve miles from Hampton, a bridge called County Bridge crosses on the road to Yorktown. On the opposite bank, at the bridge and on the right of it, the enemy was posted behind sand batteries. In front of their batteries was a broad open field, and this side of that, on our right, was a wood, and in front and to the left a corn field. Between the wood and the corn field ran a road connected with that by which we had advanced. Over the fence into the corn field Colonel Duryee's regiment advanced, and then down the road right in the teeth of the enemy's batteries. Two 12-pound howitzers, and one 6-pounder which our troops carried with them, were posted in the open field on the left of the wood. As the Zouaves advanced, both batteries opened. Right onward at a double-quick step the regiment ran, exposed to a murderous fire. Colonel Duryee himself led the van, and after proceeding a quarter of the distance to the enemy's batteries, he commanded the men to take to the woods. There they remained for two hours and twenty minutes, under an incessant fire which raked the position, and finally, after a gallant charge by Captain Kilpatrick, (of the Duryee Zouaves,) which drove the secessionists from one of their guns, after our artillerists had exhausted all their ammunition, and their commandant, Lieutenant Greble of the regular army, and many others, had been killed, General Pierce ordered a retreat. Colonel Bendix, with three companies of riflemen, did good service on the right of our position, and Colonel Townsend's regiment on the left performed its part well. A barn near the enemy's line was seized, and from it many of the enemy were picked off. The action commenced at twenty minutes before ten in the forenoon, and ended at twenty minutes past twelve. The retreat was conducted in perfect order. Some of the enemy's cavalry hung on our rear, but they were repulsed with loss." General Pierce having called upon General Butler for reinforcements, Colonel Allen's and Colonel Carr's, 1st and 2d New York regiments, were sent to his aid. They arrived at the close of the battle, and, drawn up in line, were of essential service in holding the enemy in check while the Union troops which had been engaged in the action retired from the field. General Butler himself would have taken the field, had not his services been required at Hampton, at first in forwarding the reinforcements, and afterwards in making dispositions for the care of the wounded and the safety of the retreat.

The official reports of the day add various details of the battle highly creditable to the valor of the several regiments engaged in it. The officers, generally, were enthusiastic in the performance of their duty. Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, of the Zouaves, is mentioned by his superior officer in command of the regiment—Colonel Duryee—as deserving of particular honor for his assistance in planning the operations of the day, and for his heroic performance of duty. He was among the last to leave the field, bringing away with him the body of Lieutenant Greble, borne on the gun that officer was serving when he fell. He had been instantly killed by a cannon-shot of the enemy striking his head. His battery was stationed in an open field, within two hundred yards of the covered works of the enemy, from which they mercilessly played upon his position. Without support, with his few brave cannoneers, he manfully stood by his gun, refusing any shelter or effort at protection. Asked to take care of himself as the rest did, he replied, "I never dodge, and when I hear the notes of the bugle calling to retreat I shall retreat, and not before." Throughout the firing, it is said he sighted every gun himself, and examined every shot with his glass. His last words, when he was struck, were, "Oh! my gun!"*

Lieutenant John Trout Greble, who died thus heroically, was a native of Philadelphia, descended from ancestors who, both on the father and mother's side, had fought in the war of the Revolution. Born in 1834, he was but twenty-seven at the time of his death. From boyhood "he had been remarkable for innocence and purity of life—an almost feminine character, blended, however, with great firmness and courage—not the result of a robust physical constitution, but springing from the action of principle and honor." Educated at the Central High School of his native city, at sixteen he entered the West Point Academy as a cadet, and graduated with distinction in 1854, when he was commissioned Brevet 2d Lieutenant in the 2d Artillery. He served with honor in the war in Florida for two years, when he was appointed to the assistant Professorship of Ethics at West Point, embracing instruction in no less a series of the liberal studies than grammar, geography, history, rhetoric, elocution, international and constitutional law, the Constitution of the United States, and logic. He continued to discharge the duties of this position till October, 1860, when, "having repeatedly solicited active service, he was ordered to Fortress Monroe, and was one of the handful of gallant men who preserved that important post to the country, when, but for the respect inspired by Colonel Dimick and his little band of three hundred, the rebels might at any moment have taken it." To these notices of the life of a gallant officer, we may add an endearing memorial of his private character in the few last words "scrawled evidently on the field," on a paper which was found in his pocket. They were addressed to his wife, the daughter of his senior professor at West Point—the Rev. John W. French: "May God bless you, my darling, and grant you a happy and peaceful life. May the good Father protect you and me, and grant that we may live happily together long lives. God give me strength, wisdom, and courage. If I die, let me die as a brave and honorable man; let no stain of dishonor hang over me or you. Devotedly, and with my whole heart your husband."*

---

* Anecdotes furnished by a friend of Lieutenant Greble to the Philadelphia *Inquirer*.

* Memoir of Lt. Greble, in Mr. Shea's excellent "Biographical Memorial of Officers killed in Defence of the Union."

There was another victim of the war, that day, alike youthful, ingenuous and self-sacrificing, for whose untimely fate much sympathy was felt. Theodore Winthrop, a young man of rare cultivation and attainments, whom we have already noticed, bright with enthusiasm, in his march with the New York Seventh, at the opening of the war, was at this time attached to the staff of General Butler at Fortress Monroe. He had been, as we have seen, in the councils and drawn up the memoranda for the expedition. No one had entered more eagerly into the battle, or borne his part through those long forenoon hours with more bravery. "After the melancholy events of the earlier part of the day," writes one, a friend who has paid a noble tribute to his memory, "he saw that its fortunes could be retrieved only by a dash of heroic enthusiasm. Fired himself, he sought to kindle others. For one moment that brave, inspiring form is plainly visible to his whole country, wrapt and calm, standing upon the log nearest the enemy's battery, the mark of their sharp-shooters, the admiration of their leaders, waving his sword, cheering his fellow-soldiers with his bugle voice of victory,—young, brave, beautiful, for one moment erect and glowing in the wild whirl of battle, the next falling forward toward the foe, dead but triumphant."*

Born in New Haven in 1828, a descendant of the first Governor of Connecticut, on the father's side, and of Jonathan Edwards, on the mother's, Winthrop's "grave, delicate, rather precocious childhood," had ripened with his growth, and borne him triumphantly through the liberal studies at Yale. Feeble health drove him to foreign travel, when he made the acquaintance in Europe of Mr. W. H. Aspinwall, the eminent merchant of New York, who, appreciating his character and attainments, engaged him as a tutor for his son, and afterwards received him into his counting-house. Employment at Panama as an agent of the Pacific Steamship Company followed, with journeys in California and Oregon. His love of adventure then made him a sharer in Lieutenant Strain's unfortunate Darien expedition. Escaping that peril with impaired health he studied law; was admitted to the bar and engaged eagerly in political life, taking the field as a speaker in the Fremont Presidential campaign. Literature, during these changes of occupation appears, however, from the unpublished books he left behind him, to have been his real pursuit. Several romances have been published since his death, fresh, rapid, vigorous, inspiring sketches of life and manners. "Cecil Dreeme," "John Brent," "Edwin Brothertoft,"—and all have been received with favor. It is not a little singular that one who wrote so much and so well should not have found his way to the public as an author in his life time; but with the exception of the sketches of camp life furnished to the *Atlantic Magazine*, we are not aware of anything of consequence published before his death from his pen. The impressions with which he entered the contest are given in a passage of his correspondence from Washington, written after he had joined the army:—"I see," he wrote, "no present end to this business. We must conquer the South. Afterward we must be prepared to do its police in its own behalf, and in behalf of its black population, whom this war must, without precipitation, emancipate. We must hold the South as the metropolitan police holds New York. All this is inevitable. Now I wish to enroll myself at once in the *Police of the Nation*, and for life, if the nation will take me. I do not see that I can put myself—experience and character—to any more useful use. . . My experience in this short campaign with the Seventh assures me that volunteers are for one purpose and regular soldiers entirely another. We want regular soldiers for the cause of order in these anarchical countries, and we want men to command who, though they may be valuable as temporary satraps or proconsuls to make liberty possible where it is now impossible, will never under any circumstances be disloyal to *Liberty*, will always oppose any scheme of any one to constitute a military government, and will be ready, when the time comes, to imitate Washington. We must think of these things, and prepare for them."

---

* A highly appreciative biographical sketch of Theodore Winthrop by Geo. W. Curtis in the *Atlantic Magazine* for August, 1861.

The number of the Union men in the engagement at Great Bethel was estimated at about three thousand, and that of the enemy, commanded by Colonel Magruder, late of the United States service; was set down at the time as at least as large; but the report of Colonel Hill of the North Carolina Volunteers makes the rebel force only eight hundred of his own regiment and three hundred and sixty Virginians. He reports one North Carolinian killed and seven wounded, while he "safely estimates" the Union loss at two hundred and fifty. "Our regiment behaved most gallantly," writes this officer. "Not one man shrunk from his post or showed symptoms of fear. Our Heavenly Father has most wonderfully interposed to shield our hearts in the day of battle; unto His great name be all the praise for our success."[*] In honor of this achievement the North Carolina convention authorized the regiment to inscribe on their colors the word "Bethel." General Butler, writing before the returns were in, mentions his loss at perhaps forty to fifty. It was afterwards ascertained to be fourteen killed and forty-five wounded and missing. The rebels, we have seen it stated, admitted a loss of seventeen killed. On the night after the battle they abandoned Great Bethel and retired to Yorktown.

In his summing up of the affair, General Butler certainly put the best face upon the matter in the assertion: "I think, in the unfortunate combination of circumstances, and the result which we experienced, we have gained more than we lost. Our troops have learned to have confidence in themselves under fire, the enemy have shown that they will not meet us in the open field, and our officers have learned wherein their organization and drill are inefficient." If the last, indeed, had been thoroughly taught the day of Great Bethel, dear as it was, would have had its consolations; but other lessons of that kind must share with it the uncomplimentary advantage."[†]

The affair at Great Bethel, of course, checked any further immediate advance into the country from the neighborhood of Fortress Monroe. It was necessary to wait for reinforcements and proceed with a due respect for the resources of the enemy, which from inexperience of the art of war, or an unwillingness to realize the thoroughly hostile position of the foe, there had been a disposition to lose sight of or depreciate. It began now to be seen that the contest must be pursued on military principles, and that, so far as the operations on the field were concerned, we were to all intents and purposes dealing with a foreign enemy. As the struggle, too, assumed a greater magnitude it became evident that the strength of our forces must be reserved for combined movements of importance productive of proportionate results. The advance of small parties into a hostile country, always hazardous, could be attended with little benefit, even if successful, unless there were a force at hand to occupy the territory and follow up the advantage. The public, looking at the matter in detail were disposed to complain of the sufferance of annoyances and ask why one neighboring position and another of the enemy which seemed within our grasp was not occupied ; but it was soon understood that the war to be successful must be planned and pursued on a large scale, and that we must be content with inconveniences for a time for victory in the end. So the troops at Fortress Monroe were content to hold their ground and strengthen their positions, until the time when the position should become the base of important operations.

---

[*] D. H. Hill, Colonel 1st Regiment North Carolina Volunteers, to Governor J. W. Ellis. Yorktown, Va., June 11, 1861.

[†] General Butler to Lieutenant-General Scott, June 10, 1861. Brigadier-General Pierce's orders, June 9, 1861. Colonel Duryee's report to General Pierce, June 11, 1861. Captain Fitzpatrick's report to Colonel Duryee, June 11, 1861. Letter of Henry J. Raymond to the New York *Times*, Fortress Monroe, July 1, 1861. General Pierce's letter to the editor of the Boston *Journal*, Freetown, Mass., Aug. 3, 1861.

On the 1st of July the village of Hampton which, since the first advance of General Butler from the Fort, had been under the control of his forces, was formally taken possession of and an encampment formed there, commanded by Brigadier-General Pierce. Entrenchments were thrown up, the "contrabands" who had come within the lines for protection busily engaging in the work, and everything looked to the permanent occupation of the town. Before the end of the month, a heavy draft having been made upon the troops of the department by General Scott for the military operations about Washington, General Butler was compelled to weaken the garrison at Newport News, and entirely withdraw the force at Hampton. The immediate effect of this evacuation of the town was to throw upon his hands within the lines around the Fort the large body of negro fugitives who had escaped from their rebel masters and, as we have just stated, been employed in accordance with the decision of the Secretary of War upon the works. The departure of the negroes following the retiring regiments is described as a singular spectacle. A rumor of the near approach of the enemy and the sight of the removal of the government stores had created an alarm among them, sending them in a mass out of the town in a precipitate flight. An eye witness thus pictures that scene of the evening of the 26th of July. "An indescribable panic ensued among the colored population, which all at once appeared to swell beyond all previous calculation. The streets swarmed with the terrified people. In less than half an hour the exodus commenced. The tide for hours poured over Hampton Bridge toward the Fortress. The moon made the night almost as light as day. Between 8 and 9 o'clock, the long wagon train of the Albany regiment turned into the main road leading from the Fortress to Hampton, which already swarmed with fugitives. They were principally on foot,—the men and the women, the latter greatly preponderating, carrying bundles big as hogsheads, containing the entire household effects of a family. Some with wheel-barrows containing a wagon load. Children were straggling; those that were capable of carrying anything had some article or other of economic housekeeping; all fleeing as if from instant peril. Women were shouting to men heavily laden to hurry up, and men urging women similarly encumbered not to lag behind the grotesque cavalcade that stretched the entire distance from Hampton to the Fortress, their place of refuge."*

The scene made a strong impression upon General Butler. Reciting the services that had been rendered by these people in the work of the entrenchments, and the relief they had afforded to the soldiers, who would without their assistance have been required to perform this labor under a burning summer sun, he says in a letter to the Secretary of War:—"Indeed it was a most interesting sight to see these poor creatures who trusted to the protection of the arms of the United States, and who aided the troops of the United States in their enterprise, to be thus obliged to flee from their homes, and the homes of the masters who had deserted them, and become fugitives from fear of the return of the rebel soldiery, who had threatened to shoot the men who had wrought for us, and to carry off the women who had served us, to a worse than Egyptian bondage."

An interesting sketch of the labors performed by the negroes at Hampton was subsequently published by Mr. Edward L. Pierce, entitled "The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe." Mr. Pierce, who afterward became widely known to the community by his official duties in charge of the black population in South Carolina, came to Fortress Monroe a private in the 3d Massachusetts regiment, and was, on the occupation of Hampton, appointed by General Butler "to collect the contrabands, record their names, ages, and the names of their masters, provide their tools, superintend their labor, and procure their rations." He entered upon the work in a painstaking, conscientious spirit, and pursued it with firmness and kindness. The result of the experiment was that with systematic arrangement, cheerful encouragement, and the prospect of a moderate reward, in this case at least, a vast deal of solid substantial work was performed thoroughly and without reluctance. The negroes were assembled to work on the entrenchments at half-past 4 in the morning, toiled till 7; resumed their task at 8, continued it till 11, when they were dismissed till 3, and then were employed till 6, when they were released till the morrow, having given 8½ hours labor to the State—a sufficient share of any man's day for heavy labor, especially under the summer sun of Southern Virginia.

"The contrabands," says Mr. Pierce, "worked well, and in no instance was it found necessary for the superintendents to urge them. There was a public opinion among them against idleness, which answered for discipline. Some days they worked with our soldiers, and it was found that they did more work, and did the nicer parts—the facings and dressings—better. Colonels Packard and Wardrop, under whose direction the breastworks were constructed, and General Butler, who visited them, expressed satisfaction at the work which the contrabands had done. On the 14th of July, Mr. Russell, of the London *Times*, and Dr. Bellows, of the Sanitary Commission, came to Hampton and manifested much interest at the success of the experiment. The result was, indeed, pleasing. A subaltern officer, to whom I had insisted that the contrabands should be treated with kindness, had sneered at the idea of applying philanthropic notions in time of war. It was found then, as always, that decent persons will accomplish more when treated at least like human beings. The same principle, if we will but credit our own experience and Mr. Rarey, too, may with advantage be extended to our relations with the beasts that serve us."*

---

* Fortress Monroe Correspondent N. Y. *Tribune*, July 27, 1861.

On the 30th of July General Butler reported within the peninsula, this side of Hampton Court, 900 negroes, 300 of whom were able-bodied men, 30 of whom were men substantially past hard labor, 175 women, 225 children under the age of 10 years, and 170 between 10 and 18 years, and many more coming in. Here was a new state of facts going quite beyond the handful of refugee laborers for whom he had invented the term "contrabands." How should it be met? The proposition, with his views of its solution, was thus presented by General Butler to the Secretary of War:—"*First*, What shall be done with them? and, *Second*, What is their state and condition? Upon these questions I desire the instructions of the Department. The first question, however, may perhaps be answered by considering the last. Are these men, women, and children, slaves? Are they free? Is their condition that of men, women, and children, or of property, or is it a mixed relation? What their *status* was under the Constitution and laws, we all know. What has been the effect of rebellion and a state of war upon that *status?* When I adopted the theory of treating the able-bodied negro fit to work in the trenches as property liable to be used in aid of rebellion, and so contraband of war, that condition of things was in so far met, as I then and still believe, on a legal and constitutional basis. But now a new series of questions arises. Passing by women, the children, certainly, cannot be treated on that basis; if property, they must be considered the incumbrance rather than the auxiliary of an army, and, of course, in no possible legal relation could be treated as contraband. Are they property? If they were so, they have been left by their masters and owners, deserted, thrown away, abandoned, like the wrecked vessel upon the ocean. Their former possessors and owners have causelessly, traitorously, rebelliously, and, to carry out the figure, practically abandoned them to be swallowed up by the winter storm of starvation. If property, do they not become the property of the salvors? but we, their salvors, do not need and will not hold such property, and will assume no such ownership: has not, therefore, all proprietary relation ceased? Have they not become, thereupon, men, women and children? No longer under ownership of any kind, the fearful relicts of fugitive masters, have they not by their masters' acts, and the state of war, assumed the condition, which we hold to be the normal one, of those made in God's image. It is not every constitutional, legal, and moral requirement, as well to the runaway master as their relinquished slaves, thus answered? I confess that my own mind is compelled by this reasoning to look upon them as men and women. If not free born, yet free, manumitted, sent forth from the hand that held them never to be reclaimed.

---

* The Contrabands at Fortress Monroe. *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1861.

"Of course, if this reasoning, thus imperfectly set forth, is correct, my duty, as a humane man, is very plain. I should take the same care of these men, women and children, houseless, homeless, and unprovided for, as I would of the same number of men, women and children, who, for their attachment to the Union, had been driven or allowed to flee from the Confederate States. I should have no doubt on this question, had I not seen it stated that an order had been issued by General McDowell in his department, substantially forbidding all fugitive slaves from coming within his lines, or being harbored there. Is that order to be enforced in all the military departments? If so, who are to be considered fugitive slaves? Is a slave to be considered fugitive whose master runs away and leaves him? Is it forbidden to the troops to aid or harbor within their lines the negro children who are found therein, or is the soldier, when his march has destroyed their means of subsistence, to allow them to starve because he has driven off the rebel masters? Now, shall the commander of a regiment or battalion sit in judgment upon the question, whether any given black man has fled from his master, or his master fled from him? Indeed, how are the free born to be distinguished? Is any one more or less a fugitive slave because he has labored upon the rebel intrenchments? If he has so labored, if I understand it, he is to be harbored. By the reception of which, are the rebels most to be distressed, by taking those who have wrought all their rebel masters desired, masked their battery, or those who have refused to labor and left the battery unmasked?

"I have very decided opinions upon the subject of this order. It does not become me to criticise it, and I write it in no spirit of criticism, but simply to explain the full difficulties that surround the enforcing it. If the enforcement of that order becomes the policy of the Government, I, as a soldier, shall be bound to enforce it steadfastly, if not cheerfully. But if left to my own discretion, as you may have gathered from my reasoning, I should take a widely different course from that which it indicates. In a loyal State I would put down a servile insurrection. In a state of rebellion I would confiscate that which was used to oppose my arms, and take all that property, which constituted the wealth of that State, and furnished the means by which the war was prosecuted, beside being the cause of the war; and if, in so doing it should be objected that human beings were brought to the free enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, such objection might not require much consideration."

The reply of Secretary Cameron to these pertinent interrogatories, still avoiding the general considerations so forcibly presented, showed the continued disposition of the Government to adhere as closely as possible to the preservation of the old Constitutional rights of the States, notwithstanding their attitude of rebellion. "The important question," he wrote, "of the proper disposition to be made of fugitives from service in the States in insurrection against the Federal Government, to which you have again directed my attention, in your letter of July 20, has received my most attentive consideration. It is the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States be fully respected and maintained. The war now prosecuted on the part of the Federal Government is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all the constitutional rights of the States and the citizens of the States in the Union; hence no question can arise as to fugitives from service within the States and Territories in which the authority of the Union is fully acknowledged. The ordinary forms of judicial proceedings must be respected by the military and civil authorities alike for the enforcement of legal forms. But in the States wholly or in part under insurrectionary control, where the laws of the United States are so far opposed and resisted that they cannot be effectually enforced, it is obvious that the rights dependent upon the execution of these laws must temporarily fail, and it is equally obvious that the rights dependent on the laws of the States within which military operations are conducted must necessarily be subordinate to the military exigencies created by the insurrection, if not wholly forfeited by the treasonable conduct of the parties claiming them. To this the general rule of the right to service forms an exception. The act of Congress approved August 6, 1861, declares that if persons held to service shall be employed in hostility to the United States, the right to their services shall be discharged therefrom. It follows of necessity, that no claim can be recognized by the military authority of the Union to the services of such persons when fugitives.

"A more difficult question is presented in respect to persons escaping from the service of loyal masters. It is quite apparent that the laws of the State under which only the service of such fugitives can be claimed must needs be wholly or almost wholly superseded, as to the remedies, by the insurrection and the military measures necessitated by it; and it is equally apparent that the substitution of military for judicial measures for the enforcement of such claims must be attended by great inconvenience, embarrassments and injuries. Under these circumstances, it seems quite clear that the substantial rights of loyal masters are still best protected by receiving such fugitives, as well as fugitives from disloyal masters, into the service of the United States, and employing them under such organizations and in such occupations as circumstances may suggest or require. Of course a record should be kept showing the names and descriptions of the fugitives, the names and characters, as loyal or disloyal, of the masters, and such facts as may be necessary to a correct understanding of the circumstances of each case.

"After tranquillity shall have been restored upon the return of peace, Congress will doubtless properly provide for all the persons thus received into the service of the Union, and for a just compensation to loyal masters. In this way only, it would seem, can the duty and safety of the Government and just rights of all be fully reconciled and harmonized. You will therefore consider yourself instructed to govern your future action in respect to fugitives from service by the premises herein stated, and will report from time to time, and at least twice in each month, your action in the premises to this Department. You will, however, neither authorize nor permit any interference by the troops under your command with the servants of peaceable citizens in a house or field, nor will you in any manner encourage such citizens to leave the lawful service of their masters, nor will you, except in cases where the public good may seem to require it, prevent the voluntary return of any fugitive to the service from which he may have escaped."*

On the 2d of August, to check an increasing evil, which was feared at the outset as one of the greatest dangers of the service, General Butler issued a stringent order regulating, or rather forbidding, the introduction of intoxicating liquors into his department. The characteristic phraseology of the writer, and certain peculiarities of the edict in its thoroughness, and the impress which it bore, in the unusual application to the officers of a "self-denying ordinance," render the document an interesting memorial of its author's rule in Virginia. The order read thus:—"The General commanding was informed on the first day of the month, from the books of an unlicensed liquor-dealer near this post, and by the effect on the officers and soldiers under his command, that use of intoxicating liquors prevailed to an alarming extent among the officers of his command. He had already taken measures to prevent its use among the men, but had presumed that officers and gentlemen might be trusted; but he finds that, as a rule, in some regiments that assumption is ill-founded, while there are many honorable exceptions to this unhappy state of facts; yet, for the good of all, some stringent measures upon the subject are necessary. Hereafter, all packages brought into this department for any officer, of whatever grade, will be subjected to the most rigid inspection, and all spirituous and intoxicating liquors therein will be taken and turned over to the use of the medical department. Any officer who desires may be present at the inspection of his own packages. No sale of intoxicating liquor will be allowed in this department, and any citizen selling it will be immediately sent out. If any officer finds the use of intoxicating liquor necessary for his health, or the health of any of his men, a written application to the medical director will be answered; and the General is confident that there is a sufficient store for all necessary purposes. The medical director will keep a record of all such applications, the name of the applicant, date of application, amount and kind of liquor delivered, to be open at all times for public inspection. In view of the alarming increase in the use of this deleterious article, the General earnestly exhorts all officers and soldiers to use their utmost exertions, both of influence and example, to prevent the wasting effects of this scourge of all armies. The General commanding does not desire to conceal the fact that he has been accustomed to the use of wine and liquors in his own quarters, and to furnish them to his friends; but as he desires never to ask either officers or men to undergo any privation which he will not share with them, he will not exempt himself from the operation of this order, but will not use it in his own quarters, as he would discourage its use in the quarters of any other officer. Amid the many sacrifices of time, property, health, and life which the officers and soldiers of his command are making in the service of their country, the General commanding feels confident that this, so slight, but so necessary a sacrifice of a luxury and pandering to appetite, will be borne most cheerfully, now that its evil is seen and appreciated. This order will be published by reading at the head of every battalion at their several evening parades."

---

* Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, to Major-General Butler, commanding Department of Virginia, August 8, 1861.

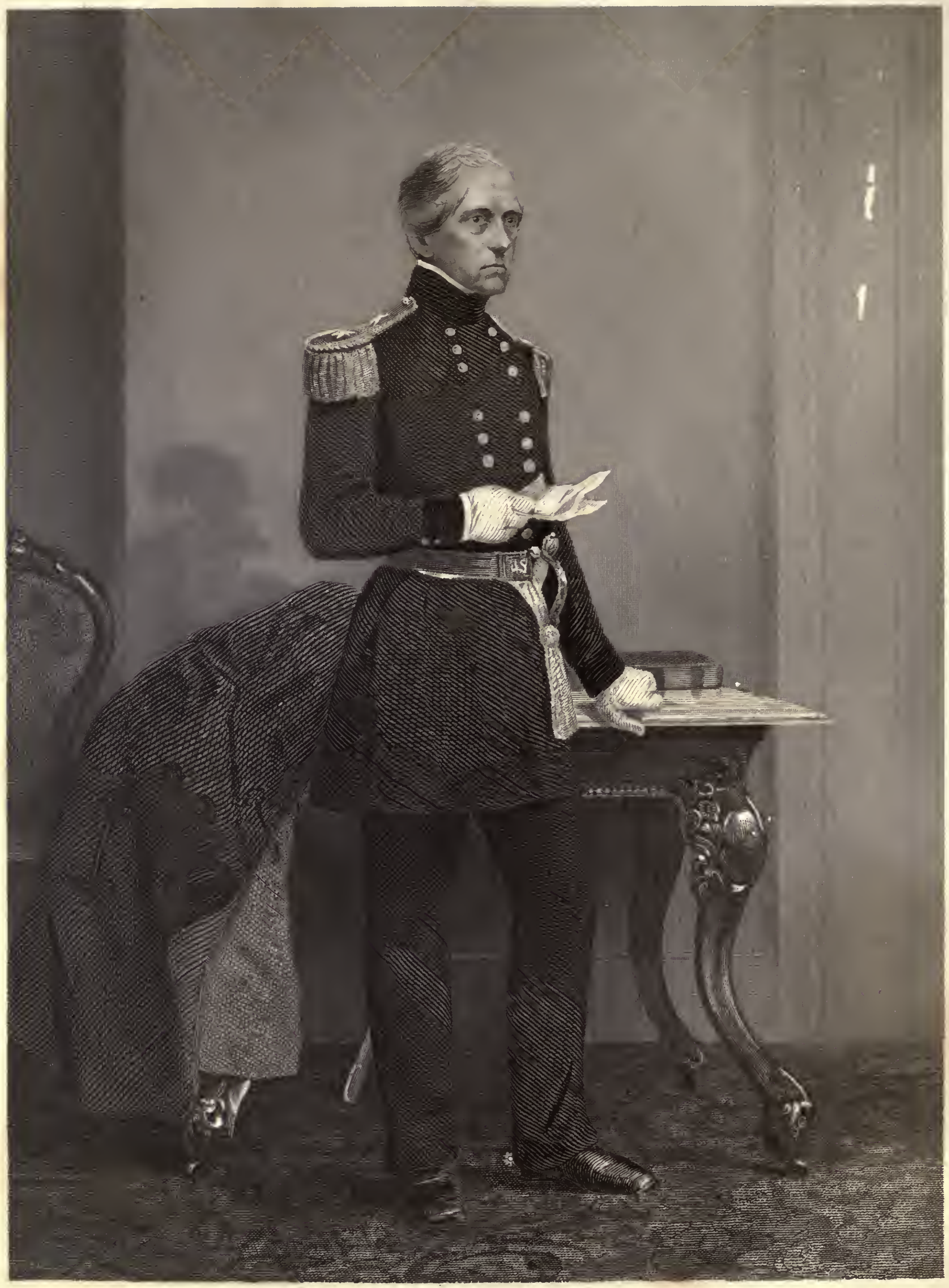
The next incident of interest in General Butler's department was the destruction of Hampton by a marauding expedition of the rebels, led by General Magruder. The town, after its evacuation by the Union forces, was not occupied by the enemy, though they were free to visit it, and occasionally came in parties, harassing the few negro inhabitants who lingered about the place. The Union position, meanwhile, was strongly maintained at Newport News, and the lines extended from Fortress Monroe to the vicinity of Hampton. In this state of affairs, when General Butler was expecting reinforcements for further operations, word was brought, on the 7th of August, of the appearance, in the neighborhood of the town, of a considerable body of troops from Yorktown. The rumors were confirmed in the afternoon by an intelligent deserter from the rebels, Mr. Mahew, a native of Maine, who had been impressed into the service in Georgia, who reported at the Fortress that General Magruder was at Back River, three miles from Hampton, in command of several regiments of Tennesseeans, Georgians, and Alabamians, with two hundred cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery—a force in all of five or six thousand men, which he had brought out with the view of attacking the Union position. Measures were immediately taken to prepare the camps for the conflict. General Phelps, at Newport News, was put on his guard, and Colonel Max Weber's German regiment at Camp Hamilton, between the Fortress and Hampton, supplied with extra ammunition, and charged with the repulse of the enemy should he present himself. The bridge across Hampton River was protected midway by a barricade of boards, at which a picket was stationed, a portion of the timbers from the further end having been removed. About midnight, a party of several hundred of the rebels made their appearance at Hampton, surrounded and entered the town, and without notice to the inhabitants, immediately began to set fire to the buildings. A high wind from the south prevailing at the time, and the houses being generally of wood, the conflagration spread with rapidity. At its height, the line of flame extended a distance of two miles, illuminating the country round about with its brilliancy. It was a spectacle watched with fearful interest by the anxious observers at Newport News and Fortress Monroe, who may well have regarded the desperate act as the prelude to a further ruthless onset of the enemy. Before morning the whole town, with the exception of a few buildings on the creek, was in smoking ruins. St. John's Episcopal Church, the second oldest church in the State—a venerable relic of the past, dating from the early part of the last century — the Court-House, the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, the military academy, post-office, and all the public buildings of this town of 1,500 inhabitants were consumed.

Most of the buildings being empty, in

consequence of the abandonment of the town, there were comparatively few persons left to experience the horrors of this barbarous act of destruction. There were some, however, who lingered in their old homes, a score or so of whites and a larger number of negroes, upon whom the calamity fell with all its terrors. Hastily roused from their beds, these remaining occupants were driven out to wander through the night, seeking a place of safety, or, spell bound and unable to escape, remained to witness the burning of their property. To add to the dangers and alarm of the scene, a sharp firing was going on between the Union defenders of the bridge and the rebels on the shore.

The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* at Fortress Monroe, writing the next day, mentions several cases of peculiar hardship. "One old, half-dying, speechless, and utterly helpless man, Mr. George L. Massenberg, one of the oldest inhabitants of the place, surrounded by a few devoted servants, was taken by them from his house, near the bridge, and, while the fight was going on, the flames raging, the stifling smoke surging, and bullets whizzing all around, was removed on a wheelbarrow to a point on the creek, where a small boat was found, in which he was taken in safety to our side. To-day he found security and attention in the fortress hospital. He is an undisguised secessionist, and, though the fact was as well known as any other, he received neither mercy nor the manifestation of human feelings from the rebels. But for the devotion of his servants he, no doubt, would have perished in the flames that were the legitimate consequences of his own doctrines.

"Mr. and Mrs. Wilson Jones, two old and highly respectable people, known to sympathize with the rebellion, and about the only couple who could but did not flee when Hampton was deserted three months since, and who, notwithstanding the well-understood views of Mr. Jones, lived in undisturbed quiet, were roused from their slumbers and scarcely given time to dress. They did take out a very few things that were sacred in the household so long maintained, and now so rudely and suddenly set in flames, and retreated to the rear of the yard; and there they stood all night silent, solitary spectators amid the glare of conflagration, barely escaping the flames that almost lapped them in their folds. This morning, two gentlemen, old acquaintances, solicitous for their fate, set out from the fortress, and, at their own risk, went into the village and found the aged couple standing there still under the rays of the sun that were scarcely less scorching than the flames that all night had raged around them. The protection which was due to them from the rebels, but was worse than denied them, was given by the two loyal citizens, who by their acts evinced that fidelity to the Government was but humanity to man. Certain features of Mr. Jones' case are peculiarly aggravating. In the afternoon, a relative, holding an office in the Secession army, came to his house, and after enjoying his hospitalities, informed him that the order was out to burn the village. So absurd was the statement that he did not credit it. In the evening he went into the streets, where all was quiet, and no evidence of such a purpose. Rebel guards were stationed; besides this, there was nothing unusual. About ten o'clock he returned to his house and retired. Scarcely had the aged couple



John E. Wool

From the original painting by Chappel, in the possession of the Publishers.

Johnson, Fry & C° Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Congress A.D. 1859, by Johnson, Fry & C° in the clerk's office of the district court of the southern district of N.Y.

fallen asleep when they were aroused by a knock at the door, where a former neighbor, and, I believe, relative of Mr. Jones, awaited him, and informed him that he had been detailed specially to set fire to his dwelling. Hurrying back to the chamber of his wife and informing her of the message, they had barely time to dress themselves and flee to the yard with a few articles, when the flames burst through the house."

It was at first thought that the town had been burnt under some military necessity by the orders of General Butler, since it could hardly be supposed that the enemy would thus destroy their own homes and property. But the fact was soon established on their own avowal. "The town," said the Richmond *Examiner* of the 12th, in an account of the movement, "was burned to the ground by the order of General Magruder. The expedition for its destruction was composed of the Mecklenburg Cavalry, Captain Goode; Old Dominion Dragoons, Captain Phillips; York Rangers, Captain Sinclair; Warwick Beauregards, Captain Custis; and six companies of the 14th Virginia regiment, the whole force being under the command of Colonel James J. Hodges, of the 14th. The town was most effectually fired. But a single house was left standing. The village church was intended to be spared, but caught fire accidentally, and was consumed to the ground. Many of the members of the companies were citizens of Hampton, and set fire to their own houses—among others, Captain Sinclair fired his own home. It was supposed that a man of the name of Paschal Latimer had perished in one of the burnt houses of Hampton. There was no other casualty known to have occurred."

The only explanation given by the perpetrators of this wanton act was that the place might be occupied by the Union troops, who were understood to be on the way, and that it was best to destroy it to deprive them of such a convenience. If there was any significance to be attached to the proceeding other than as an unaccountable military blunder, it was to be found in the rising spirit of fanaticism of which it might be taken as an indication—a fanaticism encouraged by the more violent of the rebel leaders and the secession journalists, with the same motives with which they afterwards incited their deluded followers to the burning of cotton and other products of the Southern soil. Courting ruin as a means of gaining independence, it would appear that the conspirators were impressed with the idea that the more desperate the cause was rendered the more persistent would be the rebellion; that the less their dupes had to lose the more regardless would they be of final consequences.

A few days after the destruction of Hampton, General Wool was ordered to the command of the South Eastern District of Virginia, with his headquarters at Fortress Monroe. Immediately after his arrival at that place, on the 18th of August, he assigned the command of the volunteer forces in the Department outside the fortress to General Butler, who presently embarked, with a detachment from the regiments in the joint naval and military expedition, to Hatteras, the incidents of which will be related in a future chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

THE vote for secession cast in the Virginia State Convention was 88 in favor of the measure, 55 against it. After the confirmation of the act by the people, the Convention again assembled formally to complete the work of disunion, when there were but 91 of the previous 143 members present to sign the ordinance. The recusants in the first instance, the missing names afterward, represented the dissent of the western part of the State. The divided vote answered generally to the proportions of the separate portions of the country, whether by the number of counties or their population—the western having about one-third of the whole. There was, however, one important exception to be made in comparing the number of inhabitants. Whilst the slaves in the 50 western counties were counted at 15,000, in the remaining 98 middle and eastern counties they numbered more than 480,000; and of the last, nine-tenths were east of the Blue Ridge. It was noticed also that of the increase of white population in the whole State in the ten years, from 1850 to 1860, more than one-half belonged to the western region, a striking evidence of the advances making in that district in the development of its agricultural and industrial resources in comparison with the stagnation in the counties more favored in many respects on the seaboard. That extensive western region, bounded by the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, and bordering on the north upon Pennsylvania, had little indeed in common with the slaveholding, slavetrading interests and Southern sympathies of the eastern division. Thus socially and industrially, as well as geographically, separated from their brethren, and complaining moreover of an unequal burden of taxation, which, in consequence of the immunities secured in the legislature by the slaveholders, they were compelled to bear for the great works of improvement undertaken for the benefit of the other portions of the State,* it was hardly to be expected that when the paramount question was raised of union or disunion they would patiently submit to an evil which would throw all others into the shade, in the severance of the State from that national government under the protection of which they had their greatest hopes of prosperity.

Accordingly, when by the act of the 17th of April the State Convention had declared its purpose of disunion, and the western members, unable to stem the torrent, had fled or were driven ignominiously from the capital, it required but little agitation to array Virginia on the other side of the Alleghanies, in opposition to the usurping authority at Richmond. The people consulted together, assemblies were held in the counties, and the course taken by Governor Letcher and the seceding members of the Convention was generally condemned. At a meeting at Clarksburg, an important central position in Harrison county, on the 22d of April, when the country was in the first flush of popular excitement consequent on the fall of Sumter, the initial step was taken for the separation of Western Virginia from the evil counsels which prevailed in the government of the State. With a full determination of maintaining their old allegiance to the Union, delegates were on that occasion appointed to meet others recommended to be chosen by the northwestern counties, in a Convention at Wheeling on the 13th May, to take such action as might be thought necessary at this imminent crisis. The suggestion was generally adopted, and on the designated day the representatives of 35 counties assembled at the appointed place. A strong disposition was manifested by a number of its members, among whom John S. Carlile, who had resolutely withstood the secession movement in the Richmond Convention was prominent, to dissolve all political connection with the State, and adopt a new organization under the title of the State of New Virginia. There were obstacles, however, in the way of so simple a solution of the difficulty, both in principle and practice. The separation project seemed to favor the Southern doctrine of secession, and it would not be easy to adjust the boundaries or responsibilities of the new State.

---

* See Henry C. Carey's letter to an English economist on the Rights of Southern Freemen, Philadelphia, August 12, 1861.

For the present the Convention contented itself with declaring the ordinance of secession "unconstitutional, null and void;" the agreement which had been made at Richmond, placing the whole military power of the State under the direction of the confederate President Jefferson Davis, "a plain and palpable violation of the Constitution of our State, and utterly subversive of the rights and liberties of the good people thereof," whilst it was earnestly recommended to their fellow citizens of the State at the approaching election "to vindicate their rights as Virginia freemen, by voting against said ordinance of secession, and all other measures of like character, so far as they may be made known to them." The people were also urged to vote for members of Congress of the United States in their several districts, in the exercise of the rights secured to them by the Constitution of the United States and of Virginia, the prohibition of such election attached to the secession ordinance being pronounced "a manifest usurpation of power, to which we as Virginia freemen ought not, cannot, and will not submit." Members, it was advised, should be elected as usual to the Virginia House of Delegates. In deference to the desire for an independent administration of their affairs, and with an eye perhaps to the professions of the confederate constitution in its lax theory of secession, it was resolved, "that inasmuch as it is a conceded political axiom that government is founded on the consent of the governed, and is instituted for their good, and it cannot be denied that the course pursued by the ruling power in the State is utterly subversive and destructive of our interests, we believe we may rightfully and successfully appeal to the proper authorities of Virginia to permit us peacefully and lawfully to separate from the residue of the State, and form ourselves into a government to give effect to the wishes, views and interests of our constituents." Adopting the language of Washington, it was resolved to "keep steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our property, felicity, safety, and perhaps our national existence." As a practical illustration of this far-seeing injunction of the Father of his Country, it was declared that "in view of the geographical, social, commercial and industrial interests of northwestern Virginia, the Virginia Convention, in assuming to change the relations of the State of Virginia to the Federal Government, have not only acted unwisely and unconstitutionally, but have adopted a policy utterly ruinous to our section, severing all our social ties and drying up all the channels of our trade and prosperity." In case the ordinance of secession, which it will be remembered was to be submitted to the people on the 23d May,* should be ratified by a vote, the people were recommended to send delegates to a general Convention to be held on the 11th of June, "to devise such measures and take such action as the safety and welfare of the people they represent may demand."

These resolutions of their representatives were recommended to the people by a well enforced appeal, prepared by a special committee of the Convention, of which Mr. Carlile was placed at the head. The address presented the interests at stake in a manner admirably calculated to arrest attention, as it dwelt upon the heartless efforts of the conspirators to drag a people content with their liberties and their prosperity into a rebellion which would deprive them of "a title more honored, respected and revered, than that of king or potentate—the title of American citizen." The darkness and secrecy with which the work of secession was arrayed and consummated, were pointed out as just proofs of its iniquity, and the inevitable consequences of the act to its perpetrators were exhibited in "bankruptcy, ruin, civil war, ending in military despotism." Virginians were appealed to while yet it was in their power to rescue themselves from a tyranny "worse many times than that from which the war of '76 delivered us—not the tyranny of one man but of many." A point was made in a spirited reply to the more candid than judicious declaration of Howell Cobb, late of President Buchanan's cabinet, now president of the rebel Congress, in one of his Southern speeches, that "the people of the Gulf States need have no apprehensions; they might go on with their planting and other business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theatre would be along the borders of the Ohio river and in Virginia." By the side of this not altogether prudent anticipation, as it turned out, was placed the more thoughtful appeal of Daniel Webster to the citizens of Virginia, uttered at the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the capitol in 1851. "Ye men of the Blue Ridge," said the far-seeing statesman on that occasion, "many thousands of whom are nearer to this capital than the seat of government of your own State, what do you think of breaking up this great association into fragments of States and of people? I know that some of you and I believe that you all would be almost as much shocked at the announcement of such a catastrophe as if you were informed that the Blue Ridge itself would soon totter from its base—and ye, men of Western Virginia, who occupy the slope from the Alleghanies to Ohio and Kentucky, what benefit do you propose to yourselves by disunion? If you secede, what do you 'secede' from, and what do you 'secede' to? Do you look for the current of the Ohio to change and to bring you and your commerce to the tide-waters of eastern rivers? What man in his senses can suppose that one would remain part and parcel of Virginia in a month after Virginia had ceased to be a part and parcel of the United States?" Thus ten years before the event, when the word 'secede' was so new to our every-day language that it was printed with quotation marks, did Webster in this truly remarkable prophecy, arguing from the testimony of the mountains and rivers, predict the necessity thrown upon Western Virginia in 1861.

---

* Ante, p. 151–2.

The occasion for the assembly of the new Convention of the people of that region arose as was foreseen. The efforts of the Union people to gain a hearing for their cause previous to the ratifying secession vote ordered on the 23d of May were futile. When the actual vote was announced it stood 128,884 for secession, to 32,134 against. How that melancholy result, so discreditable to the honor of Virginia as a State once the keystone of the Union, was in some measure at least, spite of the prevailing Southern fanaticism, brought about, we may gather from an extraordinary letter written a few days before the vote was taken, by Senator Mason—a document quite too significant ever to be omitted from the history of Virginia. It was a species of circular reply to the pressing interrogatories of the day, and was addressed to the editor of the Winchester *Virginian*, May 16, and read as follows:—"The question has been frequently put to me, What position will Virginia occupy, should the ordinance of secession be rejected by the people at the approaching election? And the frequency of the question may be an excuse for giving publicity to the answer. The ordinance of secession withdrew the State of Virginia from the Union, with all the consequences resulting from the separation. It annulled the Constitution and the laws of the United States within the limits of this State, and absolved the citizens of Virginia from all obligations and obedience to them. Hence it follows, if this ordinance be rejected by the people, the State of Virginia will remain in the Union, and the people of the State will remain bound by the Constitution of the United States, and obedience to the Government and the laws of the United States will be fully and rightfully enforced against them. It follows, of course, that in this war now carried on by the Government of the United States against the seceding States, Virginia must immediately change sides, and, under the orders of that Government, turn her arms against her Southern sisters. From this there can be no escape. As a member of the Union, all her resources of men and money will be at once at the command of the Government of the Union. Again: For mutual defence, immediately after the Ordinance of Secession passed, a treaty, or 'military league' was formed by the Convention, in the name of the people of Virginia, with the Confederate States of the South, by which the latter were bound to march to the aid of our State, against the invasion of the Federal Government. And we have now in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, and at Norfolk, in face of the common foe, several thousand of the gallant sons of South Carolina, of Alabama, of Louisiana, Georgia, and Mississippi, who hastened to fulfil the covenant they made, and are ready and eager to lay down their lives, side by side, with our sons in defence of the soil of Virginia. If the Ordinance of Secession is rejected, not only will this 'military league' be annulled, but it will have been made a trap to inveigle our generous defenders into the hands of their enemies. Virginia remaining in the Union, duty and loyalty to her obligations to the Union will require that those Southern forces shall not be permitted to leave the State, but shall be delivered up to the Government of the Union; and those who refuse to do so, will be guilty of treason, and be justly dealt with as traitors. Treason against the United States consists, as well 'in adhering to its enemies and giving them aid,' as in levying war. If it be asked, what are those to do who in their consciences cannot vote to separate Virginia from the United States, the answer is simple and plain: honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question; if they retain such opinions, they must leave the State. None can doubt or question the truth of what I have written, and none can vote against the Ordinance of Secession who do not thereby (whether ignorantly or otherwise) vote to place himself and his State in the position I have indicated."

Thus, under the false plea of honor, one who should have been the guardian of the welfare of the State, used his position and influence to draw her on to inevitable ruin. It is not to be denied, however, that, under the prevailing influences of the day of pride, prejudice, misconception, love of independence, or whatever may have been the motive of action, there were calmer voices in Virginia than those of the politicians of the school of Mason, in favor of the separation movement. The venerable Bishop Meade, of the Episcopal Church, in the fullness of years, beloved and respected through a long and amiable career of ministerial duty, in a charge to the Convention of his church, sitting at Richmond in May — the last which he was destined thus to address—uttered this word of adhesion to the cause of disunion and prophecy of its final success. "It has pleased God," said he, "to permit a great calamity to come upon us. Our whole country is preparing for war. Our own State, after failing in her earnest effort for the promotion of peace, is, perhaps, more actively engaged in all needful measures for maintaining the position which she has, after much consideration, deliberately assumed, than any portion of the land. A deeper and more honest conviction that, if war should actually come upon us, it will be, on our part, one of self-defence, and therefore justifiable before God, seldom if ever animated the breasts of those who appealed to arms. From this consideration, and from my knowledge of the character of our people, I believe that the object sought for will be most perseveringly pursued, whatever sacrifice of life, and comfort, and treasure may be required. Nor do I entertain any doubt as to the final result, though I shudder at the thought of what may intervene before that result is secured. May God, in his great mercy and with his mighty power, interpose, and grant us speedy peace instead of protracted war. But can it be, that at this period of the world, when so many prayers are offered up for the establishment of Christ's kingdom in all the earth, and such high hopes are entertained that the zealous efforts put forth will be successful, and our country be one of the most effective and honored instruments for producing the same, that the great work shall be arrested by such a fratricidal war as that which is now so seriously threatened? Is there not room enough for us all to dwell together in peace in this widely extended country, so large a portion of which is not yet settled, and may not be until the world that now is shall be no more? The families or nations which sprung from two venerable patriarchs of old, could find room enough in the little pent up land of Judea to live in peace, by going the one to one hand, and the other to the opposite. At a later period, when Israel and Judah separated, and the latter, having the city and temple in possession, and the supremacy according to prophecy, was preparing to go up against the former, and reduce the people to submission and bring them back to Union, the Lord himself came down and forbade it, saying, 'Thou shalt not go up, nor fight against your brethren, the children of Israel. Return every man to his house, for this thing is of me.' And they hearkened unto the Lord, and ever after the history of the two kingdoms is written in the same sacred volume in which are also recorded the evidence of God's favor to both, and though sometimes at controversy, yet how often were they found side by side defending the ancient boundaries of Judea against surrounding nations. God grant that our country may learn a lesson from this sacred narrative. Let none think that I am unmindful of law and order, and of the blessings of Union. I was trained in a different school. I have clung with tenacity to the hope of preserving the Union to the last moment. If I know my own heart, could the sacrifice of the poor remnant of my life have contributed in any degree to its maintenance, such sacrifice would have been cheerfully made. But the developments of public feeling and the course of our rulers have brought me slowly, reluctantly, sorrowfully, yet most decidedly, to the painful conviction that, notwithstanding attendant dangers and evils, we shall consult the welfare and happiness of the whole land by separation. And who can desire to retain a Union which has now become so hateful, and by the application of armed force, which, if successful, would make it tenfold more hateful, and soon lead to the repetition of the same bloody contests? I trust, therefore, that the present actual separation of so many and such important portions of our country may take place without further collision, which might greatly hinder the establishment of the most friendly and intimate relations which can consist with separate establishments. I trust that our friends at a distance, and now in opposition to us, will most seriously review their judgment, and inquire whether the evils resulting from a war to sustain their wishes and opinions as to a single Confederacy, will not far exceed those apprehended from the establishment of a second—an event far more certain than the result of the American Revolution at the time of its occurrence."

On the 11th June, delegates from forty counties of Virginia—thirty-five to the west and five to the east of the Alleghanies, met pursuant to the recommendation which had been issued, at Wheeling. In the deliberations which ensued, the separation theory of the previous convention was dropped, and another of a more plausible and less objectionable character adopted in its place. It was now maintained that the government at Richmond, having violated the Constitution of the State, its authority was thereby annulled, and that the offices of all who adhered to the usurping convention and executive were, *ipso facto*, vacant. After a few days' discussion, this view was found to prevail, and a Declaration, setting forth the motives of the decision, and an Ordinance for the Reorganization of the State Government were passed by a nearly unanimous vote. The Declaration, brief and well-written, in simple and forcible words, exhibited the situation to which the State had been brought and which seemed fully to demand this extraordinary action. It read as follows:

"The true purpose of all government is to promote the welfare and provide for the protection and security of the governed, and when any form of organization of government proves inadequate for, or subversive of this purpose, it is the right, it is the duty of the latter to alter or abolish it. The Bill of Rights of Virginia, framed in 1776, reaffirmed in 1830, and again in 1851, expressly reserves this right to the majority of her people, and the existing Constitution does not confer upon the General Assembly the power to call a Convention to alter its provisions, or to change the relations of the Commonwealth, without the previously expressed consent of such a majority. The act of the General Assembly, calling the Convention which assembled at Richmond in February last, was therefore a usurpation; and the Convention thus called has not only abused the powers nominally entrusted to it, but, with the connivance and active aid of the Executive, has usurped and exercised other powers, to the manifest injury of the people, which, if permitted, will inevitably subject them to a military despotism.

"The Convention, by its pretended ordinances, has required the people of Virginia to separate from and to wage war against the Government of the United States, and against the citizens of the neighboring States, with whom they have heretofore maintained friendly, social, and business relations. It has attempted to subvert the Union founded by Washington and his co-patriots in the purer days of the Republic, which has conferred unexampled prosperity upon every class of citizens and upon every section of the country. It has attempted to transfer the allegiance of the people to an illegal confederacy of rebellious States, and required their submission to its pretended edicts and decrees. It has attempted to place the whole military force and military operations of the Commonwealth under the control and direction of such Confederacy, for offensive as well as defensive purposes. It has, in conjunction with the State Executive, instituted wherever their usurped power extends, a reign of terror, intended to suppress the free expression of the will of the people, making elections a mockery and a fraud. The same combination, even before the passage of the pretended Ordinance of Secession, instituted war by the seizure and appropriation of the property of the Federal Government, and by organizing and mobilizing armies, with the avowed purpose of capturing or destroying the

Capital of the Union. They have attempted to bring the allegiance of the United States into direct conflict with their subordinate allegiance to the State, thereby making obedience to their pretended Ordinance treason against the former.

"We, therefore, the delegates here assembled in Convention to devise such measures and take such action as the safety and welfare of the loyal citizens of Virginia may demand, having mutually considered the premises, and viewing with great concern the deplorable condition to which this once happy Commonwealth must be reduced, unless some regular adequate remedy is speedily adopted, and appealing to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe for the rectitude of our intentions, do hereby in the name and on behalf of the good people of Virginia, solemnly declare, that the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties, and their security in person and property, imperatively demand the reorganization of the Government of the Commonwealth, and that all acts of said Convention and Executive, tending to separate this Commonwealth from the United States, or to levy or carry on war against them, are without authority and void; and the offices of all who adhere to the said Convention and Executive, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are vacated."

The ordinance for the reorganization of the State government, carrying out the intentions of the Declaration, provided for the appointment by the present Convention of a Governor and Lieutenant-Governor for the State of Virginia, in place of the disloyal functionaries at Richmond, an Executive Council, and a Legislature composed of the delegates to the General Assembly chosen in May, and the Senators entitled under existing laws to seats in the next General Assembly who should qualify themselves by taking a prescribed oath pledging their support to the Constitution of the United States and the laws made in pursuance thereof as the supreme law of the land, anything in the ordinances of the Richmond Convention to the contrary notwithstanding, and to uphold and defend the government ordained by the Convention at Wheeling. On the 20th June, the day after the passage of the ordinance, the Convention elected under its sanction Francis H. Pierpont, of Marion County, Provisional Governor, and Daniel Paesly, of the same county, Lieutenant Governor of the State of Virginia.

In the remarks delivered by Governor Pierpont to the Convention in accepting the office which had been thus conferred upon him, a passage occurs evidently indicating a prevailing state of feeling in the people of the north-western region, in reference to the character of the rebellion in its relations to the democracy of the country. "A new doctrine," said he, "has been introduced by those who are at the head of the revolution in our Southern States—that the people are not the source of all power. Those promulgating this doctrine have tried to divide the people into two classes; one they call the laboring class, the other the capital class. They have for several years been industriously propagating the idea that the capital of the country ought to represent the legislation of the country, and guide it and direct it; maintaining that it is dangerous for the labor of the country to enter into the legislation of the country. This is the principle that has characterized the revolution that has been inaugurated in the South; they maintaining that those who are to have the privilege of voting ought to be of the educated class, and that the legislation ought not to be represented by the laboring classes. We in Western Virginia, and, as I suppose, in the whole of Virginia, adopted the great doctrine of the fathers of the Republic, that in the people resides all power; and that embraced all people. This revolution has been inaugurated upon the principle of making a distinction upon the principles that I have indicated. We of Western Virginia have not been consulted upon that subject. The large body of your citizens in the eastern part of the State have not been consulted upon that subject. American institutions lie near to the breast of the masses of the people all over this country, from one end of it to the other, though not as nearly perhaps in Louisiana, Georgia and Texas, as in some of the western and northern States. This idea has been advanced only in portions of Virginia. She has stood firm by the doctrines of the Fathers of the Revolution, up to within a very short period. Its propagators have attempted to force it upon us by terror, and at the point of the bayonet. We have been driven into the position we occupy to-day, by the usurpers at the South, who have inaugurated this war upon the soil of Virginia, and have made it the great Crimea of this contest. We, representing the loyal citizens of Virginia, have been bound to assume the position we have assumed to-day, for the protection of ourselves, our wives, our children and our property. We, I repeat, have been driven to assume this position; and now we are but recurring to the great fundamental principle of our fathers, that to the loyal people of a State belongs the law-making power of that State. The loyal people are entitled to the government and governmental authority of the State. And, fellow-citizens, it is the assumption of that authority upon which we are now about to enter. It will be for us by firmness and by prudence, by wisdom, by discretion in all our acts, to inaugurate every step we take for the purpose of restoring law and order to this ancient Commonwealth; to mark well our steps, and to implore the divine wisdom and direction of Him that ruleth above, who has every hair of our heads numbered, and who suffereth not a sparrow to fall unnoticed to the ground, and His guidance and direction in enabling us to carry out the great work we have undertaken here, in humility, but with decision and determination."

The Wheeling Convention having done its work adjourned. It had, as was claimed by Governor Pierpont, in a subsequent message to the Legislature, "attempted no change of the fundamental law of the State, for light and transient causes. The alterations adopted were such only as were imperatively required by the necessity of the case, to give vitality and force to the Constitution of the State and enable it to operate in the circumstances under which we are placed. It attempted no revolution. Whatever others may have done, we remain, as we were, citizens of Virginia, citizens of the United States, recognizing and obeying the Constitution and laws of both."* The wheels of the new government being thus set in motion, according to the direction of the reorganization ordinance, Governor Pierpont called the Delegates to the General Assembly and the Senators who had been chosen under the laws in May, to meet as the new Legislature on the first of July. The new government was recognized by the President of the United States, an election was held for members of Congress, according to the apportionment under the recent Census, and two senators, John S. Carlile and Waitman T. Willey, were chosen by the Legislature, at its meeting, to take the places of the seceding James M. Mason and Robert M. T. Hunter.

---

* Message of Governor Pierpont, July, 1861.

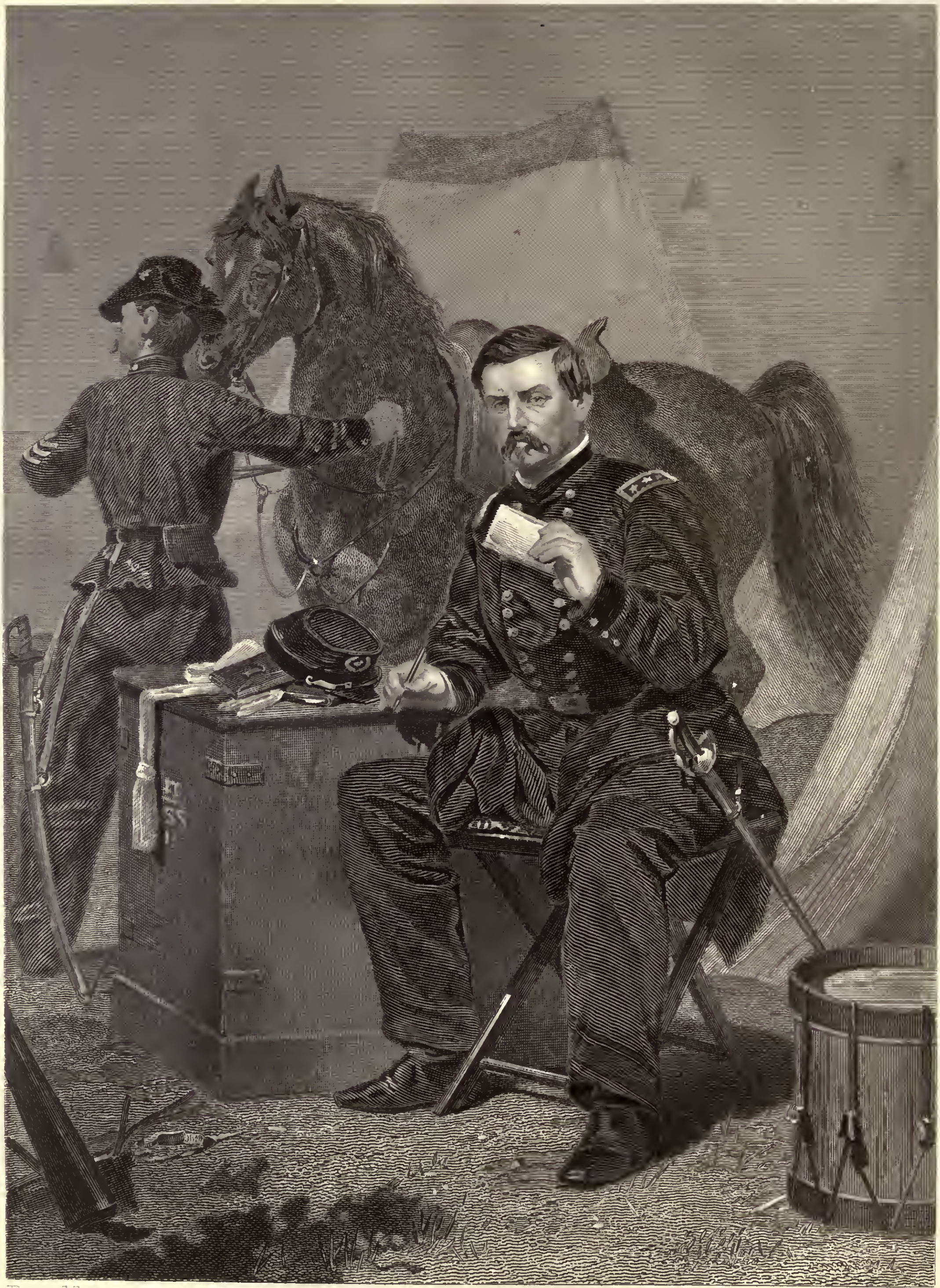
One of the first official acts of Governor Pierpont was to announce to the President of the United States, on the 21st of June, that large numbers of evil-minded persons have banded together in military organization, with intent to overthrow the Government of the State, and for that purpose have called to their aid like-minded persons from other States, who, in pursuance of such call have invaded this commonwealth. They are now making war on the loyal people of the State. They are pressing citizens against their consent into their military organization, and seizing and appropriating their property to aid in the rebellion. I have not at my command sufficient military force to suppress this rebellion and violence. The Legislature cannot be convened in time to act in the premises; it therefore becomes my duty as Governor of this Commonwealth to call on the Government of the United States for aid to repress such rebellion and violence. I therefore earnestly request that you will furnish a military force to aid in suppressing the rebellion and to protect the good people of this Commonwealth from domestic violence." To this communication the Secretary of War sent the following answer, dated the 25th:—

"In reply to your application for the aid of the Federal Government to repel from Virginia the lawless invaders now perpetrating every species of outrage upon persons and property, throughout a large portion of the State, the President directs me to say that a large additional force will soon be sent to your relief. The full extent of the conspiracy against popular rights, which has culminated in the atrocities to which you refer, was not known when its outbreak took place at Charleston. It now appears that it was matured for many years by secret organizations throughout the country, especially in the slave States. By this means, when the President called upon Virginia, in April, for its quota of troops then deemed necessary to put down in the States in which it had shown itself in arms, the call was responded to by an order from the chief confederate in Virginia to his armed followers, to seize the Navy Yard of Gosport; and the authorities of the State, who had till then shown repugnance to the plot, found themselves stripped of all actual power, and afterwards were manifestly permitted to retain the empty forms of office only because they consented to use them at the bidding of the invaders. The President, however, never supposed that a brave and free people, though surprised and unarmed, could long be subjugated by a class of political adventurers always adverse to them; and the fact that they have already rallied, reorganized their government and checked the march of these invaders, demonstrates how justly he appreciated them. The failure, hitherto, of the State authorities, in consequence of the circumstances to which I have adverted, to organize its quota of troops called for by the President, imposed upon him the necessity of providing himself for their organization; and this has been done to some extent. But instructions have now been given to the agents of the Federal Government to proceed hereafter under your directions, and the company and field officers will be commissioned by you."

The proceedings in Northwestern Virginia were not allowed to pass without a Proclamation on the part of Governor Letcher addressed to the people of that region, appealing to them by various considerations of the vote in favor of secession, to which, as good citizens, they should submit, and to their pride to maintain their State against the attempts of the Government at Washington "to coerce our people to abject submission to their authority." With these persuasions were also insinuated an unmistakable hint of his military preparations for the occupation of the region. "Virginia," said he, "has asserted her independence. She will maintain it at every hazard. She is sustained by the power of ten of her sister Southern States, ready and willing to uphold her cause. Can any true Virginian refuse to render assistance. Men of the Northwest, I appeal to you, by all the considerations which have drawn us together as one people heretofore, to rally to the standard of the Old Dominion. By all the sacred ties of consanguinity, by the intermixtures of the blood of East and West, by common paternity, by friendships hallowed by a thousand cherished recollections and memories of the past, by the relics of the great men of other days, come to Virginia's banner, and drive the invader from your soil. There may be traitors in the midst of you, who, for selfish ends, have turned against their mother, and would permit her to be ignominiously oppressed and degraded. But I cannot, will not, believe that a majority of you are not true sons, who will not give your blood and your treasure for Virginia's defence. I have sent for your protection such troops as the emergency enabled me to collect, in charge of a competent commander. I have ordered a large force to go to your aid, but I rely with the utmost confidence upon your own strong arms to rescue your firesides and altars from the pollution of a reckless and ruthless enemy. The State is invaded at several points, but ample forces have been collected to defend her."

The war was in fact already commenced in Western Virginia. Simultaneously with the first advance of the United States troops across the Potomac on the formal ratification of the act of secession, Major-General George B. McClellan, who had only a few days before been appointed to that high rank, and who was then in command of the Department of the Ohio, was ordered to take charge of the military operations west of the Alleghanies. As this is the first prominent appearance upon the stage of the war of this General, who was destined to play so conspicuous a part in the national drama, we may pause to notice his earlier history. He was born in Philadelphia at the close of the year 1826, and was consequently now only in his thirty-fifth year, the youngest officer of his rank in the service. His father, an eminent surgeon, was noted for the boldness and success of his operations, and it was confidently predicted that the son would carry a similar energy into the field. He was educated at West Point and graduated with honor in 1846, with the rank of

2.5.4



Painted by

Alonzo Chappel.

Geo. B. McClellan

[illegible] recent Photograph from [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Brevet Second Lieutenant of Engineers. In the Mexican war he was distinguished in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco, of Molino del Rey, and for his services at the battle of Chapultepec was breveted to a captaincy, and assigned the command of a company of sappers and miners. When the army returned home we find him at West Point diligently employed in the study of military tactics, the results of which he embodied in a manual, which was adopted in the service. In the next few years he was engaged in the multifarious duties of engineering and military command, which give to the officers of the American service so large a practical experience. He superintended the construction of Fort Delaware, was with Major Marcy in the expedition for the exploration of the Red River, took part in the river and harbor survey in Texas, and in 1853, in coöperation with Governor Stevens, commanded the western division of the North Pacific Railroad route. In 1855, holding the rank of Captain in the First Regiment of Cavalry, he was selected by the War Department, one of the three commissioners who were sent to Europe to investigate the extended field of military operations and devices opened by the Crimean war. His coadjutors were Major Richard Delafield and Major A. Mordecai of the Ordnance Department. The commission was signed and the directions were drawn up by Jefferson Davis, at that time Secretary of War. Captain McClellan presented to the Department the results of his observations abroad in an elaborate quarto volume on the "Organization of European Armies and the Operations of the War," which was printed by order of Congress, and which has been accepted in a new popular edition as a standard authority on the subjects of which it treats.

The army now presenting no active field of duty to the engineering ability of Captain McClellan, in 1857 he resigned his military rank to enter into the more profitable service of the great corporation the Illinois Central Railroad, of which he was created Vice President and Engineer. At the end of three years he left this position for the Presidency of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, being at the same time General Superintendent. He was still engaged in these occupations when the rebellion of the South turned the eyes of the authorities of the North upon him as one who could not be spared from the national service. He was appointed at once by the Governor of Ohio a Major-General of the Volunteer forces of that State, and had barely entered upon his new duties when he was recalled to the United States Army, his new commission as Major-General bearing date May 14, 1861. The military department of the Ohio to which he was assigned comprised all of the States of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio and that part of Virginia north of the Kanawha river and the Maryland line, with part of Pennsylvania.

His appearance on the field in Virginia was heralded by a stirring proclamation to the people of Western Virginia, dated at Cincinnati, May 26th. "Virginians," was its language, "the General Government has long enough endured the machinations of a few factious rebels in your midst! Armed traitors have in vain endeavored to deter you from expressing your loyalty at the polls. Having failed in this infamous attempt to deprive you of the exercise of your dearest rights, they now seek to inaugurate a reign of terror, and thus force you to yield to their schemes and submit to the yoke of the traitorous conspiracy, dignified by the name of Southern Confederacy. They are destroying the property of citizens of your State, and ruining your magnificent railways. The General Government has heretofore carefully abstained from sending troops across the Ohio, or even from posting them along its banks, although frequently urged by many of your prominent citizens to do so. It determined to await the result of the State election, desirous that no one might be able to say that the slightest effort had been made from this side to influence the expression of your opinion, although the many agencies brought to bear upon you by the rebels were well known. You have now shown under the most adverse circumstances, that the great mass of the people of Western Virginia are true and loyal to the beneficent Government under which we and our fathers have lived so long. As soon as the result of the election was known, the traitors commenced their work of destruction. The General Government cannot close its ears to the demand you have made for assistance. I have ordered troops to cross the river. They come as your friends and brothers—as enemies only to the armed rebels who are preying upon you. Your homes, your families and property are safe under our protection. All your rights shall be religiously protected. Notwithstanding all that has been said by the traitors to induce you to believe that our advent among you will be signalized by interference with your slaves, understand one thing clearly: not only will we abstain from all interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their part. Now that we are in your midst, I call upon you to fly to arms and support the General Government; sever the connection that binds you to traitors; proclaim to the world that the faith and loyalty so long boasted of by the Old Dominion are still preserved in Western Virginia, and that you remain true to the Stars and Stripes."

In similar energetic phrase was his address to the soldiers of the advancing column:—"You are ordered to cross the frontier and enter upon the soil of Virginia. Your mission is to restore peace and confidence, to protect the majesty of the law and to rescue our brethren from the grasp of armed traitors. You are to act in concert with the Virginia troops and support their advance. I place under the safeguard of your honor the persons and property of the Virginians. I know that you will respect their feelings and all their rights. Preserve the strictest discipline—remember that each one of you holds in his keeping the honor of Ohio and the Union. If you are called upon to overcome armed opposition, I know that your courage is equal to the task, but remember that your only foes are the armed traitors and show mercy even to them when they are in your power, for many of them are misguided. When under your protection the loyal men of Western Virginia have been enabled to organize and arm, they can protect themselves, and you can then return to your homes with the proud satisfaction of having preserved a gallant people from destruction." The respect inculcated for "the peculiar institution" of the South is very noticeable in both these manifestoes. Nothing could be clearer or more explicit than the strong language which was employed. It might have satisfied the

South, if indeed it had been inclined to accept any assurances or facts, that the insane cry of an abolition crusade, which had been raised with such deadly effect against the Administration, was utterly groundless, for no voice from Washington checked the unsparing denunciations on this subject of the new General.

The first active military movement in this western region of Virginia was directed against a number of armed insurgents who had made their appearance on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio road at Grafton. Some injuries had been inflicted on the track in the burning of bridges over Buffalo Creek, and the well disposed inhabitants were obliged to protect themselves from the aggressions of gangs of secessionists who threatened the destruction of their property. In fact, Colonel Porterfield, who was in command of the rebels at Grafton, was especially charged at this time by Governor Letcher with cutting off the telegraph and breaking up the railroad, to prevent communication and the passage of troops between Wheeling and Washington.* It was necessary that the friends of the Union in the country should have military protection. This service was entrusted to Colonel Benjamin Franklin Kelley, a native of New Hampshire, who had been called from civil life to command the 1st Regiment of Virginia volunteers at Wheeling. Setting out with the regiment from the latter place on the 27th of May he was received at the different stations of the railroad with the utmost enthusiasm, as he alighted in the midst of a population hourly in fear of an attack from the enemy. One incident related by a reporter who accompanied the troops may serve as an indication of the spirit of the time. At Cameron, a station in Marshall County, says he, "we found a crowd assembled of three hundred, perhaps, who insisted in standing out in a pelting rain and cheering the soldiers. The report of the advance of Southern troops had been received the night before, and a hundred riflemen had been under arms guarding the town all night; and at this time men with rifles were coming in from all directions. It really looks just like what we read of as having taken place in the days of '76, when men left the plough standing in the furrow, dropped the uplifted hammer, and rushed to the defence of their country." A regiment of Ohio troops, which followed, was received with even greater demonstrations, as the people assembled on the way to hail their deliverers. Here and there bridge-burners and secessionists were hunted out and became prisoners or freed themselves by taking the oath of allegiance. Warned by these proceedings, the rebels at Grafton fled at Colonel Kelley's approach, holding their next position at Philippi, the chief town of Barbour County, twenty-two miles to the southward.

There, on the 30th May, Colonel Porterfield issued a proclamation to the people of north-western Virginia, which reads very much like the appeals of the commanders on the other side. In fact, with the important substitution of State rights and Virginia for national loyalty and Washington, there was little difference in the spirit or the terms. "Virginians," was its language, "allow me to appeal to you, in the name of our common mother, to stand by the voice of your State, and to defend her against all enemies, and especially to repel invasion from any and every quarter. Those who reside within the State, who invite invasion, or who in any manner assist, aid or abet invaders, will be treated as enemies to Virginia. I trust that no Virginian, whether native-born or adopted, will refuse to defend his State and his brothers against invasion and injury. Virginians! be true, and in due time your common mother will come to your relief. Already many of you have rallied to the support of the honor of your State and the maintenance of your liberties. Will you continue to be freemen, or will you submit to be slaves? Are you capable of governing yourselves? Will you allow the people of other States to govern you? Have you forgotten the precepts of Madison and Jefferson? Remember that the price of liberty is 'eternal vigilance.' Virginia has not made war! War has been made upon her and the time-honored principles. Shall she be vindicated in her efforts to maintain the liberties of her people, or shall she bow her head in submission to tyranny and oppression? It seems to me that the true friend of national liberty cannot hesitate. Strike for your State! Strike for your liberties! Rally! rally at once in defence of your mother!"

---

* John Letcher to Col. G. A. Porterfield. Richmond, May 25, 1861.

An attack upon these forces at Philippi was resolved upon. At this time General T. A. Morris, a distinguished graduate of West Point, arrived at Grafton, having been ordered by General McClellan to the command in Western Virginia. There were now assembled at Grafton and its vicinity, beside the Virginia troops, several Ohio and Indiana regiments. At Philippi Colonel Porterfield was understood to be at the head of a force of twelve to fifteen hundred insurgents. General Morris at once organized an expedition to attack them. This was arranged in two columns, the larger under the command of Colonel Kelley, consisting of the 1st Virginia, 9th and 16th Ohio, to move to the left on the morning of the 2d of June; the other under the command of Colonel E. Dumont, with Colonel F. W. Lander, acting aid of General McClellan, composed of portions of Colonel Crittenden's 6th and Dumont's own 7th Indiana and Colonel Steedman's 14th Ohio, to leave on the evening of the same day, that both might unite at the town the following morning. The night proved very dark and stormy, and the heavy rain added greatly to the difficulty of the long forced march. Colonel Dumont, leaving the line of the railway at Webster, brought his column first on the spot at daybreak, when, unwilling that the enemy, whose pickets were warned of his approach, should have the opportunity of escape, he promptly advanced and took up a position on a hill commanding the camp on the opposite side of the Valley river, a branch of the Monongahela, on which the town is situated. Colonel Kelley, with his Virginia regiment, having the longer march, and having been misled by his guide, who had mistaken the road, was a little later, but arrived from beyond the town to cut off the retreat as the battery of Lieutenant-Colonel Sturgis, attached to Dumont's command, opened fire. The rebels having no entrenchments, and with no artillery with them but a swivel, were unable to withstand the well directed double attack, and fled in confusion. Colonel Dumont's descent from the heights, capture of the bridge entering the town, a narrow structure some three or four hundred feet in length, where serious resistance was naturally apprehended, and pursuit of the enemy through its streets, were conducted with great gallantry. "Both parties," says Colonel Dumont, "being upon the full run, and the distance between them being quite considerable, but little execution could be done. I pursued the enemy from the bridge through the town, and for several miles beyond. At one time I thought I should be able to capture his entire baggage train; but the horses, to prevent this, were cut from many of the wagons and mounted, and the wagons and contents left as our booty. The wagons were filled with munitions of war, blankets, knapsacks, clothing, baggage of officers and men, and with a considerable amount of flour and forage." Colonel Steedman captured a large amount of tents, and a number of muskets and rifles. A few prisoners were taken, among them Captain J. W. Willey of the rebel army. Colonel Dumont states that the enemy's loss in killed and wounded was "not certainly known, as he succeeded in carrying off many of his dead. It was inconsiderable, perhaps not to exceed forty;" but this may have been an exaggerated estimate. The Union loss, he tells us, was two missing and two wounded.* Unhappily, one of the latter was Colonel Kelley, who, in the pursuit at the close of the engagement, was struck by a pistol ball in the breast; it was thought at the time fatally. The first impression among Colonel Kelley's men was, that he had been treacherously shot, and a determination had been evinced to execute summary vengeance upon the suspected person—one Simms, a clerk of the rebel quartermaster. Captain Benham of the Engineers, who, on the reception of the news at Grafton by Colonel Lander, who returned in the afternoon, had been sent forward by General Morris, to take the command at Philippi, on his arrival made a dispassionate examination of the attack upon Colonel Kelley, which satisfied him that, while it was probable Simms had inflicted the wound, it had been done in fair and open fight. Among the property captured, including six hundred rifles, Captain Benham found a portion of the baggage of Colonel Porterfield and his field and staff, which he returned to that officer. Colonel Porterfield had formerly been in the employ of the United States Coast Survey, and in that capacity it had happened that he had served under Captain Benham at Washington.

When word of the victory and the disaster to Colonel Kelley was brought to General McClellan, at Cincinnati, he sent the following dispatch, which was read to the apparently dying man, who awaited his expected fate with patriotic resignation. "I expect I shall have to die," said he, "I would be glad to live, if it might be that I might do something for my country; but if it cannot be, I shall have at least the consolation of knowing that I fell in a just cause."* Under these circumstances came General McClellan's cheering word:—"Say to Colonel Kelley that I cannot believe it possible that one who has opened his career so brilliantly can be mortally wounded. In the name of the country I thank him for his conduct, which has been the most brilliant episode of the war thus far. If it can cheer him in his last moments, tell him I cannot repair his loss, and that I only regret that I cannot be by his side to thank him in person. God bless him."[*] Happily the opening augury of the message was realized. The formidable wound was healed and, after a few months' retirement, the patient, promoted by a grateful country, was again enabled to lead his troops to victory.

---

* Col. E. Dumont's Report to Brig.-General Thomas A. Morris. Philippi, June 4, 1861.

* Wheeling *Intelligencer*, June 6, 1861.

Brigadier-General Morris, from his headquarters at Grafton, announced the rout at Philippi, in a proclamation. "Virginians, the secessionist forces are demoralized, desertions are numerous and the panic-stricken remnant has taken refuge in the passes of the mountains. Western Virginia is free from enemies to her freedom and peace. In full confidence of your ability and desire to protect yourselves, I now call upon you to come to the support of your constitutional government. I am empowered to muster you into the service of the United States, to serve only in defence of your own soil." There was, notwithstanding this hopeful declaration in reference to the peace of Western Virginia, some work before the defenders of the Union in that quarter, more serious than the easy victory at Philippi,—work which it happened to be the lot of the forces of General Morris to have their full share of performing.

The next military incident in Virginia west of the Blue Ridge, was a spirited dash of the 11th Indiana Zouave Regiment, 800 in number, led by Colonel Lewis Wallace, in a rapid march across Hampshire County, to disperse a considerable body of secessionists who were assembled at Romney. The expedition set out from Cumberland on the afternoon of the 11th of June, taking the route by railway to New Creek Station, and then by a forced night march of twenty-three miles to their place of destination. The road being "very fatiguing and rough, leading along high bluffs and narrow passes, which required great caution in passing," it was with "the utmost industry that the regiment reached Romney at 8 o'clock in the morning. "In a pass a mile and a half this side of the town," continues Colonel Wallace, in his interesting official report of the affair to the commander of the department, Major-General Patterson, at Chambersburg, "my advance guard was fired upon by a mounted picket of the enemy, who dashed ahead and alarmed the rebels. In fact, I afterwards learned that they had notice of my coming full an hour before my arrival. In approaching the place it was necessary for me to cross a bridge over the South Branch of the Potomac. A reconnoissance satisfied me that the passage of the bridge would be the chief obstacle in my way, although I could distinctly see the enemy drawn up on the bluff, which is the town site, supporting a battery of two guns, planted so as to sweep the road completely. I directed my advance guard to cross the bridge on a run, leap down the embankment at the further entrance, and observe the windows of a large brick house not further off than seventy-five yards. Their appearance was the signal for an assault. A warm fire opened from the house, which the guard returned, with no other loss than the wounding of a sergeant. The firing continued several minutes. I led a second company across the bridge, and by following up a ravine got them into a position that soon drove the enemy from the house and into a mountain to its rear. My attention was then turned to the battery over the hill. Instead of following the road, as the rebels expected, I pushed five companies in skirmishing order, and at double-quick time up a hill to the right, intending to get around the left flank of the enemy, and cut off their retreat. Hardly had my companies deployed and started forward, and got within rifle's range, before the rebels limbered up and got off over the bluffs in the hottest haste. Between their position and that of my men was a deep, precipitous gorge, the crossing of which occupied about ten minutes. When the opposite ridge was gained, we discovered the rebels, indiscriminately blent with a mass of women and children, flying as for life from the town. Having no horse, pursuit of the cannoniers was out of the question, as they went off under whip and spur. After that I quietly marched into the place, and took possession of the empty houses and a legion of negroes, who alone seemed unscared at our presence. After searching the town for arms, camp equippage, etc., I returned to Cumberland by the same road, reaching camp at 11 o'clock at night. My return was forced, owing to the fact that there was not a mile on the road that did not offer half a dozen positions for the ruin or rout of my regiment by a much smaller force.

---

[*] G. B. McClellan to Gen. T. A. Morris. Cincinnati, June 3. 1861.

"The loss of the rebels we have not been able to accurately ascertain. A citizen of Romney admitted two killed; my own surgeon dressed the wound of one man. A number of tents were taken; quite a number of guns were destroyed; and, among others, we have a major, Isaac Vandever, prisoner—a gentleman who, from accounts, has been very active in exciting rebellion, organizing troops, and impressing loyal citizens. I have also an excellent assortment of surgical stores, which, with the tents, I have taken the liberty to convert. My regiment behaved admirably, attacking coolly and in excellent order. When all behaved gallantly, I cannot single out officers for praise. Sufficient to say, they conducted themselves like veterans, and in such a manner as to entitle them to your confidence in any field. I beg to call your attention to the length of our march, 87 miles in all, 46 of which was on foot, over a continuous succession of mountains, made in 24 hours, without rest, and varied by a brisk engagement, without leaving a man behind; and what is more, my men are ready to repeat it to-morrow. I have already received your approval of my enterprise, for which I am very much obliged. One good result has come of it. The loyal men in that region have taken heart. Very shortly, I think, you will hear of another Union company from that district. Moreover, it has brought home to the insolent 'chivalry' a wholesome respect for Northern prowess."

This success was followed up a fortnight afterwards by a brilliant raid into Virginia by a small detachment of the same Indiana regiment, who in these actions were gallantly redeeming the promise alluded to in the inscription on their flag, "Remember Buena Vista!" to obliterate the memory of a retreat of Indianians on that battle field. The contest, in itself a remarkable one, became more memorable from the subsequent fortunes of the parties engaged. Ashby's rebel cavalry, then for the first time brought into view, were often heard of in the progress of the war. "I have been accustomed," wrote Colonel Wallace on the 27th of June, the day after the skirmish, in his official report, "to sending my mounted pickets, thirteen men in all, to different posts along the several approaches to Cumberland. Finding it next to impossible to get reliable information of the enemy yesterday, I united the thirteen, and directed them, if possible, to proceed to Frankfort, a town midway between this place and Romney, to see if there were rebel troops there. They went within a quarter of a mile of the place, and found it full of cavalry. Returning they overtook forty horsemen, and at once charged on them, routing and driving them back more than a mile, killing eight of them, and securing seventeen horses. Corporal Hayes, in command of my men, was desperately wounded with sabre cuts and bullets. Taking him back they halted about an hour, and were then attacked by the enemy, who were reinforced to about seventy-five men. The attack was so sudden that they abandoned the horses and crossed to a small island at the mouth of Patterson's Creek. The charge of the rebels was bold and confident, yet twenty-three fell under the fire of my pickets, close about and on the island. My fellows were finally driven off, and, scattering each man for himself, they are all in camp now. One, Corporal Hayes, of Company A, was wounded, but is recovering. One, John C. Holdingbrook, of Company B, is dead. The last was taken prisoner, and brutally murdered. Three companies went to the ground this morning, and recovered every thing belonging to my picket, except a few of the horses. The enemy were engaged all night long in boxing up their dead. Two of their officers were killed. They laid out twenty-three on the porch of a neighboring farm house. I will bury my poor fellow to-morrow. The report of the skirmish sounds like fiction, but it is not exaggerated. The fight was really one of the most desperate on record, and abounds with instances of wonderful daring and coolness."*

From a letter written from the rebel camp at Romney to Senator Mason, it would appear that the party met by Hayes in the first encounter was a detachment from Captain Ashby's company, led by his brother Dick Ashby, who is represented as "terribly cut up, one of his eyes being shot out and his head and neck badly cut by balls." Captain Ashby, it is also stated, "had 40 shots fired at him, and his escape was miraculous. His horse was shot twice and killed under him, and he was wounded slightly in the leg, which has not prevented him from pursuing the enemy." This, adds the writer, "is a fighting regiment, the chaplain and surgeon fighting first and praying and doctoring afterwards."†

---

* Colonel Lewis Wallace to Major-General McClellan, June 27, 1861. General Order of Major-General Patterson, Hagerstown, June 30, 1861

† Moore's Rebellion Record, II, 242.

CHAPTER XX.

EASTERN TENNESSEE.

Eastern Tennessee, it was confidently expected, would rank herself by the side of Western Virginia in opposition to the measures taken to alienate the State from the Union. There was a certain similarity in the position and interests of the two districts which would place them in the same relation to the other portions of their respective States and to the Southern Confederacy. In both the influences of the same mountain range of the Alleghanies were impressed upon the character and fortunes of the inhabitants. For the most part a simple, industrious, agricultural people, owning the lands which they cultivated, with comparatively few slaves among them, the dwellers on the Holston like the Virginians on the Ohio, were ardently attached to the democratic privileges and institutions which had been guaranteed to them by the Federal Government. While both regions had to contend with a hostile dominant power in their States, and while both were in like manner betrayed by the arts and treachery of their local rulers, the situation of Eastern Tennessee was in some important respects less advantageous for the preservation of the liberties of the people than that of her northern neighbor. Each had that foe to loyalty to contend with, a bold, unscrupulous, intriguing Governor and an inimical legislature, ready to deliver the State bound hand and foot to the cruel purposes of the Southern Confederacy. If one had a Letcher in the chair versed in all the dangerous arts of political intrigue, the other had an equally reckless conspirator in Harris—"King Harris," as he was popularly called, in consequence of his assumption of authority and tyrannical proceedings. In both States there was indeed a show of submitting the question of secession to a popular vote, but in both instances a treaty was formed with the rebel government, and the military resources of the State were placed at the command of Jefferson Davis before the vote was taken. Of course coercion and terrorism prevailed alike, with a deeper shade of malignity however in Tennessee, in proportion to the nearness of that State to the seat of the rebel government. The ties of Eastern Virginia to the South were those of imperfect sympathy and doubtful interests; for though a great portion of her wealth was derived from raising and selling slaves to the cotton planters, yet the great capacities of the country demanded northern skill and labor for their development; while Western Tennessee was not simply related to the South in manners and culture, but might be considered an integral part of the South itself. It was consequently a much harder task for the mountaineers of the Cumberland to contend with the wealthy slave proprietors on the Mississippi, than for a vigorous rural population bordering on

Pennsylvania to hold their own against the occupants of the worn out, delapidated estates on the James and the Rappahannock. If the chances in both cases had been equal within their borders, the contiguity of the more Southern State to the desperadoes of Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana, to say nothing of the refugee enemies of the Union in Kentucky, would have turned the scale against the efforts of the patriots of East Tennessee.

The Act of the General Assembly of Tennessee to submit to the people of the State the so-called Declaration of Independence, passed on the 6th of May, named the 8th day of June for the vote to be taken.* The loyal citizens of East Tennessee, fully impressed with the danger of the impending calamity to their political privileges, and disapproving of "the hasty and inconsiderate action" of the legislature, immediately called a Convention of delegates of the people of that region to assemble at Knoxville, the metropolis of the district, on the 30th of May, to take such counsels as might protect the liberties of the population, and promote peace and harmony among them. At the appointed day, so great was the interest manifested that more than a thousand representatives assembled, of the counties from the western declivities of the Cumberland mountains to the ascending range of the Alleghanies bordering on North Carolina; from the whole extent of the valley watered by the Holston and its numerous tributaries, and the sources of the Tennessee from Kentucky and Virginia to Georgia. The Hon. Thomas A. R. Nelson, a representative from the extreme north-eastern part of the State to the recent 36th Congress, was chosen President of the Convention, addresses were delivered by General T. D. Arnold and Senator Andrew Johnson, and an address and series of resolutions submitted to the people, denouncing the ruinous and heretical doctrine of secession as the parent of the evils afflicting the country, and condemning in particular the "pertinacity with which those in authority have labored to override the judgment of the people," and the inconsiderate and unconstitutional legislation of the State Assembly in entering into the military league with the Confederate States, and the accompanying proceedings in raising and equipping troops, thereby burdening the people with increased and insupportable taxation. "In the spirit of freemen," was the language of one of the resolutions, "with an anxious desire to avoid the waste of the blood and the treasure of our State, we appeal to the people of Tennessee, while it is yet in their power, to come up in the majesty of their strength and restore Tennessee to her true position."

These moderate resolves were seconded by the glowing popular appeal of the President of the Convention. "It is said," were his words, "this is a war between the North and the South, and we are compelled to take sides. I do not so regard it. It is a war between the Government of the United States and rebellious citizens who have committed treason against that government. Neither is it a war between Lincoln and the South. It is a war between the Constitution and those who have violated it; a war between law and no law—between order and anarchy—between freedom and despotism—between right and wrong. It is a war in which the odds are fearfully against us; but this should have no weight were justice on our side. It is a war the end of which no man can foresee. Thus far the South has bragged and boasted and bantered. The sluggish North has at last aroused, and difficulties and dangers beset us on every hand. In the depreciation of property, the enhanced prices of goods, increased taxation, lawless violence, the threats against free speech and a free press, a military array in every civil district, a wild, reckless end unprincipled legislation, we can scarcely see the beginning of the end. 'The end is not yet.'

---

* Ante, p. 192.

"Freemen of Tennessee! if you are allowed to vote on the 8th of June, it is yet in your power to arrest the despotism of 'King Harris' and retrieve the blunders of a misguided legislature. It is yet in your power to prevent a war in our midst; to save the lives of our citizens; to preserve our cities, towns and villages, and to secure the blessings which heaven has promised to the peacemaker. It may be yet in your power to rescue the Union itself, and preserve the Stars and Stripes as a priceless legacy to posterity. If a fair election is held and Tennessee is voted out of the Union, it behooves us all to act together to avoid civil war among ourselves. If the election is carried by force or fraud, then let every friend of the Union throughout the State cry 'Every man to his tents, O Israel!' Should that dreadful alternative be forced upon you,

> "Snatch from the ashes of your sires
> The embers of their former fires,
> And he who in the strife expires,
> Will add to theirs a name of fear,
> That Tyranny will quake to hear."

When the vote ratifying the act of secession was taken, it was found that the people of the eastern counties, at least, had not disregarded the appeal. Spite of the hostile legions encamped upon her soil and all attempts at intimidation, East Tennessee stood manfully to her principles. In February she had given 34,000 votes against calling a convention; in June, when the rest of the State had fallen off from a like devotion to the Union, the vote of her 29 counties reached 32,923. The secession vote, which had stood in that region in February 7,550, in June was raised to 14,780, but the difference was accounted for by half of that number being rebel troops, having no authority under the Constitution to vote at any election.* The vote of the entire State, as proclaimed by Governor Harris, stood 104,019 for separation; 47,238, against. In the larger number were included in this official return 6,241 voting in the camps. The entire vote in February had been for no convention 70,000, against 50,000, and but three secessionists had been elected in the State. Such, in four months, was the change brought about in Tennessee, against the better judgment of the people, by the acts of designing politicians, and the excitement consequent on the aggressive measures of the cotton States, at Sumter and elsewhere, stirring up prejudices and strife, and precipitating the country into ruinous, devastating war.

The loyal men of East Tennessee were not to endure this result with complacency. The Knoxville Convention, which had adjourned subject to the call of its officers, after the decision of the State had been pronounced by the popular vote, was summoned to meet at the north-eastern frontier town of Greenville, on the 17th June. The delegates assembled at the appointed place and, on the fourth day of the session, adopted as the result of their deliberations a Declaration of Grievances, followed by a series of resolutions, looking to the separation of Eastern Tennessee as an independent political power, from the civil conflict into which the State was throwing itself. No more instructive memorial will be handed down to posterity of the grounds and proceedings of the rebellion in the border States won over to participate in the fatal strife than this document. Reviewing the recent election and the manner in which it was conducted, it was pronounced free, with but few exceptions, in no part of the State other than East Tennessee. In the larger parts of the Middle and West Tennessee, no speeches or discussions in favor of the Union were permitted. Union papers were not allowed to circulate. Measures were taken in some parts of West Tennessee, in defiance of the Constitution and laws, which allow folded tickets, to have the ballot numbered in such manner as to mark and expose the Union votes. A disunion paper, *The Nashville Gazette*, in urging the people to vote an open ticket, declared that 'a thief takes a pocket-book or effects an entrance into forbidden places by stealthy means—a Tory, in voting, usually adopts pretty much the same course of procedure. Disunionists, in many places, had charge of the polls, and Union men, when voting, were denounced as Lincolnites and Abolitionists. The unanimity of the votes in many large counties where, but a few weeks ago, the Union sentiment was so strong, proves beyond doubt that Union men were overawed by the tyranny of the military power and the still greater tyranny of a corrupt and subsidized press. In the City of Memphis, where 5,613 votes were cast, but five freemen had the courage to vote for the Union, and these were stigmatized in the public press as 'ignorant traitors, who opposed the popular edict.' Our earnest appeal to our brethren in the other divisions of the State was published then only to a small extent, and the members and names of those who composed our Convention, as well as the counties they represented, were suppressed, and the effort made to impress the minds of the people that East Tennessee was favorable to secession. *The Memphis Appeal*, a prominent disunion paper, published a false account of our proceedings, under the head, 'The Traitors in Council,' and styled us, who represented every county but two in East Tennessee, 'the little batch of disaffected traitors who hover round the noxious atmosphere of Andrew Johnson's home.' Our meeting was telegraphed to *The New Orleans Delta*, and it was falsely said that we had passed a resolution recommending submission if 70,000 votes were not cast against secession. The despatch adds that 'The Southern Rights men are determined to hold possession of the State, though they should be in a minority.' Volunteers are allowed to vote in and out of the State in flagrant violation of the Constitution. From the moment the election was over, and before any detailed statement of the vote in the different counties had been published, and before it was possible to ascertain the result, it was exultingly proclaimed that separation had been carried by from 50,000 to 70,000 votes. This was to prepare the public mind to enable 'the secessionists to hold possession of the State, though they should be in a minority.' The final result is to be announced by a disunion Governor, whose existence depends upon the success of secession, and no provision is made by law for an examination of the vote by disinterested persons, or even for contesting the election.

---

* Brownlow's "Rise, Progress and Decline of Secession," p. 222.

"For these and other causes," the Declaration continued, "we do not regard the result of the election as expressive of the will of a majority of the freemen of Tennessee. Had the election everywhere been conducted as it was in East Tennessee we would entertain a different opinion. Here no effort was made to suppress secession papers, or prevent secession speeches or votes, although an overwhelming majority of the people were against secession. Here no effort has been made to prevent the formation of military companies, or obstruct the transportation of armies, or tc prosecute those who violated the laws of the United States and of Tennessee against treason. The Union men of East Tennessee, anxious to be neutral in the contest, were content to enjoy their own opinions, and allow the utmost latitude of opinion and action to those who differed from them. Had the same toleration prevailed in other parts of the State, we have no doubt that a majority of our people would have voted to remain in the Union. But, if this view is erroneous, we have the same (and, as we think, a much better) right to remain in the Government of the United States than the other divisions of Tennessee have to secede from it.

"We prefer to remain attached to the Government of our fathers. The Constitution of the United States has done us no wrong. The Congress of the United States has passed no law to oppress us. The President of the United States has made no threat against the law-abiding people of Tennessee. Under the Government of the United States we have enjoyed, as a nation, more of civil and religious freedom than any other people under the whole heaven. We believe there is no cause for rebellion or secession on the part of the people of Tennessee. None was assigned by the Legislature in their miscalled Declaration of Independence. No adequate cause can be assigned. The Select Committee of that body asserted a gross and inexcusable falsehood in their address to the people of Tennessee, when they declared that the Government of the United States had made war upon them. The secession cause has thus far been sustained by deception and falsehood; by falsehoods as to the action of Congress; by false despatches as to the battles that were never fought, and victories that were never won; by false accounts as to the purposes of the President; by false representations as to the views of Union men; and by false pretences as to the facility with which the secession troops would take possession of the capital and capture the highest officers of the Government. The cause of secession or rebellion has no charms for us, and its progress has been marked by the most alarming and dangerous attacks upon the public liberty. In other States as well as our own, its whole course threatens to annihilate the last vestige of freedom."

The enumeration of the results of the rebellion, which had even then followed in the infancy of its career, is sufficiently striking:—"While peace and prosperity have blessed us in the Government of the United States, the following may be enumerated as some of the fruits of secession: It was urged forward by members of Congress, who were sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, and were themselves supported by the Government. It was effected without consultation with all the States interested in the Slavery question, and without exhausting peaceable remedies. It has plunged the country into civil war, paralyzed our commerce, interfered with the whole trade and business of our country, lessened the value of our property, destroyed many of the pursuits of life, and bids fair to involve the whole nation in irretrievable bankruptcy and ruin. It has changed the entire relations of States, and adopted constitutions without submitting them to a vote of the people, and where such a vote has been authorized, it has been upon the condition prescribed by Senator Mason of Virginia, that those who voted the Union ticket 'must leave the State.' It has advocated a constitutional monarchy, a king and a dictator, and is, through *The Richmond Press*, at this moment, recommending to the Convention in Virginia a restriction of the right of suffrage, and 'in severing connection with the Yankees to abolish every vestige of resemblance to the institutions of that detested race.' It has formed military leagues, passed military bills, and opened the door for oppressive taxation, without consulting the people, and then, in mockery of a free election, has required them, by their votes, to sanction its usurpations under the penalties of moral proscription, or at the point of the bayonet. It has offered a premium for crime, in directing the discharge of volunteers from criminal prosecutions, and in recommending the Judges not to hold their courts. It has stained our statute-book with the repudiation of Northern debts, and has greatly violated the Constitution by attempting, through its unlawful extension, to destroy the right of suffrage. It has called upon the people in the State of Georgia, and may soon require the people of Tennessee, to contribute all their surplus cotton, corn, wheat, bacon, beef, etc., to the support of pretended Governments, alike destitute of money and credit. It has attempted to destroy the accountability of public servants to the people by secret legislation, and has set the obligation of an oath at defiance. It has passed laws declaring it treason to say or do any thing in the favor of the Government of the United States, and such a law is now before, and we apprehend will soon be passed by, the Legislature of Tennessee. It has attempted to destroy, and we fear soon utterly prostrate, the freedom of speech and of the press. It has involved the Southern States in a war whose success is hopeless, and which must ultimately lead to the ruin of the people. Its bigoted, overbearing, and intolerant spirit has already subjected the people of East Tennessee to many petty grievances; our people have been insulted; our flags have been fired upon and torn down; our houses have been rudely entered; our families subjected to insult; our peaceable meetings interrupted; our women and children shot at by a merciless soldiery; our towns pillaged; our citizens robbed, and some of them assassinated and murdered. No effort has been spared to deter the Union men of East Tennessee from the expression of their free thoughts. The penalties of treason have been threatened against them, and murder and assassination have been openly encouraged by leading secession journals. As secession has been thus overbearing and intolerant, while in the minority in East Tennessee, nothing better can be expected of the pretended majority than wild, unconstitutional and oppressive legislation; an utter contempt and disregard of law; a determination to force every Union man in the State to swear to the support of a constitution he abhors to yield his money and property to aid a cause he detests, and to become the object of scorn and derision, as well as the victim of intolerable and relentless oppression."

In view of these considerations, it was resolved to appoint O. P. Temple of Knox, John Netherland of Hawkins, and James P. McDowell of Greene, Commissioners to prepare a memorial and cause the same to be presented to the General Assembly of Tennessee, asking its consent that the counties comprising East Tennessee, and such counties in Middle Tennessee as desire to coöperate with them, may form and erect a separate State. A resolution was also adopted providing for the choice of delegates to a new General Convention, to be held in the town of Kingston, and called together when the President or officers of the present Convention might deem expedient. Whatever, under other circumstances, might have been the fate of these efforts to maintain an independent course, but little could now be expected from them. In fact, it was too late for consideration or forbearance. The State had abandoned reason for the work of violence, and had drifted into a vortex from which nothing could rescue it but the strong interposition of the despised and rejected Old Government. So far from upholding the independence of their mountain region, the loyal men of Eastern Tennessee, after an ineffectual struggle—betrayed, hunted, imprisoned, driven into exile, and oppressed by a foreign soldiery—were compelled to wait in sorrow and anguish the slow progress of the months, while treason was working out its evil destiny, till the day of deliverance came. Thousands crossed the mountains by stealth to serve in the ranks of the Union army, that they might return to their homes under the flag of the Republic, to rescue their families and friends from the intolerable tyranny which oppressed them.

But though proscribed and under a baleful interdict for a time, Eastern Tennessee, through her representative men, was never silent in the affairs of the country. Driven from their mountain homes, they found themselves introduced to a larger theatre of action, and, from the advisers of a country or a district, became the eloquent and powerful supporters of the nation. Thousands to whom Eastern Tennessee had been an unknown land, hidden away in the unsocial seclusion of the Alleghanies, now for the first time became acquainted with her natural advantages, her resources, her opportunities for the culture and protection of an industrious, liberty-loving people, as her Johnsons, Nelsons, Maynards, Brownlows, and others, loudly and resolutely raised their voices for the preservation of the Union. Of these, among the foremost was Andrew Johnson, who, continuing to hold his seat in the United States Senate as the staunch vindicator of the old loyalty of Tennessee, not only spoke for her interests, but stood forth a pillar of strength in upholding the cause of the nation. His simple history has some striking points of interest, exhibiting him as the representative of a new element of industrial progress in the culture and development of the South. His career, indeed, was struck out on a different path from that of the self-styled social aristocracy of which so much was said in its relation to the rebellion. Born in North Carolina about 1812, the son of poor parents, he had in early life been denied the opportunities of education, and without even knowing how to read, had been apprenticed to a tailor. His wife, it is said, first taught him his letters. Pursuing the trade which he had acquired, he crossed the mountains to Tennessee, where he established himself in his home at Greenville, where, having secured a competency by his industry, he was led by his natural vigor and strength of mind, to take part in public affairs as a politician and speaker. He was elected to the State Legislature, then to Congress, was chosen Governor of Tennessee, and, in 1857, became Senator of the United States. His patriotic course in that body, in the midst of the seceding members, in the last session of Mr. Buchanan's administration, is not likely soon to be forgotten. To him and to Judge Holt of Kentucky, the cause of the Union certainly owed much in those dark days of faithlessness and defection. He was the expounder of a sound nationality to the people, who recognized in his straightforward, manly utterance and home-felt arguments the true interpretation of their sympathies and interests. So lively an impression did his course make upon the people of the border States, that, on his passage to Tennessee after the adjournment of Congress, he was mobbed and insulted by a band of secession sympathizers, at a railway station, on his way through Virginia. The sagacity of these men went some way to relieve their brutality. They knew the danger to their infamous cause of the words and influence of the patriotic man whom they assaulted.

When Congress again met in extra session, and the acts of the President in the work of arresting the rebellion, were passed in review, by no one were they more warmly upheld than by Senator Johnson, whose speech of the 27th of July, in the Senate, is one of the enduring records of the season. Whatever doubts there might be of others—for it was not always easy to define the opinions of border State Democrats — there could be no mistaking his position, as he dwelt upon the elements of the rebellion and the means necessary to be taken for its suppression. The key-note of his speech was the assertion of the right of the people to the enjoyment of the government which they had founded. "It is a contest," said he, "for the existence of the Government against internal foes and traitors. It is a contest whether a people are capable of governing themselves or not. We have reached that crisis in our country's history, and the time has arrived when, if the Government has the power, if the people are capable of self-government, and can establish this great truth, that it should be done." In pursuance of this train of thought, he reviewed the indications which had made their appearance in the South, in the progress of the rebellion, of a desire or intention to change the form of that Republican government which the Constitution had guaranteed to all the States. He cited the declarations of Southern editors — of Toombs of Georgia, of the social circles of Charleston, as reported by the *Times*' correspondent, Mr. Russell, of an ardent admiration or decided preference for monarchical institutions in comparison with the simple democracy of the United States. Coming, in the course of these citations, upon a passage of the

Memphis *Bulletin* suggesting the necessity of a powerful dictatorship to keep the State in the interest of the rebellion, and ending with the round assertion, only saved from ridicule by the tragedy behind it, "Let Governor Harris be a king, if need be, and Baugh a despot," he exclaimed, "Who is Baugh? The Mayor of Memphis. The mock reign of terror gotten up under this doctrine of secession is so great, that we find that they are appealing to the one-man power. They are even willing to make the Mayor of the city a despot, and Isham G. Harris, a little petty Governor of Tennessee, a king. He is to be made king over the State that contains the bones of the immortal, the illustrious Jackson. Isham G. Harris a king! Or Jeff. Davis a Dictator, and Isham G. Harris one of his satraps. He a king over the free and patriotic people of Tennessee! Isham G. Harris to be my king? Yes, sir, my king! I know the man. I know his elements. I know the ingredients that constitute the compound called Isham G. Harris. King Harris to be my master and the master of the people that I have the proud and conscious satisfaction of representing on this floor! Mr. President, he should not be my slave!"

It is not necessary that we should here pursue Senator Johnson's animated exposure of the intrigues in which the conspiracy was born, and of the desperate designs which had been avowed and acted upon by the rebel leaders in its prosecution. One passage, however, may be given as a striking example of his manner. Speaking of the conspirators and their motives, he asked, "What is the real cause? Disappointed ambition; an unhallowed ambition. Certain men could not wait any longer, and they seized this occasion to do what they had been wanting to do for a long time—break up the Government. If they could not rule a large country, they thought they might rule a small one. Hence one of the prime movers in the Senate ceased to be a Senator, and passed out to be President of the Southern Confederacy. Another, that was bold enough on this floor to proclaim himself a rebel, retired as a Senator, and became Secretary of State. All perfectly disinterested, no ambition about it! Another, Mr. Benjamin of Louisiana—one that understands something about the idea of dividing garments; who belongs to that tribe that parted the garments of our Saviour, and for his vesture cast lots—went out of this body and was made Attorney-General, to show his patriotism and disinterestedness—nothing else! Mr. Slidell, disinterested altogether, is to go as minister to France. I might enumerate many such instances. This is all patriotism, pure disinterestedness! Do we not see where it all ends? Disappointed, impatient, unhallowed ambition. There has been no cause for breaking up this Government; there have been no rights denied, no privileges trampled upon under the Constitution and Union, that might not have been remedied more effectually in the Union than outside of it. What rights are to be attained outside of the Union? The seceders have violated the Constitution, trampled it under foot; and what is their condition now? Upon the abstract idea that they had a right to secede, they have gone out; and what is the consequence? Oppression, taxation, blood and civil war. They reasoned upon the principle of a madman, who happened to discover somehow that man had dominion over the beasts of the forest; and because he had, he said he had a right to shear a wolf. A friend remonstrated with him, and asked him if he had considered the danger and the difficulty of the attempt to shear a wolf; and after the shearing was over, what would it be worth? 'Oh no,' said he, in the midst of his frenzy and madness, 'I have a right to shear a wolf, and therefore I will shear a wolf.' Yes, they have sheared the wolf, and what has come? They have gone out of the Union; and, I repeat again, they have got taxes, usurpations, blood and civil war."

In reference to his own State, and especially to that portion of it, Eastern Tennessee, which looked more immediately to his protection, he said of the wrongs endured by his people at the hands of the rebels:—"Since I left my home, having only one way to leave the State through two or three passes coming out through Cumberland Gap, I have been advised that they had even sent their armies to blockade these passes in the mountains, as they say, to prevent Johnson from returning with arms and munitions to place in the hands of the people to vindicate their rights, repel invasion, and put down domestic insurrection and rebellion. Yes, sir, there they stand in arms environing a population of three hundred and twenty-five thousand loyal, brave, patriotic, and unsubdued people; but yet powerless, and not in a condition to vindicate their rights. Hence I come to the Government, and I do not ask it as a suppliant, but I demand it as a constitutional right, that you give us protection, give us arms and munitions; and if they cannot be got there in any other way, to take them there with an invading army, and deliver the people from the oppression to which they are now subjected. We claim to be the State. The other divisions may have seceded and gone off; and if this Government will stand by and permit those portions of the State to go off, and not enforce the laws and protect the loyal citizens there, we cannot help it; but we still claim to be the State, and if two-thirds have fallen off, or have been sunk by an earthquake, it does not change our relation to this Government. If the Government will let them go, and not give us protection the fault is not ours; but if you will give us protection we intend to stand as a State, as a part of this Confederacy, holding to the flag that was borne by Washington through a seven years' struggle for independence and separation from the mother country. We demand it according to law; we demand it upon the guarantees of the Constitution. You are bound to guaranty to us a republican form of government, and we ask it as a constitutional right. We do not ask you to interfere as a party, as your feelings or prejudices may be one way or other in reference to the parties of the country; but we ask you to interfere as a Government according to the Constitution. Of course we want your sympathy, and your regard, and your respect; but we ask your interference on constitutional grounds.

"The amendments to the Constitution, which constitute the bill of rights, declare that 'a well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' Our people are denied this right secured to them in their own constitution and the Constitution of the United States; yet we hear no complaints here of violations of the Constitution in this respect. We ask the Government to interpose to secure us this constitutional right. We want the passes in our mountains opened, we want deliverance and protection for a downtrodden and oppressed people who are struggling for their independence without arms. If we had had ten thousand stand of arms and ammunition when the contest commenced, we should have asked no further assistance. We have not got them. We are a rural people; we have villages and small towns—no large cities. Our population is homogenous, industrious, frugal, brave, independent; but harmless and powerless, and rode over by usurpers. You may be too late in coming to our relief; or you may not come at all, though I do not doubt that you will come; they may trample us under foot; they may convert our plains into graveyards, and the caves of our mountains into sepulchres; but they will never take us out of this Union, or make us a land of slaves—no, never. We intend to stand as firm as adamant, and as unyielding as our own majestic mountains that surround us. Yes, we will profit by their example, resting immovably upon their basis. We will stand as long as we can; and if we are overpowered, and liberty shall be driven from the land, we intend before she departs, to take the flag of our country, with a stalwart arm, and a patriotic heart, and an honest tread, and place it upon the summit of the loftiest and most majestic mountain. We intend to plant it there, and leave it, to indicate to the inquirer who may come in after times, the spot where the Goddess of Liberty lingered and wept for the last time, before she took her flight from a people once prosperous, free and happy. We ask the Government to come to our aid. We love the Constitution as made by our fathers. We have confidence in the integrity and capacity of the people to govern themselves. We have lived entertaining these opinions; we intend to die entertaining them. The battle has commenced. The President has placed it upon the true ground. It is an issue on the one hand for the people's Government, and its overthrow on the other. We have commenced the battle of freedom. It is freedom's cause. We are resisting usurpation and oppression. We will triumph; we must triumph. Right is with us. A great and fundamental principle of right, that lies at the foundation of all things, is with us. We may meet with impediments, and may meet with disasters, and here and there a defeat; but ultimately freedom's cause must triumph, for—

> 'Freedom's battle once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won.'

Yes, we must triumph. Though sometimes I cannot see my way clear in matters of this kind, as in matters of religion, when my facts give out, when my reason fails me, I draw largely upon my faith. My faith is strong, based on the eternal principles of right, that a thing so monstrously wrong as this rebellion is, cannot triumph. Can we submit to it? Can bleeding justice submit to it? Is the Senate, are the American people, prepared to give up the graves of Washington and Jackson, to be encircled and governed and controlled by a combination of traitors and rebels? I say let the battle go on—it is freedom's cause—until the Stars and Stripes (God bless them) shall again be unfurled upon every cross road, and from every house top throughout the Confederacy, North and South. Let the Union be reinstated; let the law be enforced; let the Constitution be supreme. If the Congress of the United States were to give up the tombs of Washington and Jackson, we should have rising in our midst another Peter the Hermit, in a much more righteous cause—for ours is true, while his was a delusion—who would appeal to the American people and point to the tombs of Washington and Jackson, in the possession of those who are worse than the infidel and the Turk who held the Holy Sepulchre. I believe the American people would start of their own accord, when appealed to, to redeem the graves of Washington and Jackson and Jefferson, and all the other patriots who are lying within the limits of the Southern Confederacy. I do not believe they would stop the march, until again the flag of this Union would be placed over the graves of those distinguished men. There will be an uprising. Do not talk about Republicans now; do not talk about Democrats now; do not talk about Whigs or Americans now; talk about your country and the Constitution and the Union. Save that; preserve the integrity of the Government; once more place it erect among the nations of the earth and then if we want to divide about questions that may arise in our midst, we have a Government to divide it."

Another figure of some interest in the annals of Eastern Tennessee, at this time, was the Rev. William G. Brownlow, familiarly known to the public as Parson Brownlow, a bold, vigorous controversialist, who, in the columns of his weekly newspaper, the Knoxville *Whig*, launched the fiercest thunders of his rhetoric and personal invective against the secessionists who beset him. Privileged by his profession as a Methodist clergyman, though there were regions in the South where that would have been of but little avail, and probably more by the influence of his press and his intimacy with the public men of the region, his loudest denunciations of the disunionists were for a long time suffered to pass without interruption other than the threats of the faction he opposed; but at length with other patriots he was persecuted and prescribed, compelled to hide himself from the storm, to discontinue his newspaper, and then to undergo a cruel imprisonment, the story of which, and of the sufferings of his associates, as it is recorded in the diary of these dark hours, which he has given to the public, recalls some of the bloodiest scenes of the proscription in the French Revolution. Mr. Brownlow, with many other occupants of Eastern Tennessee, was a native of Virginia. His parents were poor, and dying when the son was about ten years of age, he was left to a life of hard labor in his youth, completing this first stage of his education in an apprenticeship to the trade of a house carpenter. He then applied himself to study, and entered the Methodist Travelling Ministry—a school of the world by no means ill adapted to develop the qualities of an earnest manly nature. He travelled ten years in this profession without intermission. Among his circuits at this period was a ministerial journey through South Carolina at the height of the nullification discussion, in which he took a part, bearing strong and decided testimony to his sense of the value of the services of General Jackson in suppressing that incipient rebellion. "South Carolina," he wrote and published in a pamphlet in 1832, in the midst of the nullifiers, "is looking to the formation of an independent *Province*, but will not be allowed any such privilege, as her leading men will infer from the proclamation of Old Hickory. * * This attempt by mob-law to nullify the laws of the General Government is but the development of a well-planned scheme for the ulterior wicked purpose of destroying our Government. It is a wild, visionary and supremely ridiculous scheme, and will be put down, at all hazards, by General Jackson. In fact, he has now crushed it out, and I rejoice in its overthrow, though it may starve me out and drive me from your limits. I shall fall back into Tennessee, where the people appreciate the blessings of the best Government in the world, and where the gospel is likely to produce some other effect than that of arraying the people against the legal and constituted authorities of the land." The man who wrote thus in 1832 was not to be taken off his guard by the rebellion of 1861,—the full-grown treason which he had known in its cradle. He commenced the editorship of the Knoxville *Whig* about 1840, and had since that time been a devoted advocate of the political principles which the name of the paper implied. Of course in that period he had been in opposition to the democrat Andrew Johnson, but the present rebellion, by the sympathy of a common persecution, had removed all disagreement on that score. As he took occasion to say in one of the speeches in his triumphal progress to the North after his liberation, "I have fought that man for twenty-five long and terrible years; I fought him systematically, perseveringly and untiringly; but it was upon the old issues of whiggery and democracy; and now we will fight for one another. We have merged in Tennessee all other parties and predilections in this great question of the Union."

CHAPTER XXI.

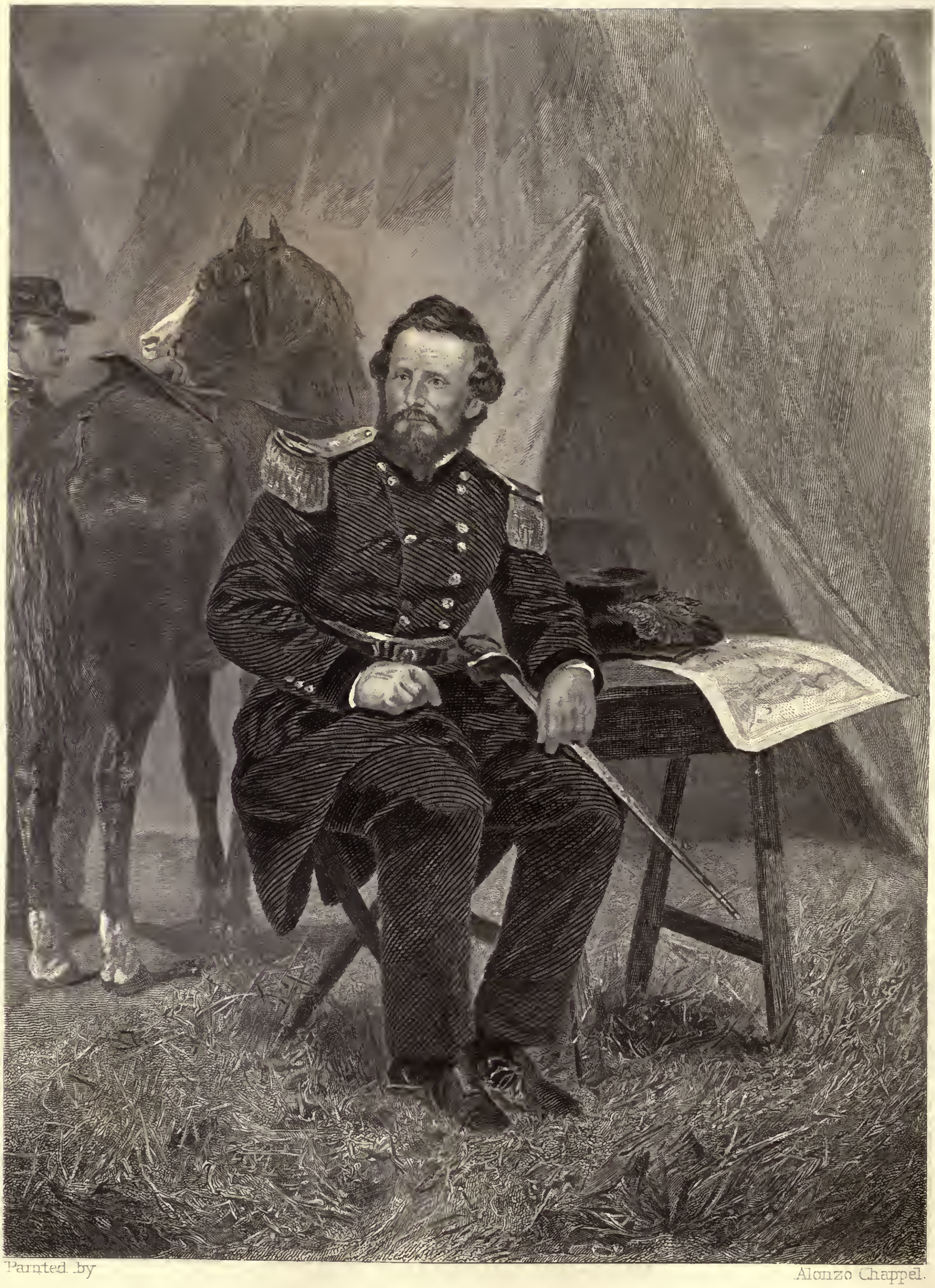
PROCEEDINGS IN MISSOURI.

NEXT to the situation of affairs on the Potomac, the condition of Missouri became a subject of anxious solicitude at the outbreak of the rebellion. The position of this rich State, prosperous and everywhere abounding in elements of wealth, controlling the great highways of western travel, influencing Illinois and Kentucky on the east, bordered on the south by Arkansas, a bulwark and protection to Kansas on the west, rendered its possession of the foremost importance to the contending parties. In a national point of view, to relinquish Missouri to the rebellion would be to make the Mississippi the western boundary of the United States, abandon at once the vast region of the Territories, and surrender the very principle of the struggle. There were other States which might be left to their folly to reap the fruits of the war and repent at leisure, but there could be no such indifference toward Missouri. To give up the State would be fatal to the cause of Union and the Government. It must be held at all hazards and by every effort. The task thus imperative, it very soon became evident, was attended with no slight difficulties. A large portion of the population, hardened in the rough manners of frontier life, had already shown themselves, in their participation in the affairs of Kansas, ready for any deed of violence or usurpation undertaken in behalf of slavery. The sympathies also of many wealthy slaveholders throughout the State were with the South. The Governor, Claiborne F. Jackson, fully represented the old democratic proslavery party, strongly imbued with Southern sympathies and in alliance with Southern leaders, which had long held the State in subjection. On the other hand, throughout the State north of the Missouri river, and particularly in the large German population of St. Louis, there was a numerous body of intelligent freemen, devoted to the free soil principles of the administration, animated with a love of the Union, and ready to defend the heritage for their children with their lives. Nor were many of the slaveholders themselves indifferent to the blessings of the national government under the old flag of the Republic, as was fully shown in the result of the election of representatives to the Convention which had been ordered by the Legislature. When the vote was taken the unconditional Union ticket was everywhere in the ascendant.

Unhappily, the Governor was thoroughly disaffected to the Government. We have seen his harsh and disloyal reply to the Secretary of War in answer to the call for troops for the National defence.* A fortnight after, on the 3d of May, in a message to the Legislature of Missouri, he denounced the Proclamation of the President as unconstitutional, and while avoiding a direct recommendation of the secession of the State, declared its "interest and sympathies identical with those of the slaveholding States, and necessarily uniting its destiny with theirs." With a strange disregard of the northern geographical position of the State, and the character of its neighbors on the north, east and west, and the avowed diversity of opinion of its citizens on its domestic policy, he had the hardihood to add that "the similarity of our social and political institutions, our industrial interests, our sympathies, habits and tastes, our common origin, territorial contiguity, all concur in pointing out our duty in regard to the separation now taking place between the States of the old Federal Union." He therefore recommended the arming the State immediately, enjoining obedience to the constituted authorities, meaning himself and not the Government of the Union, and invited an "endeavor ultimately to unite all our citizens in a cordial coöperation for the preservation of our honor, the security of our property and the performance of all those high duties imposed upon us by our obligations to our families, our country, and our God." The design or tendency of all these piously and patriotically worded inculcations was evidently to manage the affairs of the State in the interests of the Southern Confederacy. Meanwhile he set forth a policy of armed neutrality—a dangerous proceeding for the liberties of the country when the use of that army depended upon his own treasonable inclinations. The efforts of the Legislature were directly bent to hold military possession of the State, which was

---

* Ante, p. 128.



Painted by Alonzo Chappel.

N. Lyon

Likeness from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

Entered according to act of Cong [illegible] by Johnson Fry & Co in the clerks office of the district court for the southern [illegible]

divided into districts, in which camps of instruction were to be formed. The city of St. Louis, the stronghold of loyalty to the national authorities, was placed under the control of the Governor, by assigning to him the appointment of police, who were to take the place of the Union Republican officers. The latter were discharged and their places filled by secessionists.* While these and the like preparations were being made under the legislative sanction, the popular convention had met and adjourned, after passing an ordinance or declaration of the adherence of Missouri to the Union. The protection of the cause was left to the National Government. A President from Illinois was not likely to be insensible to the merits of the situation. We accordingly find him alert from the beginning, intent upon the preservation of the national property and ready to take such measures as might be required for the safety of the State.

Fortunately, there were two persons of commanding genius and in positions of influence at St. Louis, to second his policy—one the eminent politician, Francis P. Blair, Jr., the other an officer of the army, Captain Lyon, in charge of the arsenal, and, in the absence of General Harney, the commander of the department, the chief military authority at the place. No men better understood the demands of the times and the peculiar exigencies of the State. Son of the eminent editor of the *Globe* newspaper, brother to a member of the cabinet, a disciple of that keen-sighted statesman and true prophet of events, Senator Benton, a member of Congress, Mr. Blair stood forward eminently the bulwark of the national cause in Missouri. Aware of the dangers which threatened the loyalty of the State, he had early turned his attention to thwart the schemes of Governor Jackson and his fellow secessionists. Previously to the action of the Legislature and the formation of the hostile camps, he had bent his efforts to the organization of a voluntary military guard, ready at call to defend the liberties of the State. These men, citizens of St. Louis, largely drawn from the German population, became the nucleus of the new national army on the soil of St. Louis.

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, of the 2d United States Infantry, in command at the arsenal, was a true soldier of the Republic, single-hearted in his efforts for the public good, solely animated by a love of country. A native of Ashford, Connecticut, and descendant on the mother's side from Colonel Knowlton, of Revolutionary fame at Bunker Hill and Harlaem Plains, he was by instinct and culture the model of an American soldier. Brought up in boyhood, the son of a farmer, in the simple rural life of New England, he had received a military education at West Point, and been sent forth, 2d Lieutenant in the 2d Infantry, to illustrate that institution in the Indian war in Florida, and the Mexican campaigns of General Scott, in which he greatly distinguished himself. He was at the siege of Vera Cruz and at the battle of Cerro Gordo, charged and captured at the head of his company a battery of three cannon. He also distinguished himself by his valor at Contreras and Churubusco, for which he was brevetted Captain, and was wounded in the assault upon the city of Mexico. Subsequently employed in California, and particularly in Kansas, during the season of its infant trials, he had learnt in the school of experience the lesson of freedom. In the canvass for the Presidency, he had served the Republican cause by his pen, advocating the election of Mr. Lincoln as emphatically a man of and for the people.

---

* Sketch of the War in Missouri. *Continental Monthly*, April, 1862.

The first active proceeding at St. Louis, under instructions from the Government at Washington, was the removal, on the 25th of April, by a party from Illinois, of a large quantity of arms from the United States arsenal—an important establishment, amply stored with the various munitions of war. With the examples in mind of the robbery of the public property in Virginia, North Carolina and other States, and the obvious purposes of the Missouri Legislature to control all military movements in her borders, the delivery of the arms in the presence of the secession authorities of St. Louis was considered, at the time, a feat of some nicety, as the reader may gather from an animated account of the affair communicated from Springfield to the Chicago *Tribune* a few days after.

"I am now," says the writer, "able to give a complete and accurate narrative of the transfer of the 21,000 stand of arms from St. Louis to Springfield. Captain James H. Stokes of Chicago, late of the regular army, volunteered to undertake the perilous mission, and Governor Yates placed in his hands the requisition of the Secretary of War for 10,000 muskets. Captain Stokes went to St. Louis and made his way as rapidly as possible to the arsenal. He found it surrounded by an immense mob, and the postern gates all closed. His utmost efforts to penetrate the crowd were for a long time unavailing. The requisition was shown. Captain Lyon doubted the possibility of executing it. He said the arsenal was surrounded by a thousand spies, and every movement was watched and reported at the headquarters of the secessionists, who could throw an overwhelming force upon them at any moment. Captain Stokes represented that every hour's delay was rendering the capture of the arsenal more certain; and the arms must be removed to Illinois now or never. Major Callender agreed with him, and told him to take them at his own time and in his own way. This was Wednesday night. Captain Stokes had a spy in the camp, whom he met at intervals in a certain place in the city. On Thursday he received information that Governor Jackson had ordered two thousand armed men down from Jefferson City, whose movements could only contemplate a seizure of the arsenal, by occupying the heights around it, and planting batteries thereon. The job would have been an easy one. They had already planted one battery on the St. Louis levée, and another at Powder Point, a short distance below the arsenal. Captain Stokes immediately telegraphed to Alton to have the steamer City of Alton drop down to the arsenal, landing about midnight. He then returned to the arsenal and commenced moving the boxes of guns, weighing some three hundred pounds each, down to the lower floor. About 700 men were employed in the work. He then took 500 Kentucky flint-lock muskets, which had been sent there to be altered, and sent them to be placed on a steamer as a blind to cover his real movements. The secessionists nabbed them at once, and raised a perfect Bedlam over the capture. A large portion of the outside crowd left the arsenal when this movement was executed; and Captain Lyon took the remainder, who were lying around as spies, and locked them up in his guard-house. About 11 o'clock the steamer City of Alton came alongside, planks were shoved out from the windows to the main-deck, and the boxes slid down. When the 10,000 were safely on board, Captain Stokes went to Captain Lyon and Major Callender and urged them, by the most pressing appeals, to let him empty the arsenal. They told him to go ahead and take whatever he wanted. Accordingly, he took 11,000 more muskets, 500 new rifle carbines, 500 revolvers, 110,000 musket cartridges, to say nothing of the cannon and a large quantity of miscellaneous accoutrements, leaving only 7,000 muskets in the arsenal to arm the St. Louis Volunteers. When the whole were on board, about 2 o'clock on Friday morning, the order was given by the captain of the steamer to cast off. Judge of the consternation of all hands when it was found that she would not move. The arms had been piled in great quantities around the engines, to protect them against the battery on the levée, and the great weight had fastened the bows of the boat firmly on a rock, which was tearing a hole through the bottom at every turn of the wheels. A man of less nerve than Captain Stokes would have gone crazy on the spot. He called the arsenal men on board, and commenced moving the boxes to the stern. Fortunately, when about 200 boxes had been shifted, the boat fell away from the shore and floated in deep water. 'Which way?' said Captain Mitchell of the steamer. 'Straight to Alton in the regular channel,' replied Captain Stokes. 'What if we are attacked?' said Captain Mitchell. 'Then we will fight!' said Captain Stokes. 'What if we are overpowered?' said Captain Mitchell. 'Run her to the deepest part of the river and sink her,' replied Captain Stokes. 'I'll do it," was the heroic answer of Captain Mitchell, and away they went past the secession battery, past the entire St. Louis levée, and on to Alton in the regular channel, where they arrived at 5 o'clock in the morning. When the boat touched the landing, Captain Stokes, fearing pursuit by some two or three of the secession military companies by which the city of St. Louis is disgraced, ran to the market-house and rang the fire-bell. The citizens came flocking pell-mell to the river, in all sorts of habiliments. Captain Stokes informed them of the situation of things, and pointed out the freighted cars. Instantly men, women and children boarded the steamer, seized the freight, and clambered up the levées to the cars. Rich and poor tugged together with might and main for two hours, when the cargo was all deposited in the cars, and the train moved off, amid their enthusiastic cheers, for Springfield."

A portion of the State militia, for whose organization provision had been made by the Legislature, was presently on the 6th of May assembled in camp, on the western outskirts of St. Louis, under command of General D. M. Frost, and an active system of drilling commenced. The encampment bore the name Camp Jackson, in honor of the Governor, while the secession purposes of its inmates was unmistakably declared by the titles pretentiously given to its streets from the names of the Confederate leaders. On the 9th, a quantity of small arms and several pieces of cannon, a part of the spoil of the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, which had been brought by the river to St. Louis, having been represented to the inspectors at Cairo as packages of marble slabs, were smuggled ashore, conveyed to the camp, and there received in triumph. Threats were meanwhile thrown out of a speedy attack upon the arsenal.

Captain Lyon knew too well the color and habits of treason, in its various disguises, to wait till the enemy before his eyes, every day gaining in confidence and resources, should grow too powerful to be opposed by the men at his command. He determined to anticipate the blow intended for him. He had been armed with authority, by official instructions from President Lincoln, through the war department, dated April 30, to enrol in the military service of the United States the loyal citizens of St. Louis and vicinity, not exceeding with those heretofore enlisted, 10,000 in number, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of the United States and for the protection of the peaceable inhabitants of Missouri; and if deemed necessary for that purpose, he was directed to proclaim martial law in the city of St. Louis. It was an important trust to be committed to a captain of infantry—this control of the military and civil power of a great city—and in common with the suspension of the habeas corpus writ in Maryland, by the Executive, became, in certain quarters the subject of animadversion;* but the President knew to whom he entrusted the power and the necessity for its exercise. It was to avoid such disasters as the seizure of Norfolk and its navy yard that the authority was given, and the result showed that it was neither mistimed nor misplaced. That the power, moreover, might be diligently guarded in its use by the exercise of a sound discretion, the President in his orders had named six loyal and discreet citizens of St. Louis, prominent among whom was Colonel F. P. Blair, as a commission to be consulted by Captain Lyon in the course to be taken in the management of public affairs and the proclamation of martial law. In the multitude of counsellors, however, spite of the proverb, there is weakness as well as safety, and, as we learn from Colonel Blair's narrative, it was by his advice as Captain Lyon's "confidential and constant companion—comrades in arms and a unit in counsel"—and, contrary to the opinions of the remaining five, that the decision was formed to attack and break up Camp Jackson. The entire night preceding the movement of the 10th May was spent in these deliberations, but the solid purpose of Captain Lyon was unalterable. The incipient treason in arms at Camp Jackson, he had determined, must be suppressed.

With Captain Lyon to resolve was to act. Accordingly, having formed his resolution, he lost no time in carrying it into effect. The midnight conference was succeeded by the assembly of troops at the arsenal. Colonel Blair's regiment at Jefferson Barracks, ten miles below, was ordered up, and about noon on that memorable Friday, Captain Lyon quietly left the arsenal gate at the head of 6,000 troops, of whom 450 were regulars, the remainder United States Reserve Corps or Home Guards, marched in two columns to Camp Jackson, and before the troops could recover from the amazement into which the appearance of the advancing army threw them, surrounded the camp, planted his batteries upon the elevations around, at a distance of five hundred yards, and stationing his infantry in the roads leading from the grove wherein their tents were pitched. The State troops were taken completely by surprise; for, although there had been vague reports current in camp of an intended attack from the arsenal, the cry of the visitors at the grove, 'They're coming!' 'they're coming!' raised just as the first column appeared in sight, found them strutting leisurely under the trees, chatting with their friends from the city, or stretched upon the thick grass, smoking and reading."*

---

* See in particular the speech of Trusten Polk of Missouri, in the United States Senate, July 11, 1861.

Having thus surrounded the camp, Captain Lyon sent the following summons to General Frost for its surrender:—

"Sir, your command is regarded as evidently hostile toward the Government of the United States. It is, for the most part, made up of those secessionists who have openly avowed their hostility to the General Government, and have been plotting at the seizure of its property and the overthrow of its authority. You are openly in communication with the so-called Southern Confederacy, which is now at war with the United States, and you are receiving at your camp, from the said confederacy and under its flag, large supplies of the material of war, most of which is known to be the property of the United States. Those extraordinary preparations plainly indicate none other but the well-known purpose of the Governor of the State, under whose orders you are acting, and whose purpose, recently communicated to the Legislature, has just been responded to by that body in the most unparalleled legislation, having in direct view hostilities to the General Government, and coöperation with its enemies. In view of these considerations, and of your failure to disperse in obedience to the proclamation of the President, and of the imminent necessities of State policy and welfare, and the obligations imposed upon me by instructions from Washington, it is my duty to demand, and I do hereby demand of you an immediate surrender of your command, with no other condition than that all persons surrendering under this demand shall be humanely and kindly treated. Believing myself prepared to enforce this demand, one half hour's time before doing so, will be allowed for your compliance therewith."

The demand was answered in the surrender of the camp with its force of militia and various material of war, including several large howitzers, 10-inch mortars, a large number of shells and a large number of United States muskets, supposed to be a portion of those which had been brought from the Baton Rouge arsenal. The captured militia were offered their release on taking the oath of allegiance to the United States. The proposition was submitted to the men, but was accepted by very few, when preparations were made to conduct the remainder, about eight hundred, as prisoners to the arsenal. A column was formed and the march commenced, when an assault was made upon the troops by some persons in the crowd which had gathered to witness the proceedings. At first the mob was very abusive, then stones and dirt were thrown by them and finally a revolver was discharged at the soldiers in front. Upon this several shots were fired in return, the people in the vicinity were scattered and the assault in that quarter was suppressed. Presently, however, a similar scene of greater violence occurred in the rear. Several shots from a revolver were discharged at Lieutenant Saxton of the regular army, when the assailant was thrust through with a bayonet and shot down. Other shots were fired at the soldiers, who fired in return, putting the mob to flight, when Captain Lyon promptly arrested the conflict. In this disastrous encounter seven of the townspeople were killed and a number wounded. Senator Polk of Missouri subsequently, in his seat in the Senate, stated the number of deaths at forty to fifty, the wounds by the Minié ball proving particularly fatal. As usual, in a promiscuous throng, under such circumstances, the innocent suffered with the guilty.

---

* The War in Missouri. *The Continental Monthly,* April, 1862.

The greatest excitement, of course, prevailed in the city and fears were had of a general riot, as a tumultuous crowd bearing banners of various devices and loud in their imprecations upon the German soldiers who had fired upon the unoffending population, roamed through the streets. A gun store was broken open and a number of guns removed before the police could assemble to arrest the proceedings. Various speakers addressed the crowd in front of the Planters' House and in other parts of the city, and by this sedative, and the more authoritative presence of an armed police, the night passed without further disturbance. Unhappily, however, the scene of tumult was renewed the following night, when a body of the German Home Guards, returning from the arsenal, where they had been reviewed during the day and furnished with arms, were encountered in the city with hisses from a crowd and other more violent demonstrations. Several shots were fired into the ranks, when the head of the column turned and fired promiscuously down the street, wounding alike their own rear ranks and the spectators on the side walk. Six persons were killed in this discharge and several wounded; four of the former belonging to the regiment.

Under these circumstances, the day following the occurrence just mentioned, General William Selby Harney returned to his command at St. Louis. A native of Louisiana, born in 1798, he had been commissioned a 2d Lieutenant of the 1st Infantry in the year 1818, and having been constantly engaged in the service, was now one of the oldest officers of the army—the defection of General Twiggs placing him third on the list — Generals Scott and Wool being his only superiors in rank. Having served as a captain in the Black Hawk war, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 2d Dragoons in 1836, and brevetted Colonel in 1840 for gallant and meritorious conduct in several successive engagements in Florida. In the Mexican war he was brevetted Brigadier-General for gallant services at Cerro-Gordo. He had of late played a conspicuous part in public affairs in the bold stand which he had taken in 1858, in his department of the Pacific, in the occupation of the island of San Juan, in Vancouver's Bay, in opposition to the claims of Great Britain—a course which seemed at one time to threaten hostilities between the two nations. The interposition, however, of General Scott, happily relieved the situation of its immediate embarrassment, and General Harney was recalled to the Atlantic States.

The outbreak of the rebellion found General Harney in command of the military department of the West, with his headquarters at St. Louis. Thence he had been called to Washington, in April, to consult with the Secretary of War, and while on his way from Wheeling to the capital, by the Baltimore and Ohio road, on the 25th of the month, was arrested on the train by the secessionists at Harper's Ferry, and carried a prisoner to Richmond. He was speedily, however, released by Governor Letcher. Some doubts having been expressed in the newspapers of his devotion to the Union, and the intimation having been thrown out that he was a willing prisoner in Virginia with an intention of throwing off his allegiance to the Federal Government and joining the Confederate States, on his arrival, on the 1st of May, at Washington, he took occasion to disabuse the public mind of these impressions in a letter declaratory of his sentiments, addressed to his personal friend, Colonel John O. Fallon, of St. Louis. In this he patriotically cast aside the charge of disloyalty, argued the cause of the Union against the secessionists, and especially addressed himself to the people of Missouri, urging upon them the injury to their interests should they adopt the fatal doctrine of separation. "Forty-two years," said he, "I have been in the military service of the United States, and have followed during all that time but one flag—the flag of the Union. I have seen it protecting our frontiers and guarding our coasts from Maine to Florida; I have witnessed it in the smoke of battle, stained with the blood of gallant men, leading on to victory; planted upon the strongholds and waving in triumph over the capital of a foreign foe. My eyes have beheld that flag waving protection to our States and Territories on the Pacific, and commanding reverence and respect from hostile fleets and squadrons and from foreign governments, never exhibited to any banner on the globe. Twenty stars, each representing a State, have been added to that banner during my service, and under its folds I have advanced from the rank of Lieutenant to that which I now hold. The Government whose honors have been bestowed upon me I shall serve for the remainder of my days. The flag, whose glories I have witnessed, shall never be forsaken by me while I can strike a blow for its defence. I shall be ready to serve the Government of the United States, and be its faithful, loyal soldier."

He had, he said, been in favor of a peaceful, conciliatory adjustment of the matters at issue between the North and the South; "but when the Confederate States, with seven thousand men, under cover of strong fortifications or impregnable batteries, assailed a starving garrison of seventy men in Fort Sumter, compelled the banner of the United States to be lowered, and boasted of its dishonor before the world, the state of the question was immediately changed. Instead of the government-coercing States demanding redress of grievances by constitutional means, the case was presented of revolutionists waging war against their government, seeking its overthrow by force of arms, assailing public property by overwhelming force, laboring to destroy the lives of gallant officers and soldiers, and dishonoring the national flag. The question now before us is, whether the Government of the United States, with its many blessings and past glories, shall be overthrown by the military dictatorship lately planted and bearing sway in the Confederate

States? My hand cannot aid that work."

Referring immediately to the interests of Missouri, where he was a resident and property-owner, he said:—"The only special interest of Missouri in common with the Confederate States is slavery. Her interest in that institution is now protected by the Federal Constitution. But if Missouri secedes, that protection is gone. Surrounded on three sides by free States which might soon become hostile, it would not be long until a slave could not be found within her borders. What interest could Missouri, then, have with the Cotton States or a Confederacy founded on slavery and its extension? The protection of her property, if nothing else, admonishes her never to give up the Union. Other interests of vast magnitude can only be preserved by a steadfast adherence and support of the United States Government. All hope of a Pacific railroad, so deeply interesting to St. Louis and the whole State, must vanish with the Federal Government. Great manufacturing and commercial interests, with which the cotton States can have no sympathy, must perish in case of secession, and from her present proud condition of a powerful, thriving State, rapidly developing every element of wealth and social prosperity, Missouri would dwindle to a mere appendage and convenience for the military aristocracy established in the cotton States."

With such an understanding of the claims of his country and the interests of his adopted State, General Harney was now suddenly thrown into the midst of the conflict at St. Louis, precipitated by the course of the Legislature and Governor Jackson. Accepting the situation as he found it, he promptly announced his position in two proclamations. In the first, dated the 12th May, he enjoined upon the citizens the preservation of peace, and declared that he would interpose with his military authority only in the last resort, when he would not shrink from his obligations; in the second, dated two days later, he took occasion to review more particularly the recent transactions. Calling attention to the Military Bill which had been adopted by the General Assembly, he said that it could be regarded "in no other light than an indirect secession ordinance, ignoring even the forms resorted to by other States;" that its material provisions were in conflict with the Constitution and Laws of the United States, and that consequently "it ought not to be upheld or regarded by the good citizens of Missouri." Announcing directly to the people what he had already expressed in the letter to his friend, he proclaimed that "whatever might be the destiny of the so-called cotton States, Missouri must share the destiny of the Union. Her geographical position—her soil, productions, and in short all her material interests point to this result. We cannot shut our eyes against this controlling fact. It is seen and its force is felt throughout the nation. So important is this regarded to the great interests of the country, that I venture to express the opinion that the whole power of the Government of the United States, if necessary, will be exerted to maintain Missouri in her present position in the Union."

In regard to the proceedings taken by Captain Lyon in the breaking up of the militia encampment, while deprecating any intention to comment upon the official conduct of his predecessor in the command, he thought it "but right and proper for the people of Missouri to know that the main avenue of Camp Jackson, recently under command of General Frost, had the name of Davis, and a principal street of the same camp that of Beauregard; and that a body of men had been received into that camp by its commander, which had been notoriously organized in the interests of the secessionists, the men openly wearing the dress and badge distinguishing the army of the so-called Southern Confederacy. It is also a notorious fact that a quantity of arms had been received into the camp, which were unlawfully taken from the United States arsenal at Baton Rouge, and surreptitiously passed up the river in boxes marked marble. Upon facts like these, and having in view what occurred at Liberty"—a town in the western part of the State bordering on Kansas—where, on the 20th April, the United States arsenal had been seized, with a quantity of arms and materials of war, by a body of insurgents—"the people," continued General Harney, "can draw their own inferences, and it cannot be difficult for any one to arrive at a correct conclusion as to the character and ultimate purpose of that encampment. No government in the world would be entitled to respect that would tolerate for a moment such openly treasonable preparations."

This certainly was a sufficient answer to the inquiries of General Frost, who, previously to the suppression of his camp, had written to Captain Lyon stating that he had heard rumors of an intention looking to that result, and expressing himself "greatly at a loss to know what could justify an attack upon citizens of the United States who are in the lawful performance of duties devolving upon them under the Constitution, in organizing and instructing the militia of the State in obedience to her laws." Nor was the course of Captain Lyon less approved of by the Department at Washington. On the 17th May he was raised to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers, being already in command of the regiments enlisted into the service in Missouri.

The first military expedition ordered by General Lyon, was a detachment of some 150 men, under Captain Cole, sent by railway to Potosi, in Washington County, to check the movements of the secessionists and protect the Unionists in that quarter. Leaving at 10 o'clock on the night of the 14th May, they took the town by surprise at the hour of 3 the following morning, placing a guard at the houses of the prominent secessionists, and shortly after daylight marched off about one hundred and fifty of the citizens to the Court House. A general sifting then took place, the Union men were recognized and discharged, the greater portion of the secessionists released on their parole and oath of allegiance, and nine of the leaders retained as prisoners. A quantity of lead was seized at a manufactory, which was furnishing supplies to the Southern rebels. On their return Captain Cole's party stopped at De Soto, in Jefferson County, where an adventure occurred, characteristic of these early scenes of the war. "Here," says the *St. Louis Democrat* describing the affair, "where there was to be a grand secession 'love feast' or flag raising, they found a company of secession cavalry drilling for the occasion, which took to their heels as soon as they got a sight of the United States troop. In their flight, the cavalry left some thirty of their horses, which were captured by the troops and placed under guard. The pole, one hundred feet high, on which the rebels were going to fly the secession flag, was soon graced with the Stars and Stripes, amid the wildest enthusiasm of the Union men and Government troops. The next move was to capture the rebel flag, which was known to be in the town, and for this agreeable duty, Captain Cole detailed a guard of six men, under command of Sergeant Walker, accompanied by Dr. Franklin, Surgeon of the Fifth Regiment. The guard surrounded the house supposed to contain the flag, and Dr. Franklin and Sergeant Walker entered. After searching in vain for some time, the Doctor thought he observed the lady of the house sitting in rather an uneasy position, and he very politely asked her to rise. At first the lady hesitated, but finding the Doctor's persuasive suavity irresistible, she rose slowly, and lo! the blood red stripe of the rebel ensign appeared below the lady's hoops. The Doctor bowing a graceful 'beg pardon, madam,' stooped and quietly catching hold of the gaudy color, carefully delivered the lady of a secession flag, thirty feet long and nine feet wide. The Doctor bore off his prize in triumph to the camp, where the troops greeted him with wild shouts, and characterized his feat as the crowning glory of the occasion. Here the troops captured another rebel leader, and after placing thirty men under Lieutenant Murphy, to guard the Union flag, and the thirty horses, Captain Cole's command started on their way. At Victoria, the train stopped a moment, when another secessionist came up hurrahing for Jeff. Davis, and quick as thought the ardent rebel was surrounded by a half dozen bayonets, and marched into the cars a prisoner of war, and the train moved on. They arrived at the Arsenal about 6½ o'clock P. M., where a crowd of soldiers and visitors awaited them. The spoils were unloaded, and the prisoners marched to safe and comfortable quarters. General Lyon received them in the spirit of a true soldier, and the troops gave three cheers for General Lyon, three for Colonel Blair, and three for the Stars and Stripes, and then caught the secession flag and tore it into shreds in a twinkling."

A week later, the military movements in progress on the part of the United States forces, were partially arrested by the publication of a joint declaration or agreement between General Harney and General Sterling Price, who had been placed in command of the Missouri Militia, to the following effect:—"The undersigned, officers of the United States Government and of the government of the State of Missouri, for the purpose of removing misapprehensions and allaying public excitement, have this day had a personal interview in this city, in which it has been mutually understood, without the semblance of dissent on either part, that each of them has no other than a common object, equally interesting and important to every citizen of Missouri—that of restoring peace and good order to the people of the State, in subordination to the laws of the general and State Governments. It being thus understood, there seems no reason why every citizen should not confide in the proper officers of the general and State Governments to restore quiet; and, as the best means of offering no counter influences, we mutually recommend to all persons to respect each other's rights throughout the

State, making no attempt to exercise unauthorized powers, as it is the determination of the proper authorities to suppress all unlawful proceedings, which can only disturb the public peace. General Price having, by commission, full authority over the militia of the State of Missouri, undertakes, with the sanction of the Governor of the State, already declared, to direct the whole power of the State officers to maintain order within the State among the people thereof; and General Harney publicly declares that this object being thus assured, he can have no occasion, as he has no wish, to make military movements which might otherwise create excitements and jealousies which he most earnestly desires to avoid. We do, therefore, mutually enjoin upon the people of the State to attend to their civil business, of whatsoever sort it may be; and it is to be hoped that the unquiet elements which have threatened so seriously to disturb the public peace, may soon subside, and be remembered only to be deplored."

General Sterling Price, of whom we shall hear much in the subsequent Missouri campaigns, was a native of Virginia. He had made his residence for the last twenty years in Missouri, engaged in the profession of the law, and taking an active part in politics. He had represented the State in Congress, and occupied its Governor's chair. He joined the volunteer forces in the Mexican war, as Colonel of a Missouri regiment of cavalry, and rose to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He was wounded in an engagement at Canada, New Mexico, and was in command at the battle of Santa Cruz de Rosales. At the outbreak of the rebellion he took sides with the secessionists, and was appointed by Governor Jackson Major-General of the State Militia. He undoubtedly possessed great energy and resolution in turning a considerable portion of the population and resources of Missouri to the service of the rebellion. Notwithstanding, however, these fair professions, passing between him and General Harney, it was thought by those who had studied the nature of the rebellion, that this was but a hollow truce on the part of the State authorities, calculated only to give them time to promote the interests of secession. This, at least, was the view taken of the matter by the department at Washington. On the last day of the month General Harney was, in consequence, recalled, and General Lyon, who had meanwhile continued the seizure of military property intended for the rebels, was left in command of the department.

General Lyon became now more busily engaged than ever in checking the work of treason. General Price, pleading the engagement of General Harney, sought to arrest his efforts. He urged that the agreement which had been made should be carried out in good faith, and in particular protested against an intention of which he had heard, to disarm "those of our citizens who do not agree in opinion with the administration at Washington, and put arms in the hands of those who, in some localities of the State, are supposed to sympathize with the views of the Federal Government." General Lyon, in concert with Colonel Blair, listened to the protest, observed the signs of the times, and pursued the course he had resolved upon, in striking resolutely at the rebellion.

On the 11th of June, in a further effort to arrest the proceedings, Governor Jackson and General Price, leaving

Jefferson City where the Legislature was in session, sought an interview with General Lyon and Colonel Blair at St. Louis, when the Governor proposed to them that he would disband the State Guard and break up its organization, disarm all the companies which had been armed by the State, pledge himself not to attempt to organize the militia under the military bill, that no arms should be brought into the State, that he would protect all citizens equally in all their rights, regardless of their political opinions, repress all insurrectionary movements within the State, repel all attempts to invade it, from whatever quarter and by whomsoever made, and, if need be, invoke the assistance of the United States troops to maintain these pledges. In return for all this, he asked that the Federal Government should disarm the Home Guards and promise not to occupy with its troops any localities in the State not already occupied by them. To this General Lyon would not consent. He had no faith that the integrity of Missouri could be preserved as a member of the Union under any other guardianship than that of the general Government, and had he entertained no doubts of the sincerity of the offer, and of the ability of those who made it to carry it out, he would doubtless still have hesitated to put it out of the power of his government with its own strong arm to repress or ward off rebellion from the State. It was too important a trust to be committed to any other hands. He therefore demanded the disarming of the State militia and the rejection of the obnoxious militia bill, and insisted upon the enjoyment by the Government of the "unrestricted right to move and station its troops throughout the State, whenever and wherever that might, in the opinion of its officers, be necessary either for the protection of loyal subjects of the Federal Government, or for the repelling of invasion." Governor Jackson thinking, as he said, that his "acceptance of those degrading terms," as he chose to call them, "would not only have sullied the honor of Missouri, but would have aroused the indignation of every brave citizen, and precipitated the conflict which it had been his aim to prevent," refused to accede to them, and the conference was broken up.

"Fellow-citizens," continued Governor Jackson, in the proclamation in which he recited the particulars of the interview we have just given, "all our efforts toward conciliation have failed. We can hope nothing from the justice or moderation of the agents of the Federal Government in this State. They are energetically hastening the execution of their bloody and revolutionary schemes for the inauguration of civil war in your midst; for the military occupation of your State by armed bands of lawless invaders for the overthrow of your State government; and for the subversion of those liberties which that government has always sought to protect; and they intend to exert their whole power to subjugate you, if possible, to the military despotism which has usurped the powers of the Federal Government. Now, therefore I, C. F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, do, in view of the foregoing facts, and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and Laws of this Commonwealth, issue this proclamation, calling the militia of this State to the number of 50,000 into the active service of the State, for the purpose of repelling said invasion and for the protection of the lives, liberty and property of the citizens of this State. And I earnestly exhort all good citizens of Missouri to rally under the flag of their State for the protection of their endangered homes and firesides and for the defence of their most sacred rights and dearest liberties. In issuing this Proclamation, I hold it to be my solemn duty to remind you that Missouri is still one of the United States; that the Executive department of the State government does not arrogate to itself the power to disturb that relation; that that power has been wisely vested in a convention which will, at the proper time, express your sovereign will; and that, meanwhile, it is your duty to obey all the constitutional requirements of the Federal Government. But it is equally my duty to advise you that your first allegiance is due to your own State, and that you are under no obligation whatever to obey the *unconstitutional* edicts of the military despotism, which has enthroned itself at Washington, nor to submit to the infamous and degrading sway of its wicked minions in this State. No brave and true-hearted Missourian will obey the one or submit to the other. Rise, then and drive out ignominiously the invaders who have dared to desecrate the soil which your labors have made fruitful, and which is consecrated by your homes." How far the tone and temper of this proclamation suited the character of a loyal citizen anxious to preserve the State in the Union, the reader may judge for himself. In fact, its declaration of war would seem from the haste with which it was issued to have been, if not actually prepared in advance, at least a foregone conclusion in the writer's mind.

In a counter Proclamation, issued a few days afterward, General Lyon, in justification of the course he was pursuing, reviewed the conduct of the Governor and Legislature, in reference to the enlistments of avowed secessionists, and the prosecution of the Military Bill to the injury of Union-citizens, without regard to the agreement with General Harney. He also recited the instructions sent to General Harney by the War Department, on the 27th May, which, after stating the outrages to loyal citizens, who were still driven from their homes, notwithstanding the pledges of the State authorities to coöperate in preserving the peace, pronounced those "professions of loyalty to the Union not to be relied upon," adding, "they have already falsified their professions too often, and are too far committed to secession to be admitted to your confidence, and you can only be sure of their desisting from their wicked purposes when it is not in their power to prosecute them. You will, therefore, be unceasingly watchful of their movements and not permit the clamors of their partizans and the opponents of the wise measures already taken, to prevent you from checking every movement against the Government, however disguised, under the pretended State authorities. The authority of the United States is paramount, and whenever it is apparent that a movement—whether by order of State authorities or not—is hostile, you will not hesitate to put it down."

"It is my design," continued General Lyon, "to carry out these instructions in their letter and spirit. Their justness and propriety will be appreciated by whoever takes an enlightened view of the relations of the citizens of Missouri to the general Government, nor can such policy be construed as at all disparaging to the rights or dignity of the State of Missouri, or as infringing in any sense upon the individual liberty of its citizens. The recent proclamation of Governor Jackson, by which he has set at defiance the authorities of the United States, and urged you to make war upon them, is but a consummation of his treasonable purposes, long indicated by his acts and expressed opinions, and now made manifest. If, in suppressing these treasonable projects, carrying out the policy of the Government, and maintaining its dignity, as above indicated, hostilities should unfortunately occur, and unhappy consequences should follow, I would hope that all aggravation of these events may be avoided, and that they may be diverted from the innocent, and may fall only on the heads of those by whom they have been provoked. In the discharge of these plain but onerous duties, I shall look for the countenance and active cooperation of all good citizens, and I shall expect them to discountenance all illegal combinations or organizations, and support and uphold by every lawful means the Federal Government, upon the maintenance of which depend their liberties and the perfect enjoyment of all their rights."

With this authority and clear understanding of his duty to the country, General Lyon met Governor Jackson's proclamation of hostility to the Government by an immediate movement of his troops to Jefferson City to arrest the rebel authorities and break up their military preparations. On reaching that city, on the 15th, he found that Governor Jackson had anticipated his proceeding, and removed his forces forty miles above to Booneville, cutting off the telegraph and destroying the bridges on the railway as he proceeded. Thither General Lyon at once determined to follow him. Leaving Colonel Boernstein, of the 2d Missouri Volunteers, with several companies of his regiment, in command at the capital, he embarked his force in three steamers on the afternoon of the 16th June, and ascended the Missouri that night to the vicinity of Providence. Resuming the voyage early in the morning, the expedition reached Rockport before 6 o'clock, where a pause was made to gain information of the enemy above. The people were surly, and not disposed to be communicative. It was ascertained, however, that the rebels were in force a few miles below Booneville, and that a formidable resistance might be expected. "Leaving this place, and taking the steam ferry-boat Paul Wilcox with us," continues the writer in the *St. Louis Democrat*, to whom we are indebted for an account of the engagement which ensued, "we ran up steadily till we had passed the foot of the island eight miles below Booneville, when seeing a battery on the bluffs, and scouts hastening to report our arrival, we fell back to a point opposite to the foot of the island, and at 7 o'clock A. M., disembarked on the south shore, where the bottom land between the river and bluffs is some mile and a half wide. No traitors were visible there, and the troops at once took the river road for Booneville. Following the road somewhat over a mile and a half to where it ascends the bluffs, several shots from our scouts announced the driving in of the enemy's pickets. We continued to ascend a gently undulating slope for nearly half a mile, when the enemy were reported in full force near the summit of the next swell of ground, about three hundred yards from our front. The enemy were exceedingly well posted, having every advantage in the selection of their ground. Arriving at the brow of the ascent, Captain Totten opened the engagement by throwing a few 9-pounder explosives into their ranks, while the infantry filed oblique right and left, and commenced a terrible volley of musketry, which was for a short time well replied to, the balls flying thick and fast about our ears, and occasionally wounding a man on our side. The enemy were posted in a lane running towards the river from the road along which the grand army of the United States were advancing, and in a brick house on the north-east corner of the junction of the two roads. A couple of bombs were thrown through the east wall of that house, scattering the enemy in all directions. The well-directed fire of the German infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel Schaeffer, on the right, and General Lyon's company of regulars, and part of Colonel Blair's regiment on the left of the road, soon compelled the enemy to present an inglorious aspect. They clambered over the fence into a field of wheat, and again formed in line just on the brow of the hill. They then advanced some twenty steps to meet us, and for a short time the cannons were worked with great rapidity and effect. Just at this time the enemy opened a galling fire from a grove just on the left of our centre, and from a shed beyond and still further to the left.

"The skirmish now assumed the magnitude of a battle. The commander, General Lyon, exhibited the most remarkable coolness, and preserved throughout that undisturbed presence of mind shown by him alike in the camp, in private life, and on the field of battle. "Forward on the extreme right;" "Give them another shot, Captain Totten," echoed above the roar of musketry clear and distinct, from the lips of the general, who led the advancing column. Our force was 2,000 in all, but not over 500 participated at any one time in the battle. The enemy, as we have since been reliably informed, were over 4,000 strong, and yet, twenty minutes from the time when the first gun was fired, the rebels were in full retreat, and our troops occupying the ground on which they first stood in line. The consummate cowardice displayed by the "seceshers" will be more fully understood when I add that the spurs or successive elevations now become more abrupt, steep and rugged, the enemy being fully acquainted with their ground, and strong positions behind natural defences, orchards and clumps of trees offering themselves every few yards. Nothing more, however, was seen of the flying fugitives until about one mile west of the house of William M. Adams, where they were first posted. Just there was Camp Vest, and a considerable force seemed prepared to defend the approaches to it. Meanwhile, a shot from the iron howitzer on the McDowell announced to us that Captain Voester, with his artillery men, and Captain Richardson's company of infantry, who were left in charge of the boats, were commencing operations on the battery over a mile below Camp Vest. This but increased the panic among the invincible (?) traitors, and Captain Totten had but to give them a few rounds before their heels were again in requisition, and Captains Cole and Miller, at the head of their companies, entered and took possession of the enemy's deserted breakfast tables. About twenty horses had by this time arrived within our lines with vacant saddles, and the corps reportorial were successfully mounted on chosen steeds. The amount of plunder secured in Camp Vest, or Bacon, as the citizens here call it, from the name of the gentleman owning a fine house close by, was very large. One thousand two hundred shoes, twenty or thirty tents, quantities of ammunition, some fifty guns of various patterns, blankets, coats, carpet sacks, and two secession flags were included in the sum total.

"Leaving Captain Cole in command of the camp, we pushed on towards Booneville, chasing the cowardly wretches who outmanned us two to one. The McDowell now came along up in the rear, and off to the right from our troops, and having a more distinct view of the enemy from the river, and observing their intention to make another stand at the Fair Grounds, one mile east of Booneville, where the State has an armory extemporized, Captain Voester again sent them his compliments from the old howitzer's mouth, which, with a couple of shots from Captain Totten, and a volley from Lothrop's detachment of rifles, scattered the now thoroughly alarmed enemy in all directions. Their flight through the village commenced soon after 8 o'clock, and continued until after 11 o'clock. Some three hundred crossed the river, many went south, but the bulk kept on westwardly. A good many persons were taken at the different points of battle, but it is believed the enemy secured none of ours. Captain Richardson had landed below, and, with the support of the howitzer from the steamer McDowell, captured their battery, consisting of two 6-pounders, (with which they intended to sink our fleet,) twenty prisoners, one caisson, and eight horses with military saddles. The enemy did not fire a shot from their cannon. Speaking of prizes, the brilliant achievement in that line was by our reverend friend, W. A. Pill, chaplain of the 1st regiment. He had charge of a party of four men, two mounted and two on foot, with which to take charge of the wounded. Ascending the brow of a hill, he suddenly came upon a company of twenty-four rebels, armed with revolvers, and fully bent upon securing a place of safety for their carcasses. Their intentions, however, were considerably modified, when the parson ordered them to halt, which they did, surrendering their arms. Surrounded by the squad of five men, they were then marched on board the Louisiana, prisoners of war. The parson also captured two other secessionists during the day, and at one time, needing a wagon and horses for the wounded, and finding friendly suggestions wasted on a stubborn old rebel, placed a revolver at his head, and the desired articles were forthcoming. In time of peace the preacher had prepared for war. After passing the Fair Grounds, our troops came slowly towards the town. They were met on the east side of the creek by Judge Miller of the District Court, and other prominent citizens, bearing a flag of truce, in order to assure our troops of friendly feelings sustained by three-fourths of the inhabitants, and if possible prevent the shedding of innocent blood. They were met cordially by General Lyon and Colonel Blair, who promised, if no resistance was made to their entrance, that no harm need be feared. Major O'Brien soon joined the party from the city, and formally surrendered it to the Federal forces. The troops then advanced, headed by the Major and General Lyon, and were met at the principal corner of the street by a party bearing and waving that beautiful emblem under which our armies gather and march forth conquering and to conquer. The flag party cheered the troops, who lustily returned the compliment. American flags are now quite thick in the street, and secessionists are nowhere."

Colonel J. S. Marmaduke commanded the State troops on this occasion, General Price having left in ill health the day before. Governor Jackson was on the ground in the forenoon, and made good his escape with the rest. Two men were killed on the Union side and nine wounded ; the rebel loss was set down at fifty in killed and wounded. Many prisoners were taken, who were kindly treated and generously released by General Lyon, who, as will be seen by the proclamation which he issued on the following day (June 18th), pursued a most liberal and conciliatory policy in his endeavor to preserve the peace of the country.

"Upon leaving St. Louis," said he in this document, "in consequence of war made by the Governor of this State against the Government of the United States, because I would not assume on its behalf to relinquish its duties, and abdicate its rights of protecting loyal citizens from the oppression and cruelty of the secessionists in this State, I published an address to the people, in which I declared my intention to use the force under my command for no other purpose than the maintenance of the authority of the general Government, and the protection of the lives and property of all law-abiding citizens. The State authorities, in violation of an agreement with General Harney on the 2d of May last, had drawn together and organized upon a large scale the means of warfare, and, having made a declaration of war, they abandoned the Capital, issued orders for the destruction of the railroad and telegraph lines, and proceeded to this point to put into execution their hostile purposes toward the general Government. This devolved upon me the necessity of meeting this issue to the best of my ability, and accordingly I moved to this point with a portion of the force under my command, attacked and dispersed the hostile forces gathered here by the Governor, and took possession of the camp-equipage left, and a considerable number of prisoners, most of them young and of immature age, and who represent that they have been misled by frauds, ingeniously devised and industriously inculcated by designing leaders, who seek to devolve upon unreflecting and deluded followers the task of securing the object of their own false ambition.

"Out of compassion for these misguided youths, and to correct the impression created by unscrupulous calumniators, I liberated them upon the condition that they will not serve in the impending hostilities against the United States Government. I have done this in spite of the well-known facts that the leaders in the present rebellion, having long experienced the mildness of the general Government, still feel confident that this mildness cannot be overtasked even by factious hostilities, having in view its overthrow ; but lest, as in the case of the late Camp Jackson affair, this clemency shall still be misconstrued, it is proper to give warning that the Government cannot always be expected to indulge in it to the compromise of its evident welfare. Hearing that those plotting against the Government have falsely represented that the Government troops intended a forcible and violent invasion of Missouri for purposes of military despotism and tyranny, I hereby give notice to the people of this State that I shall scrupulously avoid all interference with the business, right, and property of every description recognized by the laws of the State, and belonging to law-abiding citizens. But it is equally my duty to maintain the paramount authority of the United States with such force as I have at my command, which will be retained only so long as opposition makes it necessary, and that it is my wish, and shall be my purpose, to visit any unavoidable rigor arising in this issue upon those only who provoke it. All persons who, under the misapprehensions above mentioned, have taken up arms, or who are preparing to do so, are invited to return to their homes and relinquish their hostilities towards the Federal Government, and are assured that they may do so without being molested for past occurrences."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE POSITION OF KENTUCKY.

WHAT course, it was anxiously inquired, would Kentucky pursue, in the impending conflict between the North and the South. As one of the Border States, it might have been expected that she would cast in her lot with her brethren, and follow the fortunes of Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, and the rest ; but she was distinguished in many respects from these accidental associates, and the question, it was evident, would be answered by her own people on principles of their own. There were various shades of difference in the political opinions of her citizens. In the Presidential election in the autumn of 1860, her popular vote was given, 66,058 for the Bell and Everett ticket ; 53,143 for Breckenridge ; 25,651 for Douglas ; and 1,364 for Lincoln ; from which it may be readily gathered that, while the decided principles of the Republican party had as yet met with but little favor in her eyes, on the other hand she was by no means disposed to acquiesce in the Southern dictation which had so long been the governing spirit of the Democratic party. But whatever the vote may have indicated in other respects, in one thing it was clear,—it was an emphatic declaration that the voice of Kentucky was for the maintenance and preservation of the Union. To this, indeed, she was pledged by her traditional policy, by the long course of her eminent statesman, Henry Clay, and by the interests which bound her to the great Northwest in preference to the sectional pretensions of the States bordering on the Gulf. It is to her honor that, above all the other Border States, the perception of her people was clear, intelligent, and assured on this great creed of loyalty and nationality. In spite of cunning exhortations from without, artfully appealing to her sympathies with Southern society, in spite of treason within plotting its evil work, in spite of that treason arrayed in arms to wrest by force and violence what could not be gained by sophistry, the State firmly stood to its own invincible resolution, once and forever a member of the United States. Her heart was sound on this matter, her head was clear, and her arm was strong. No arts of her politicians—not even the talent and authority of her Breckenridge in the Vice Presidency and the Senate, or the persistent effort and influence of her Governor—could induce her to sacrifice her principles of attachment to the Union, her rights and privileges in and under the protection of that august confederacy. It was not a partizan question in her eyes of North or South, but of her own claim to exist, to enjoy and perpetuate the life and prosperity, the name and fame won for her by the heroic deeds of her fathers. She would perform everything that kindness and affection could dictate for the South ; she would stand between the two contending parties as a great mediator till mediation became no longer possible, and then, when all the arts of peace were exhausted, she would as a State arm herself for war against Southern aggression for the protection of her rights under the Constitution. She well knew that her own honor and prosperity were indissolubly united with the glory and welfare of the nation, that patriotic devotion, at whatever cost, was the truest self-interest. That her ultimate course was not reached without a struggle within her own borders, where the spirit of rebellion, indeed, found but too abundant nutriment, detracts nothing from, but on the contrary enhances the value of her resolve. Loyalty was not a cheap and easy virtue in Kentucky. Though animated by a lofty instinct, it was a victory over prejudice, intrigue, and even violence. It required an effort, and the effort was made. Happily there was prudence and virtue to render it successful.

The difficulties and embarrassments which beset the course of patriotism in Kentucky will appear, as we briefly review some of the more important public events. The first disposition of her politicians was to the work of conciliation and adjustment, in which her distinguished representative, Mr. Crittenden, led the way, in his resolutions of compromise and slavery extension, in the Senate in those last, melancholy days of President Buchanan's administration. It was too late then to revive the offices of Henry Clay. Even his skillful management and persuasive eloquence, sorely tried in his last labors in this cause, would have proved ineffectual in the work when, whatever his persuasions, one side would listen to no arguments or reason whatever ; when in fact the Southern members, delegation after delegation, Senator following Senator, were vacating their seats to join their brethren in arms against the Government, utterly despising and rejecting every appeal to reason and patriotism. No persuasion of oratory could reach the "dull, cold ear," the stony heart of treason.

Whilst these things were going on at Washington, Governor Magoffin, in January, 1860, was holding a special session of the State Legislature at Frankfort. His opening address to that body exhibits at length, with great clearness and equal candor, the peculiar views which he entertained of the relations of his State to the general Government. Beginning with a glowing sketch of the prosperity of the United States, as the country stood but a few months before, he contrasted this felicity with the paralysis of credit, and the fears and anxieties attending the immediate prospect of a revolution attended by a bloody civil war. These "unfortunate political complications," as he termed them, were owing, he said, to the ascendancy, in the election of Abraham Lincoln, of a political organization "based upon the one idea of hostility to the institution of African slavery, embodying as one of its material elements of strength an intolerant sectional fanaticism. By virtue of that election, the Federal Government would be committed to the control of the Republican party, and administered upon a platform of principles destructive to our rightful equality as States and citizens, and fatal to the stability and security of our whole social organization." With these impressions, several of the Southern States had taken measures to separate themselves from the general Government, while in other quarters patriotic efforts had not been wanting to restore the old relations. In this latter work he had himself borne a part. "My humble endeavors," he said, "have been earnestly addressed to the work of bringing about a convention of the slaveholding States, believing that their united voice, in demanding just and reasonable guarantees against the future invasion of their constitutional rights by the dominant party, would achieve the object and reunite the States." The proposition, he added, had met with but little favor in Kentucky, and it was now too late. "The revolution," as he was pleased even then to call it, "had progressed beyond that point." "Kentucky," he said, "would not submit to the degradation of inequality in the Union. In my opinion, her people will never consent to remain in this confederacy, now abandoned by a large portion of the slaveholding members, with no guarantee of protection from the anti-slavery power now dominant. Kentucky will not, and ought not to submit to the principles and policy avowed by the Republican party, but will resist, and resist to the death, if necessary."

With these impressions, in view of existing circumstances, Governor Magoffin recommended that the course pursued by the neighboring States be followed in the call of one of those "sovereignty conventions" of the people, to assemble at an early day, and determine fully and finally the future Federal and inter-state relations of Kentucky. As a last effort "to save the old ship," he proposed also that a conference of Tennessee and North Carolina, with such other States as may choose to join them, be invited to assemble at Baltimore to recommend the Crittenden compromise, and in any event by their coöperation promote their own future safety and peace.

To one thing he was decidedly opposed, and that was the preservation of the Union by force. "I had hoped," he said, "that when the secession movement or the revolution had assumed its present aspect, when four sovereign States, by the almost unanimous vote of their people, had announced their purpose to close their past federal relations, and likely soon to be joined by four others, there would be found none so mad, none so blind to the dire results, as to advise or countenance the employment of military force in futile resistance to their action. Such a proposition, whether it be called plainly coercion and subjugation, or be disguised under the specious phrases of 'enforcing the laws' and 'protecting public property,' means civil war, and war of the most frightful and abhorrent character. I can but regard the action of the Federal Government in refusing to recognize the *fact* of secession, and its proposed attempt to maintain the supremacy of its laws within the borders of the seceding States, as a policy more utterly barren of good result, and more certainly fraught with calamity, than any step yet taken in the drama. This government stands upon the consent of the governed: its internal strength springs from the voluntary allegiance of the citizens; it is sustained by the common affection, the mutual confidence, and fraternal feelings of the people. It cannot be held together by force, and the attempt so to sustain it will not only fail, and fail in blood, but will destroy the last hope of reconstruction. Kentucky cannot and will not be an indifferent observer of the 'force policy.' The seceding States have not in their hasty and inconsiderate action our approval; but their cause is our rights, and they have our sympathies. The people of Kentucky will never stand by with arms folded while those States struggling for their constitutional rights and resisting oppression are being subjugated to an anti-slavery Government. Thousands of our gallant citizens would fly to the conflict. Moreover, the idea of coercion, when applied to great political communities, is revolting to a free people, contrary to the spirit of our institutions, and if successfully prosecuted, would endanger the liberties of the people."

If such opinions of the course to be pursued towards the revolted States and the duties of the Government, were generally held in Kentucky, it was evident that the call of a convention would be but an onward step in the march to secession—as it had proved in the hands of the political tricksters of the Gulf States in bringing the people to an attitude of direct hostility to one of the lightest and most beneficial governments the world had ever seen. There was another step which had proved equally dangerous to the loyalty of the seceding States—and that was the arming of the people to be ready for the supposed emergency. This had not escaped the attention of Governor Magoffin, who announced an organization of the State militia, for which he said he was "peculiarly fortunate in securing the services of General S. B. Buckner, a native Kentuckian, in the responsible position of Inspector-General." The "experience, ability, and patriotic labor" of this gentleman were warmly commended. To what end that "patriotic labor" was directed, the subsequent history of the war bears abundant testimony. Notwithstanding the fervor of Governor Magoffin's address, the Legislature did not see fit to adopt the suggestion of calling a State Convention.

The remaining months of the Buchanan administration dragged their wearisome length along, President Lincoln was inaugurated, and still Governor Magoffin had no reason to be displeased with the moderation of the Government in its treatment of rebellion in arms. He might have had some faint misgivings, perhaps, in the honest devotion of Major Anderson to the national flag at Sumter, but he may have taken a just pride in the confidence which that officer in the North, and among all patriotic people, inspired from the simple fact that he was a Kentuckian. When loyal men, driven almost to despair by the tidings of naval and military desertions, of the loss of forts and public property, asked fearfully, Is Sumter safe? it was deemed enough to say that its commander was a Kentuckian. There was a chivalrous sound in that word Kentuckian, which seemed to admit of no association with the base epithet of treasonable. It was expected, both by friend and foe, that Major Anderson of Kentucky would hold the fort—and he did while man could.

That example must have kindled to new life the fire of patriotism in many a Kentuckian, and caused a longing to rebuke the dishonor ostentatiously vaunted by South Carolina to the old flag. So we presume it did, and we may, perhaps, alongside of the memory of Clay, the faithfulness of Crittenden and Holt, rank the example of Anderson as a leading instrument in the salvation of the State. Unhappily, the voice which should have been foremost with them was sadly wanting in appreciation of the position which was the due of Kentucky at such a crisis. We have already given the reply of Governor Magoffin* to the call of the President for aid to the imperilled government. It was a call to stir the heart of Henry Clay in death itself. Governor Magoffin lost this golden opportunity, and would have thrown sad discredit upon the State had the message which he sent to Washington that fifteenth of April, when the echoes of the cannon fired on Sumter were yet ringing in men's ears, not been contradicted by the subsequent action of the people. He said "emphatically, that Kentucky would furnish no troops"; when the proper time came—it might have been sooner and better for the welfare of the State, had it not been for such counsellors—thirty thousand of the people answered for themselves by joining the army of the Republic.

Governor Magoffin's curt and condemnatory telegram to the Secretary of War, fell heavily upon the ears of the friends of the Union, who had hoped much from Kentucky; but there was one portion of the country where its harshness was music itself. Mr. L. Pope Walker, the Secretary of War of the Confederate States, at Montgomery, hailed it as an earnest of the rich prize about to fall into the hands of the rebellion. His message to Governor Magoffin, of the 22d April, is, taking all the circumstances into account, one of the coolest, if not the very coolest, of the many impudent assumptions of that unblushing Administration. It commenced in these words: "Hon. B. Magoffin: Sir,—Your patriotic response to the requisition of the President of the United States for troops to coerce the Confederate States, justifies the belief that your people are prepared to unite with us in repelling the common enemy of the South. Virginia needs our aid. I therefore request you to furnish one regiment of infantry without delay, to rendezvous at Harper's Ferry, Virginia." He then proceeded to inform the Governor of the composition of the regiment, its equipment, and so forth, as if he were transmitting some ordinary order from his office to a county in Alabama. We do not know what answer Mr. Walker received, but there were men in Kentucky whose blood would have boiled with indignation if the message had been sent to them—who would have replied in words befitting the dignity of the insulted State.

What one, at least, would have written, we know from the subsequent remarks in public, at Louisville, of the Hon. Joseph Holt. Commenting upon the position of Governor Magoffin to the Government, he said: "In his reply to the requisition made upon him for volunteers under the proclamation of the President, he has, in my judgment, written and finished his own history, his epitaph included, and it is probable that in future the world will little concern itself as to what his Excellency may propose to do, or as to what he may propose not to do. That response has made for Kentucky a record that has already brought a burning blush to the cheek of many of her sons, and is destined to bring it to the cheek of many more in the years which are to come. It is a shame, indeed a crying shame, that a State with so illustrious a past, should have written for her, by her own Chief Magistrate, a page of history so utterly humiliating as this."

---

* Ante, p. 128.

A convenient and summary process was that of Mr. Walker, of adding to the stars of his rebel flag and filling the ranks of his rebel confederacy. The people of the State, however, had something to say in the matter. *They* were not willing to sell their birthright of honor and liberty on such cheap and easy terms. The intrigue of the Jefferson Davis Confederacy, so bunglingly commenced, was long kept up. Months after, when that modest government ordered the confiscation of the debts due from their citizens to those of loyal States, the debts due to the people of Kentucky were expressly excepted. The invitation was kept open, there was a plate and a chair vacant for Kentucky at the rebel table, but she had no inclination to partake of "the funeral baked meats" and banquet upon the ruins of the Nation.

Having delivered himself of his unhappy reply to the President's Proclamation, Governor Magoffin proceeded to call on the special meeting of the Legislature, which he greeted when it assembled on the 6th of May with a portentous Message commenting harshly on the proceedings of the Administration. The President, he said, "without the advice or sanction of either branch of Congress, had declared a war of subjugation or extermination against the people of ten or more sovereign States, and was with extraordinary energy gathering his strength for the unnatural conflict." He reviewed the position of the Border States, representing some as ready, all as desirous of joining the Southern Confederacy, which he recognized as a fully organized government separate and independent. It was idle, he said, "longer to refuse to recognize the fact that the late American Union is dissolved." It remained for Kentucky to determine "what attitude she shall occupy in this deplorable conflict. Shall she continue her alliance with the Northern States, adhere to the United States Government, and assume her portion of the enormous war debt being incurred? Shall she declare her own independence, and prepare single handed to maintain it? Shall she ally herself with the remaining slave States, and make common cause with them?" He did not propose to discuss these questions himself, nor that the body whom he addressed should decide them, but anxiously urged that they should be submitted to the "sovereign arbitrament" of the people. "We were elected two years ago," said he in self-denying words, "at a time when no such subjects as those now under consideration were revolved in the public mind. Let us not attempt to employ our official power thus acquired to control this mighty question." He saw "no other path of domestic peace and safety than through a reference of the question to the people," and accordingly renewed the recommendation of his previous Message for the call of a Convention.

As an illustration of the unhappy position in which the Governor had placed himself, we may mention his correspondence with the Governors of Ohio and Indiana in reference to a proposal which he made them as late as the 30th April, to coöperate with him in an effort "to bring about a truce between the General Government and the seceded States until the meeting of Congress in extraordinary session, in the hope that the action of that body may point out the way to peaceful solution of our national troubles," certainly an extraordinary suggestion to come from one who saw so clearly the motives, and admitted so freely the independent and sovereign authority of the foreign confederacy which had just so hopefully commenced its military career in the harbor of Charleston. The Governor, while transmitting the replies of his western brethren, candidly admitted to the Legislature that he "met with no success" in that mission. Indeed, he was very handsomely rebuked by his more patriotic neighbors. "In reply I have to remark," wrote Governor Dennison of Ohio from Columbus, "that believing the general Government to be wholly in the right, I can see no reason for the interposition suggested. If it be desired by Governor Magoffin, I will cordially unite with him in an appeal to the seceded States at once to return to their allegiance to the government of the Union, and thus terminate the difficulties which their conduct has brought upon the country. Any other peaceful solution is impossible. A truce would only aggravate the impending evils." Nor was the response of Governor Morton of Indiana less decided. "It becomes my duty to state," he wrote from the Executive Department at Indianapolis, "that I do not recognize the right of any State to act as mediator between the Federal Government and a rebellious State. I hold that Indiana and Kentucky are but integral parts of the nation, and as such, are subject to the Government of the United States; and bound to obey the requisitions of the President, issued in pursuance of his constitutional authority; that it is the duty of every State Government to prohibit, by all means in its power, the transportation from within its own limits of arms, military stores, and provisions to any State in open rebellion and hostility to the Government of the United States, and to restrain her citizens from all acts giving aid and comfort to the enemy; that there is no ground in the Constitution midway between the Federal Government and a rebellious State, upon which another State can stand, holding both in check; that a State must take a stand upon the one side or upon the other; and I invoke the State of Kentucky, by all the sacred ties that bind us together, to take her stand with Indiana, promptly and efficiently, on the side of the Union. The action of the Federal Government in the present contest being strictly in accordance with the Constitution and the law of the land, and entertaining the views above indicated, I am compelled to decline the coöperation solicited by you."

The Kentucky Legislature was not disposed at the session in May, any more than at the session in January, to listen to the persuasions of the Governor in that cardinal matter of the convention. They would not call it, and they acted wisely. The lesson deserves to be remembered. Nothing is more dangerous to the liberties of a people, at times, than that liberty itself. It is a plausible theory of ultra-democracy to refer everything on the instant to the people; but a moment's reflection will show that the people are not always ready, at such short notice, to express that opinion in accordance with their honest convictions and true interests. They need time to reflect and determine. If they act in passion as a mass, there is no more safety for them, there is even less, than for individuals in the same unfavorable condition. Hence the wisdom of our Governments, both Federal and State, in their variety of checks and wholesome delays, their modes of election and representation, which the people themselves devised and sanctioned as securities against hasty legislation. To resort to popular convention is to lose the benefit of the profoundest and wisest results of modern civilization. Let it be remembered as a prominent warning in the history of this Great Rebellion, that one of the first instruments of its unhallowed tyranny was the call of popular conventions. Kentucky was fortunately spared that trial of the temper and discretion of her inhabitants. There is reason to believe that she might have passed through it scatheless, that her loyalty would have endured even that test, that the judgment of her citizens would have proved superior to the arts of demagogues, and the treacherous appeals to her warm-hearted generosity of Southern sentiment. In other ways she survived the ordeal, and came out of the fiery purgation triumphant.

The next danger to which the State was exposed, was in the sanction of her rulers given to a medium policy of neutrality—a hazardous experiment to her liberties and safety. What this was, and how Governor Magoffin stood in regard to the affairs of the State and the General Government, the reader may form some idea from his proclamation of May 20th:—*Whereas*, many good citizens requested him to forbid the march of any forces over Kentucky to attack Cairo, or otherwise disturb the peaceful attitude of Kentucky with reference to the deplorable war now waging between the United and Confederate States; also stating that the same citizens requested him to forbid the march of any United States force over Kentucky soil for the occupation of any post or place within Kentucky; and whereas, every indication of public sentiment shows a determined purpose of the people to maintain a fixed position of self-defence, proposing and intending no invasion or aggression towards any other State or States, forbidding the quartering of troops upon her soil by either hostile section, but simply standing aloof from an unnatural, horrid, and lamentable strife, for the existence whereof Kentucky, neither by thought, word, nor act is in anywise responsible; and whereas this policy is in judgment wise, peaceful, safe and honorable, the most likely to preserve the peace and amity between the neighboring border States on both shores of the Ohio, and protect Kentucky from deplorable civil war; and whereas, the arms distributed to the Home Guard are not to be used against the Federal or Confederate States but to resist and prevent encroachment on her soil, rights, honor and sovereignty by either of the belligerent parties, and hoping Kentucky may become a successful mediator between them, and in order to remove a founded distrust and suspicion of purposes to force Kentucky out of the Union at the point of the bayonet, which may have been strongly and wickedly engendered in the public mind in regard to my own position and that of the State Guard—

"Now, therefore, I hereby notify and warn all other States, separated or united, especially the United and Confederate States, that I solemnly forbid any movement upon Kentucky soil, or occupation of any post or place therein for any purpose whatever, until authorized by invitation or permission of the legislative and executive authorities. I especially forbid all citizens of Kentucky, whether incorporated in the State Guard or otherwise, making any hostile demonstrations against any of the aforesaid sovereignties, to be obedient to the orders of lawful authorities, to remain quietly and peaceably at home, when off military duty, and refrain from all words and acts likely to provoke a collision, and so otherwise conduct themselves that the deplorable calamity of invasion may be averted; but meanwhile to make prompt and efficient preparation to assume the paramount and supreme law of self-defence, and strictly of self-defence alone."

It is a proud spectacle—Governor Magoffin thus "solemnly" dictating to "all States, separated or united, especially the United and Confederate States," with such a lofty impartiality. It is but justice to add that the Legislature promptly refused to endorse this proclamation as expressive of the true policy of Kentucky.* This declared policy of neutrality was better suited to the wishes of Southern secessionists than to the good sense of many intelligent loyal citizens of Kentucky—her orators and statesmen—who stood forth in this crisis for her defence. The day following the date of Governor Magoffin's proclamation, a staunch supporter of the national integrity, whose military energy was afterwards greatly instrumental in saving Kentucky to the Union—Lovell H. Rousseau—in his place in the Senate took occasion to review the attitude of the State to the general Government. His healthy, vigorous patriotism was to be diverted by no fallacies or sophistry. "I say," said he, "the laws should be enforced if we have any. If we have a government, let it be maintained and obeyed. And if a wicked, factious minority, without cause, undertakes to override the will of the majority, and rob us of our constitutional and vested rights, let that factious and wicked minority be put down—peaceably if we can, but forcibly if we must. If you don't, they will put you down as certain as fate. Make your election. Don't stand passively by and see your own laws violated, your own Government destroyed, and your liberty swallowed up in tyranny, for fear of a 'fratricidal war.' If your fellow-citizen turns out to rob and murder you and yours, *stop* him. If you have to hang him, why stop him in *that* way. But when he commits a murder, and you would execute the law on him, he says,

---

* Joseph Holt's Letter to J. F. Speed, May 31, 1861.

'O, none of that—no coercion; I am your brother; you must not hurt me;' and for fear of hurting your 'brother,' as he calls himself, you would permit him to go on in his work of crime. Let the will of the sovereign people be respected and obeyed. Let the laws of the land be enforced on all alike. If they are obeyed peaceably, so much the better; but *let them be obeyed*. Then you will have peace and security at home, and power and respectability abroad. Unless you do this, you will have neither."

Kentucky, he said, was in a false position; no State had a greater interest in the Union, and none loved it more devotedly; why should she stand idly by, and await the rewards of victory which others should earn, or if the secessionists should claim her as their prize, then call, as call she would, upon a government which she had failed to support? "The truth is," said he, "our duty at first was to stand by our Government, and protect and defend it. If fit to live under, it was entitled to our respect and confidence and allegiance. If unfit, it should have been abandoned at once, and another formed more perfect. But while we owe our allegiance to it, let us acknowledge it like true men, and not turn our backs upon its greatest peril. We should not do this if we desire its preservation. We should stand by it like men, or pull it down at once. But we should not stand by and see others pull it down over our heads against our will, to the destruction of our liberties, and say, 'we oppose you. We love the Government. It is the Government of our fathers; bought with their blood, and bequeathed to us. It is the best Government on earth, and in its destruction we see ruin to us and ours; but as you and we live in slave States, go on and do as you please. We will not resist you. Ruin us if you will.' And so never lift a hand to save us and our children the blessings of liberty. In my heart I do not approve of this course, and what I do not approve, no power on earth shall make me say. I am for the old Constitution of Washington and his compeers. For the old flag, the Stars and Stripes. God bless them; and I am against all factions that would take them from me. It matters not who they are or whence they come. Whether they come from England, France, Massachusetts or South Carolina. If they would destroy the Government of our fathers, I am against them. No matter what may be the pretext. No, sir, I am for the Union, and I am willing to defend it by any and all proper means. Our Government is the best in the world. It has answered well all the ends for which governments are made. We all know this. It has oppressed no man, nor has it burdened us a feather's weight. It has brought us nothing but blessings. Under it we have been happy, prosperous and free. What more can we ask. All that government can do, our Government has done for us. We have been free, as no nation was ever free before; we have prospered as no nation ever prospered before, and we have rested in peace and security."

His explanation of the motive of the conspiracy which sought to overthrow this beneficent instrument, is noteworthy, for information on this point becomes of value with the decrease of latitude in the region whence it is derived. The testimony of a Kentuckian is worth much more than that of a native of Wisconsin. Rousseau is a better witness than Hale or Everett. To what does he attribute the rebellion? This is his simple elucidation of the mystery which has perplexed so many profound thinkers of the Old World and the New: —"Mr. Lincoln was elected, and corrupt politicians lost their places. They had controlled the Government in their own way for years. When they lost their power they declared that the Government was corrupt and oppressive, and that they would destroy it. They robbed it of its arms and munitions of war, sending them South; they involved the Government in a debt of nearly a hundred millions of dollars; robbed the treasury; and thus leaving the Government impoverished and distressed, they commenced the atrocious business of secession. They had lost the offices, and they had thought it necessary to create new ones for the benefit of the defunct politicians, and they did it. This is the grand secret of the whole affair."

With equal directness he pictured the woes of rebellion, and brought home his appeal to his political antagonists in a series of vigorous home thrusts, not the less powerful for a touch of irony and humor. "Behold," said he, "the result of secession. Distress and ruin stare men in the face; strong men, honest and industrious men, cannot get bread for their wives and children; the widow and the orphan, helpless and destitute, are starving; in all the large cities the suffering is intense; work is not to be obtained, and those who live by their labor get no money; property of every description has depreciated until it is almost worthless; in the seceded States, Union men are driven penniless from their homes, or hanged; and all this, Mr. Senator from McCracken, that peaceable secession may go on, and that politicians may fill offices. And after you, gentlemen, bring all these calamities upon us, you falsely say that 'Lincoln did it,' and that we Union men are abolitionists and aid him. But I tell you that Lincoln has not done it. He was elected President by your help. You ran a candidate for the Presidency that the Democratic party might be divided, and Lincoln elected. That was your purpose, and you accomplished it; and now you have elected Lincoln thus, you must break up the Government because he is elected. Nothing can satisfy you but secession. To talk of compromise irritates secession gentlemen—it irritates them to talk of the rights of anybody but themselves—they are indeed a very irritable set of people. If you speak of enforcing the laws of the land, why it's coercion, and at this word they forthwith go into spasms. They can't stand it at all. It is subjugation of the South by the North. If they threaten to hang you when they get the power—because you are true to the old Constitution and the old flag of Washington—and you get arms to defend yourself, why, it irritates them, and they won't stand it.

"The Union men of Kentucky, seeing the condition of Union men in the seceded States, and seeing that they had to be hanged or be silent, and still wishing to be free as of yore, have lately purchased arms with which to defend themselves. This act is pronounced as a crime—a great crime. And how it irritates them. Garrett Davis received 1,200 stand of arms the other day, and a young gentleman of the secession persuasion became so irritated that he could not stand it at all; that the 'States' Rights men would not submit to it—no, never.' 'Well,' said I, 'I would not put up with it, if I were in your place. I tell you what I would do, I would go and take Garrett's guns away from him.' But he didn't. South Carolina was irritated at the presence of Major Anderson and fifty-five men at Fort Sumter, so irritated that she could not bear it. She tried to starve him to death; she tried to knock his head off and burn him up. She bombarded the people's fort, shot into the flag of our Government, and drove our soldiers from the place. It was not Mr. Lincoln's fort, not his flag nor his soldiers, but ours. Yet after all these outrages and atrocities, South Carolina comes with embraces for us, saying: 'Well, we tried; we intended to kill that brother Kentuckian of yours; tried to storm him, knock his brains out, and burn him up. Don't you love us for it? Won't you fight with us and for us, and help us to overthrow your Government?' Was ever a request so outrageously unnatural—so degrading to our patriotism? And yet, Mr. Speaker, there were those among us who rejoiced at the result, and termed the assault upon their own fort, and the capture of their own flag, and their own soldiers a *heroic victory!*

"Mr. Speaker, I am sick and tired of all this gabble about irritation over the exercise by others of their undoubted right, and I say once for all to you, secession gentlemen, that we Union men know our rights, and intend to maintain them; and if you get irritated about it, why — get irritated. Snuff and snort yourselves into a rage; go into spasms if you will; die if you want to, and can't stand it—who cares? What right have you to get irritated because we claim equal rights and equality with you? We are for peace; we desire no war, and deprecate collision. All we ask is peace. We don't intend you any harm. We don't want to hurt you, and don't intend you shall injure us if we can help it. We beg of you to let us live in peace under the good old Government of our fathers. We only ask that. Why keep us ever on the alert watching you, to prevent you from enslaving us by a destruction of that Government?" Senator JOHNSON —"It is already destroyed." M. ROUSSEAU—"Not a bit of it. The Union will never be dissolved. I know you say it is; but, believe me, it will *never* be dissolved. We may have much suffering; we may endure many calamities. War, pestilence and famine may befall us; our own good old Kentucky may be overrun and trodden under foot, and her soil may be drenched in blood, but the Union will never, *never* be dissolved. I have never had a doubt on this subject, never. I know we must suffer, but we must preserve the Union." You, Mr. Senator from McCracken, are a sanguine man. You think the Union is destroyed. Well, you sometimes err. I believe you had a correspondence with 'Uncle Abe,' in which you committed a glaring error. But that was only a semi-official correspondence, and perhaps should not be alluded to here." Senator JOHNSON (good-humoredly) — "Oh! yes; tell." Mr. ROUSSEAU—"I thank you. Well, as one of the Senators of Kentucky, you made your most solemn protest against the stationing of troops at Cairo, Illinois. The protest was very elegant, as is generally what comes from you—a little highfalutin, it is true. You forwarded your protest to 'Uncle Abe,' and in due time received a reply, which was too good a joke for a good-natured gentleman like yourself to keep all to yourself, and so disclosed it. Uncle Abe replied to you that your letter had been received, duly considered, and in reply he had to say to you, (one of the Senators of Kentucky,) that if he had known that Cairo, Illinois, was in your Senatorial District, he would not have sent any soldiers within a hundred miles of that point."

"Mr. Speaker—let me tell you sir, Kentucky will not 'go out.' She will not stampede. That has been tried. Secessionists must invent something new in the way of secession appliances before they can either frighten or 'drag' Kentucky out of the Union. I tell you, sensation gentlemen, that your exciting events have ceased to affect us. Try something else. Get up a fight at Cairo, that you may get us to side with you. That is your game, and you will play it whenever you think you can succeed in it. You tried to scare us, but you failed in your purpose. And if you legally and against right assault Cairo, I hope every man of you will get his head knocked, or be taken prisoner, and that the Cairo folks will never permit you to come to Kentucky again. That's what I wish, and what I believe would happen in such an event.

"But we won't 'go out'—have not the least notion of it in the world. You must take us out according to law and right, or take us dead. Believe this, and act accordingly. It would be better for all of us. We shall be but too happy to keep peace, but we cannot leave the Union of our fathers. When Kentucky goes down, it will be in blood. Let that be understood. She will not go as other States have gone. Let the responsibility rest on you where it belongs. It is all your work, and whatever happens will be your work. We have more right to defend our Government than you have to overturn it. Many of us are sworn to support it.

"Let our good Union brethren of the South stand their ground. I know that many patriotic hearts in the seceded States still beat warmly for the old Union—the old flag. The time will come when we shall be together again. The politicians are having their day. The people will yet have theirs. I have an abiding confidence in the right, and I know that this secession movement is all wrong. There is, in fact, not a single substantial reason for it. If there is, I should be glad to hear it; our Government has never oppressed us with a feather's weight. The direst oppression alone could justify what has brought all our present sufferings upon us."

It had been a favorite project of the sympathizers with the South, when more general projects of the kind had failed, as we have seen in the recommendation of Governor Magoffin to call a Convention of the Border States to devise some plan of adjustment. Virginia had originated the idea, and it had been intended to hold the meeting at Baltimore in February. Nothing, however, was then done, and it was not till May that the scheme was revived. The Convention then met on the 29th at Frankfort, Kentucky. The people of three States only were in any way represented. Kentucky and Missouri sent several delegates, and Tennessee but one member from two of her eastern counties. The assembly, therefore, fell far short of its intended proportions; but it had its importance as a local index, and especially of the affairs of Kentucky, where the choice of its members gave the people an opportunity of showing their decided preference of Unionists over secessionists. Mr. J. J. Crittenden was chosen President of the Convention, which included several of the well-known public men of the State—Mr. James Guthrie, former Secretary of the Treasury, Archibald Dixon, C. A. Wickliffe and others. Two addresses emanated from this body, one to the people of the United States, the other to the people of Kentucky. The former recommended conciliation by Congress and voluntary peace conventions of the people . the latter supported the State in her neutrality policy—but both documents were decided in their opposition to secession, and both sustained the cause of the Government.

While the multitude of counsellors in Kentucky, in her Legislature and the Convention, were thus seeking to balance the State as a central immovable pivot between opposing principles, there was one among the most eloquent of her citizens who, seeing that they were attempting an impossibility, boldly and resolutely, and with his best powers, exhibited the fallacy of neutrality. The Hon. Joseph Holt, whose services as a member of the Cabinet, in the preservation of Washington, and the rescue of a falling State from the hands of traitors and conspirators in the last days of President Buchanan's administration, should never be forgotten, now concentrated his efforts for the safety of his State. His letter, dated the last day of May, on the affairs of Kentucky, addressed to J. F. Speed, Esq., is a masterpiece of political eloquence, recalling the philosophy of Burke and the kindling, patriotic enthusiasm of Henry Clay.

"The Legislature it seems," he wrote, "has determined by resolution that the State, pending the present unhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. I must say, in all frankness, and without desiring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of any, that, in this struggle for the existence of our government, I can neither practice, nor profess, nor feel neutrality. I would as soon think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incendiary arrested in an attempt to fire the dwelling over my head ; for the Government whose overthrow is sought, is for me the shelter not only of home, kindred and friends, but of every earthly blessing which I can hope to enjoy on this side of the grave." To warn off from the State the national army, he pronounced "not a neutral step, but one of aggressive hostility." The course of the President in summoning that army, the men of which it was composed, the gathering of the mighty host, and its friendly mission, were described with glowing eloquence. "For more than a month," said he, "after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the manifestations seemed unequivocal that his administration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and amendments of the Federal Constitution, adopted in accordance with its provisions, to bring back the revolted States to their allegiance. So marked was the effect of these manifestations in tranquilizing the border States and in reassuring their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. While affecting to despise these States as not sufficiently intensified in their devotion to African servitude, they knew they could never succeed in their treasonable enterprise without their support. Hence it was resolved to precipitate a collision of arms with the Federal authorities, in the hope that, under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the border States, following the natural bent of their sympathies, would array themselves against the Government. . . . They sought the clash of arms and the effusion of blood as an instrumentality of impressing the border States, and they sought the humiliation of the Government and the dishonor of its flag as a means of giving prestige to their own cause. . . . A more wanton and wicked war was never commenced on any government whose history has been written.

"In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic? He might have taken counsel of the revolutionists and trembled under their menaces; he might, upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be surrendered without firing a gun in its defence, and proceeding yet further, and meeting fully the requirements of the 'let us alone' policy insisted on in the South, he might have ordered that the Stars and Stripes should be laid in the dust in the presence of every bit of rebel bunting that might appear. But he did none of these things, nor could he have done them without forfeiting his oath and betraying the most sublime trust that has ever been confided to the hands of man. With a heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling justly that these obligations charged him with the protection of the Republic and its Capital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic enemies, he threw himself on the loyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter, and nobly has that appeal been responded to. States containing an aggregate population of nineteen millions have answered to the appeal as with the voice of one man, offering soldiers without number, and treasure without limitation for the service of the Government. In these States, fifteen hundred thousand freemen cast their votes in favor of candidates supporting the rights of the South, at the last Presidential election, and yet everywhere, alike in popular assemblies and upon the tented field, this million and a half of voters are found yielding to none in the zeal with which they rally to their country's flag. They are not less the friends of the South than before; but they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative policy, nor of the claims of the North, the South, the East or the West, but is simply whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignobly permit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy institutions which are the common property, and have been the common blessings and glory of all. The great thoroughfares of the North, the East and the West are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the Capital, or to the other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. If called to press her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields in unkindness. No excesses will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the State will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The known purposes of the administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guarantee the truthfulness of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts regiment at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the press of the South as 'knaves and vagrants,' 'the dregs and offscourings of the populace,' who would 'rather filch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly combat;' yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and I presume it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social position, culture, fortune and elevation of character has never been found in so large an army in any age or country. If they go to the South, it will be as friends and protectors, to relieve the Union sentiment of the seceded States from the cruel domination by which it is oppressed and silenced, to unfurl the Stars and Stripes in the midst of those who long to look upon them, and to restore the flag that bears them to the forts and arsenals from which disloyal hands have torn it. Their mission will be one of peace, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unsheath the sword across their pathway."

He, too, attributed the Rebellion not to any burdens the South had to endure, but to the unhallowed ambition of a band of lawless conspirators. "The roots of the revolution," were his words, "may be traced back for more than a quarter of a century, and an unholy lust for power is the soil out of which it sprang. A prominent member of the band of agitators declared in one of his speeches at Charleston, last November or December, that they had been occupied for thirty years in the work of severing South Carolina from the Union. When General Jackson crushed Nullification, he said it would revive again under the form of the slavery agitation: and we have lived to see his prediction verified.* Indeed, that agitation, during the last fifteen or twenty years, has been almost the entire stock in trade of Southern politicians."

His special appeal to Kentucky to avoid the gulf into which her pretended friends would precipitate her, was urged by every consideration which political wisdom, rendered more acute by patriotic motives, could suggest. He exhibited the deeds of violence and robbery of the seceding States, advancing the work of revolution and placing an inseparable barrier between themselves and the States of the Union which were laboring to secure to them the guarantees of which they professed fears that they should be deprived. "All these lawless proceedings," he said, "were well understood to have been prompted and directed by men occupying seats in the capitol, some of whom were frank enough to declare that they could not and would not, though in a minority, live under a government which they could not control. In this declaration is found the key which unlocks the whole of the complicated machinery of this revolution. The profligate ambition of public men in all ages and lands has been the rock on which republics have been split. Such men have arisen in our midst—men who, because unable permanently to grasp the helm of the ship, are willing to destroy it in the hope to command some one of the rafts that may float away from the wreck. The effect is to degrade us to a level with the military bandits of Mexico and South America, who, when beaten at an election, fly to arms, and seek to master by the sword what they have been unable to control by the ballot-box.

---

* See Ante, p. 18.

"The atrocious acts enumerated were acts of war, and might all have been treated as such by the late administration; but the President patriotically cultivated peace—how anxiously and how patiently the country well knows. While, however, the revolutionary leaders greeted him with all hails to his face, they did not the less diligently continue to whet their swords behind his back. Immense military preparations were made, so that when the moment for striking at the government of the United States arrived, the revolutionary States leaped into the contest clad in full armor.

"Kentucky," he continued, exposing the selfishness of the Southern arguments which had brought ruin upon Virginia, "occupying a central position in the Union, is now protected from the scourge of a foreign war, however much its ravages may waste the towns and cities upon our coasts, or the commerce upon our seas; but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, she would be a frontier State, and necessarily the victim of those border feuds and conflicts which have become proverbial in history alike for their fierceness and frequency. The people of the South now sleep quietly in their beds, while there is not a home in infatuated and misguided Virginia that is not filled with the alarms and oppressed by the terrors of war. In the fate of the ancient commonwealth, dragged to the altar of sacrifice by those who should have stood between her bosom and every foe, Kentucky may read her own. No wonder, therefore, that she has been so coaxingly besought to unite her fortunes with those of the South, and to lay down the bodies of her chivalric sons as a breastwork, behind which the Southern people may be sheltered."

Nor were his remarks less noticeable in the inevitable development of the peculiar institution which had brought this fearful trial upon the country:—"Kentucky, in her soul, abhors the African slave-trade, and turns away with unspeakable horror and loathing from the red altars of King Dahomey. But although this traffic has been temporarily interdicted by the seceded States, it is well understood that this step has been taken as a mere measure of policy for the purpose of impressing the border States, and of conciliating the European powers. The ultimate legalization of this trade, by a republic professing to be based upon African servitude, must follow as certainly as does the conclusion from the premises of a mathematical proposition. Is Kentucky prepared to see the hand upon the dial-plate of her civilization rudely thrust back a century, and to stand before the world the confessed champion of the African slave-hunter? Is she, with her unsullied fame, ready to become a pander to the rapacity of the African slave-trader, who burdens the very winds of the sea with the moans of the wretched captives whose limbs he has loaded with chains, and whose hearts he has broken? I do not, I cannot, believe it."

Nearly two months later, in July, the same distinguished orator impressed his views still more emphatically upon the minds of his fellow-citizens, in a public Address at Louisville, one of the most powerful of the many eloquent orations with which he cheered, informed and strengthened the patriotic convictions of his countrymen. He took away every prop which tended to countenance the miserable delusion of neutrality. His lawyer's argument alone fully met the case:—"Strictly and legally speaking, Kentucky must go out of the Union before she can be neutral. Within it she is necessarily either faithful to the government of the United States or she is disloyal to it." But more powerful than any cold, legal argument, however conclusive, was his appeal to the generous sensibilities of the people.

"Within the last few weeks," said he, "how many of those gallant volunteers who have left home and kindred and all that is dear to them, and are now under a Southern sun, exposing themselves to death from disease and to death from battle, and are accounting their lives as nothing in the effort they are making for the deliverance of your government and theirs; how many of them have said to me in sadness and in longing, 'Will not Kentucky help me?' How my soul would have leaped could I have answered promptly, confidently, exultingly, 'Yes, she will.' But when I thought of this neutrality my heart sank within me, and I did not and I could not look those brave men in the face. And yet I could not answer, 'No.' I could not crush myself to the earth under the self-abasement of such a reply. I therefore said—and may my country sustain me—'I hope, I trust, I pray, nay, I believe Kentucky will yet do her duty.' If this Government is to be destroyed, ask yourselves, are you willing it should be recorded in history that Kentucky stood by in the greatness of her strength and lifted not a hand to stay the catastrophe? If it is to be saved, as I verily believe it is, are you willing that it shall be written that, in the immeasurable glory which must attend the achievement, Kentucky had no part? I will only add, if Kentucky wishes the waters of her beautiful Ohio to be dyed in blood—if she wishes her harvest-fields, now waving in their abundance, to be trampled beneath the feet of hostile soldiery, as a flower-garden is trampled beneath the threshings of the tempest—if she wishes the homes where her loved ones are now gathered in peace, invaded by the proscriptive fury of a military despotism, sparing neither life nor property—if she wishes the streets of her towns and cities grown with grass, and the steamboats of her rivers to lie rotting at her wharves, then let her join the Southern Confederacy; but if she would have the bright waters of that river flow on in their gladness—if she would have her harvests peacefully gathered in her garners—if she would have the lullabies of her cradles and the songs of her homes uninvaded by the cries and terrors of battle—if she would have the streets of her towns and cities again filled with the hum and throngs of busy trade, and her rivers and her shores once more vocal with the steamer's whistle, the anthem of a free and prosperous commerce, then let her stand fast by the Stars and Stripes, and do her duty and her whole duty as a member of this Union. Let her brave people say to the President of the United States, 'You are our Chief Magistrate; the Government you have in charge, and are striving to save from dishonor and dismemberment, is our Government; your cause is indeed our cause; your battles are our battles; make room for us, therefore, in the ranks of your armies, that your triumph may be our triumph also.' Even as with the Father of us all I would plead for salvation, so my countrymen, as upon my knees, would I plead with you for the life, aye for the life, of our great and beneficent institutions. But if the traitor's knife, now at the throat of the Republic, is to do its work, and this Government is fated to add yet another to that long line of sepulchres which whiten the highway of the past, then my heartfelt prayer to God is, that it may be written in history, that the blood of its life was not found upon the skirts of Kentucky."*

---

* Address of the Hon. Joseph Holt to the People of Kentucky, at Louisville, July 13, 1861.

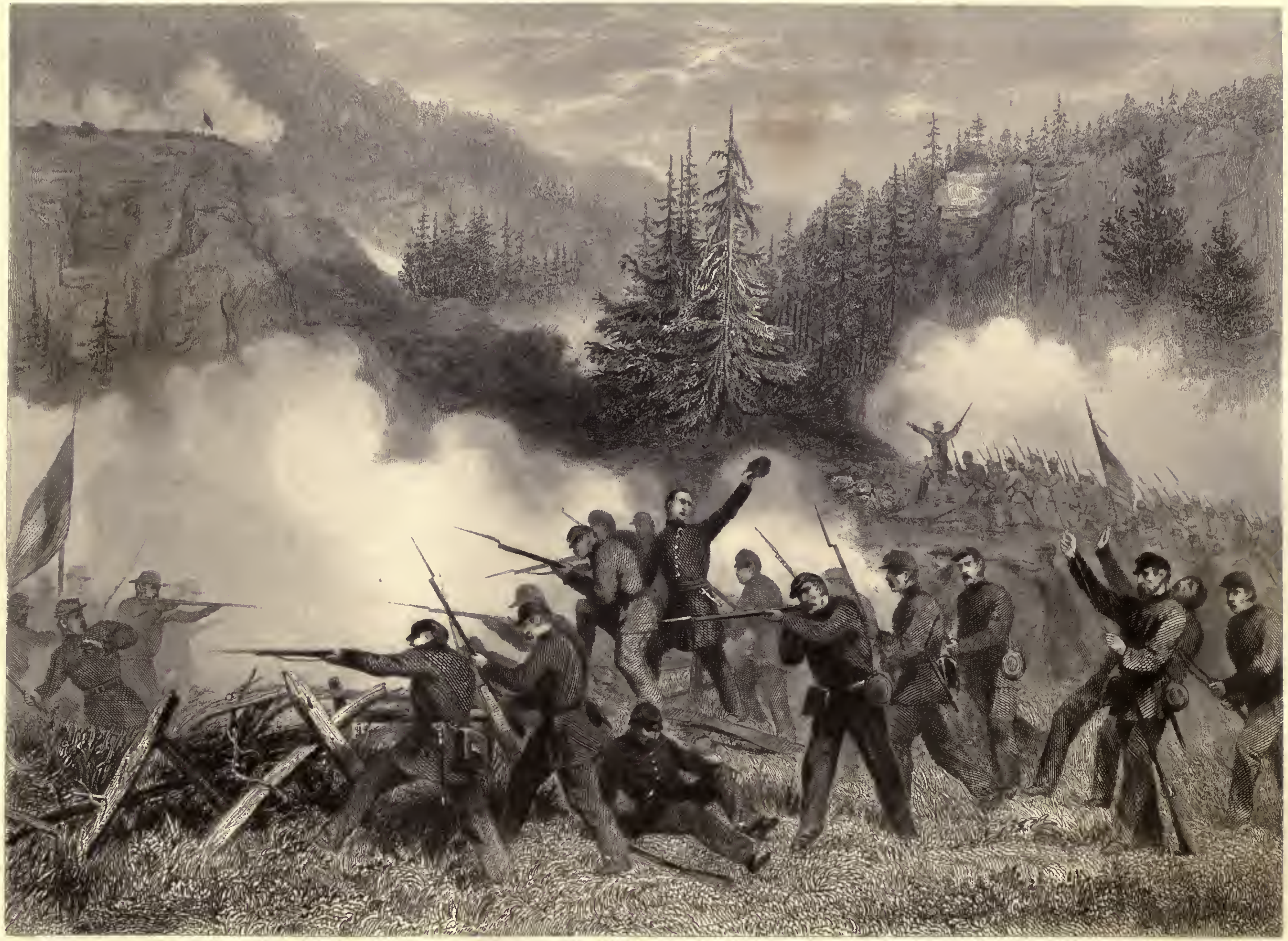
CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL McCLELLAN IN WESTERN VIRGINIA.

On the 23d of June, Major-General McClellan, from the headquarters of his department of the Ohio, at Grafton, Virginia, issued a second proclamation "To the Inhabitants of Western Virginia," in which he took occasion to denounce various barbarities of the war on the part of the rebels, of which much had been heard from the banks of the Potomac. "The army of this department," said he, "headed by Virginia troops, is rapidly occupying all Western Virginia. This is done in coöperation with, and in support of such civil authorities of the State as are faithful to the Constitution and laws of the United States. The proclamation issued by me, under date of May 26th, 1861, will be strictly maintained. Your houses, families, property and all your rights will be religiously respected. We are enemies to none but armed rebels and those voluntarily giving them aid. All officers of this army will be held responsible for the most prompt and vigorous action in repressing disorder and punishing aggression by those under their command. To my great regret, I find that the enemies of the United States continue to carry on a system of hostilities prohibited by the laws of war among belligerent nations, and of course far more wicked and intolerable when directed against loyal citizens engaged in the defence of the common Government of all. Individuals and marauding parties are pursuing a guerrilla warfare, firing upon sentinels and pickets, burning bridges, insulting and even killing citizens because of their Union sentiments, and committing many kindred acts. I do now, therefore, make proclamation, and warn all persons that individuals or parties engaged in this species of warfare, irregular in every view that can be taken of it, thus attacking sentries, pickets, or other soldiers, destroying public or private property, or committing injuries against any of the inhabitants because of Union sentiments or conduct, will be dealt with in their persons and property according to the severest rules of military law. All persons giving information or aid to the public enemies will be arrested and kept in close custody; and all persons found bearing arms, unless of known loyalty, will be arrested and held for examination."

In a further address "To the Soldiers of the Army of the West," he reminded them of the delicate nature of the service in which they were engaged, and of the high principles of courage and forbearance which should govern them in their mission to preserve and not to destroy. "You are here," said he, "to support the Government of your country, and to protect the lives and liberties of your brethren, threatened by a rebellious and traitorous foe. No higher or nobler duty could devolve on you, and I expect you to bring to its performance the highest and noblest qualities of soldiers' discipline, courage and mercy. I call upon the officers of every grade to enforce the highest discipline, and I know that those of all grades, privates and officers, will display in battle cool, heroic courage, and will know how to show mercy to a disarmed enemy. Bear in mind that you are in the country of friends, not of enemies — that you are here to protect, not to destroy. Take nothing, destroy nothing, unless you are ordered to do so by your general officers. Remember that I have pledged my word to the people of Western Virginia that their rights in person and property shall be respected. I ask every one of you to make good this promise in its broadest sense. We have come here to save, not to upturn. I do not appeal to the fear of punishment, but to your appreciation of the sacredness of the cause in which we are engaged. Carry into battle the conviction that you are right and that God is on our side. Your enemies have violated every moral law; neither God nor man can sustain them. They have, without cause, rebelled against a mild and paternal Government; they have seized upon public and private property; they have outraged the persons of Northern men, merely because they came from the North, and of Southern Union men merely because they loved the Union; they have placed themselves beneath contempt unless they can retrieve some honor on the field of battle. You will pursue a different course; you will be honest, brave and merciful; you will respect the right of private opinion; you will punish no man for opinion's sake. Show to the world that you differ from our enemies in these points of honor, honesty and respect for private opinion, and that we inaugurate no reign of terror wherever we go. Soldiers, I have heard that there was danger here. I have come to place myself at your head and share it with you. I fear now but one thing, that you will not find foemen worthy of your steel. I know that I can rely upon you."

The soldiers to whom this language was addressed, were soon to have an opportunity to practice its precepts and test its predictions in face of the enemy We have seen the insurgents routed at Philippi, with the hope that Western Virginia would be left free from invasion. The expectation, however, was premature, while the force, of which that of Philippi was but a detachment, was gathering in the central region above. The headquarters of this division of the Confederate army were in Randolph county, at Beverly, a town situated at the entrance of a valley, bounded by two parallel outlying ridges of the Alleghanies, through which a road ran communicating with Eastern Virginia on the North, by way of St. George and West Union, in the neighborhood of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, and on the southeast by the nearer Cheat Mountain Pass, leading by a circuitous route toward Staunton. From the west and northwest, where McClellan's Union troops were collected, the immediate approaches were by two converging roads from Buckhannon and Philippi. The Confederate force was some ten or twelve thousand in number, consisting of Virginia volunteers, with the addition of several regiments from the South, including Mississippians and Georgians, the whole under the command of General Robert S. Garnett, a native of Virginia, who had been educated at West Point, seen honorable service in Mexico, and attained the rank of Major in the United States army. On the breaking out of the rebellion he had abandoned the national service and accepted his present position with the Confederates. His camp, embracing a force of from five to six thousand men, was established at Laurel Hill or mountain, on its northwestern declivity. It was about fifteen miles north of Beverly and the same distance from Philippi, where three or four thousand of the Union troops were still kept in advance, under the command of Captain Benham. In the immediate vicinity, on the west, Beverly was protected by the line of the Rich Mountain, the road from Buckhannon passing in a hollow between two of its elevations. This defile was held by Colonel Pegram, a native of Virginia, late of the United States service, with a force of about 2,000 insurgents, who were strongly intrenched on both sides of the road. To defeat and capture the enemy in these strongholds, General McClellan sent forward a column of nearly 4,000 men, under General Morris, from Philippi to Bealington, to prevent the escape of the enemy to the northward at Laurel Hill, while he himself advanced from Clarksburg, by way of Buckhannon, from the west, to attack the enemy's left at Rich Mountain, and take General Garnett in the rear, between Beverly and Laurel Mountain. The command of General McClellan numbered about 10,000. On his arrival at Buckhannon, on the 1st of July, some skirmishing ensued by commands sent to break up parties of insurgents in the vicinity. From the 8th to the 12th, there were frequent encounters, with a loss of several killed each day on either side, between a portion of the Ohio and Indiana regiments of Morris' command, assisted by Colonel Barrett's Ohio battery, stationed at Bealington, and the Georgian regiment with Garnett at Laurel Hill, in which the advantage was with the former. On the 11th of July, General McClellan, making his way toward Beverly, was encamped with his forces a short distance to the west of Rich Mountain, in front of the rebel intrenchments on the road. So well was the enemy's position defended by art and natural advantages, that a simple direct attack was considered impracticable without the certainty of great loss. To lighten the risk or sacrifice, it was determined by General McClellan that, coöperating with the assault in front, an attack should be made by a circuitous movement around and over the mountain. This was entrusted to Colonel William Starke Rosecrans, a young officer formerly of the regular army, who had passed from West Point to the discharge of the most important services entrusted to the engineer corps in the superintendence of the construction of public works and fortifications, and who had of late been engaged in civil life in pursuits to which he was drawn by his scientific studies and accomplishments. The rebellion had found him in Cincinnati, where he returned to the service, at first with the appointment of Colonel of Volunteers, and afterwards of Brigadier-General of the army. Colonel Rosecrans was now placed in command



BATTLE OF RICH MOUNTAIN.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

of four regiments of Volunteers—the 8th, 10th and 15th Indiana, and the 19th Ohio and a company of Cincinnati cavalry, with instructions to make his way over the hills in a southeasterly direction, turning the enemy's camp and attacking it from the road in the rear, while General McClellan should, on learning of his success, assail it from the other side in front. Accompanied by Colonel Lander, General Rosecrans started at daylight on the morning of the 11th, forcing his way for eight miles over the rocks and through the pathless woods, which were wet with rain, till they came at noon upon a detachment of the enemy, occupying an open space above the intrenchments, at a farm-house on the mountain. It is said the latter were apprised of the movements against them by the capture of a courier sent from the Union headquarters, who had by mistake approached the camp on the road.

An account of the sharp skirmishing which ensued, given by Mr. David L. Hart, the guide to the Union forces, is, perhaps, as characteristic a report of the affair as we are likely to receive. "The enemy intrenched themselves," says he, "with earthworks on my father's farm, just where we were to come into the road. We did not know they were there until we came on their pickets and their cannon opened fire upon us. We were then about a quarter of a mile from the house, and skirmishing began. I left the advance and went into the main body of the army. I had no arms of any kind. The rain began pouring down in torrents while the enemy fired his cannon, cutting off the tree-tops over our heads quite lively. They fired rapidly. I thought from the firing they had twenty-five or thirty pieces. We had no cannon with us. Our boys stood still in the rain about half an hour. The 8th and 10th then led off, bearing to the left of our position. The bushes were so thick we could not see out, nor could the enemy see us. The enemy's musket-balls could not reach us. Our boys, keeping up a fire, got down within sight and then pretended to run, but they only fell down in the bushes and behind rocks. This drew the enemy from their intrenchments, when our boys let into them with their Enfield and Minié rifles, and I never heard such screaming in my life. The 19th (Ohio) in the meantime advanced to a fence, in a line with the breastworks, and fired one round. They then gave the Indiana boys a tremendous cheer, and the enemy broke from their intrenchments, in every way they could. The Indiana boys had previously been ordered to 'fix bayonets.' We could hear the rattle of the iron very plainly as the order was obeyed. 'Charge bayonets' was then ordered, and away went our boys after the enemy. One man alone stood his ground and fired a cannon until shot by a revolver. A general race for about three hundred yards followed through the bush, when our men were recalled and re-formed in line of battle, to receive the enemy from the intrenchments at the foot of the mountain, as we supposed they would certainly attack us from that point; but it seems that as soon as they no longer heard the firing of the cannon they gave up all for lost." While all this was being accomplished by Colonel Rosecrans and his gallant force, which was greatly aided by the presence of Colonel F. W. Lander, General McClellan, unacquainted with the advantage which had been gained, was making active preparations for the attack from his side. A road was cut through the woods "by splendid axemen from the 4th Ohio regiment," along which artillery was to be transported to a position commanding the rebel camp. The road was held by the 4th and 9th Ohio, and all was ready for mounting the guns the next morning; but the retreat of the enemy in the night saved the trouble of the movement. At nine o'clock on the 12th, General McClellan telegraphed to Colonel Townsend, the assistant Adjutant-General at Washington: "We are in possession of all the enemy's works up to a point on the right of Beverly. I have taken all his guns, a very large amount of wagons, tents, etc.—everything he had — a large number of prisoners, many of whom were wounded, and several officers prisoners. They lost many killed. We have lost, in all, perhaps twenty killed and fifty wounded, of whom all but two or three were in the column under Rosecrans, which turned the position. The mass of the enemy escaped through the woods, entirely disorganized. Among the prisoners is Dr. Taylor, formerly of the army. Colonel Pegram was in command. Colonel Rosecrans' column left camp yesterday morning and marched some eight miles through the mountains, reaching the turnpike some two or three miles in rear of the enemy, defeating an advanced post and taking a couple of guns. I had a position ready for twelve guns near the main camp, and as the guns were moving up, I ascertained that the enemy had retreated. I am now pushing on to Beverly, a part of Colonel Rosecrans' troops being now within three miles of it. Our success is complete and almost bloodless. I doubt whether Wise and Johnson will unite and overpower me. The behavior of the troops in the action and toward the prisoners was admirable."

This is the official language of the General relating his honorably won triumphs—we may even say the humane result of his admirable strategy in saving the wholesale slaughter else inevitable. But let us lift the curtain a moment and learn what the *mercy* of war is. The narrator, a correspondent at the camp, is describing the scene at Rich Mountain after the battle:—"Our own and the rebel wounded lay strewn together in blankets on the floor of Hart's house. Every available space was covered with their convulsive and quivering bodies. Down under the porch there was another line of wounded. There was no difference in the treatment of the sufferers. The severely wounded of the enemy were attended to before the slightly wounded of our own army. Most of them suffered in silence, a few slept soundly, but some moaned with intense agony. One poor fellow, an Indiana man, shot through the head, who could even yet stand on his feet with assistance, suffered great agony. Now and then a rebel would stare sullenly at our people, but the majority appeared gratefully surprised at the kindness with which they were treated. Indeed, everything possible was done to mitigate their sufferings. When General McClellan rode up to the battle-field he visited the hospital, and spoke cheerfully to the sufferers, making many kind inquiries. When he came out at the door, a rough soldier exclaimed to a comrade, "Why, the General is crying.' It had never occurred to him that it was a scene to draw tears from a soldier. As brilliantly as General Rosecrans shone in the field, his lustre in the hospital had a brighter glow. He did all that a General and a generous-hearted man could do to mitigate the sufferings of his gallant troops."*

But the cries of the wounded and dying are lost in the trumpet-notes of victory. The next day General McClellan forwarded another dispatch, heaping victory upon victory. "The success of the day," he wrote, "is all that I could desire. We captured six brass cannons, of which one is rifled, all the enemy's camp equipage and transportation, even to his cups. The number of tents will probably reach two hundred, and more than sixty wagons. Their killed and wounded will amount to fully one hundred and fifty, with one hundred prisoners, and more coming in constantly. I know already of ten officers killed and prisoners. Their retreat is complete. I occupied Beverly by a rapid march. Garnett abandoned his camp early in the morning, leaving much of his equipage. He came within a few miles of Beverly, but our rapid march turned him back in great confusion, and he is now retreating on the road to St. George. I have ordered General Morris to follow him up closely. I have telegraphed for the two Pennsylvania regiments at Cumberland to join General Hill at Rowlesburg. The General is concentrating all his troops there, and will cut off Garnett's retreat near West Union, or, if possible, at St. George. I may say that we have driven out some ten thousand troops, strongly entrenched, with the loss of eleven killed and thirty-five wounded. The provisions returns here show Garnett's force to have been ten thousand men. They were Eastern Virginians, Tennesseeans, Georgians, and I think Carolinians. I trust that General Cox has by this time driven Wise out of the Kanawha valley. In that case I shall have accomplished the object of liberating Western Virginia. I hope the General-in-Chief will approve of my operations."

The retreat of General Garnett from his camp at Laurel Hill on the night of the 11th toward Beverly was possibly with the intention of joining Pegram's force, and, if necessary, making his escape by the southern Cheat Mountain Pass; but finding that officer routed, and the Pass closed against him, he beat, as has just been stated, a hasty retreat north-eastward from Leedsville. On the morning of the 12th, as soon as the escape was discovered, the forces of General Morris were moved rapidly forward in pursuit. They crossed the Laurel Mountain on the track of Garnett to Leedsville, halting that night by order of General Morris two or three miles to the east of Leedsville, a due report being made that afternoon to General McClellan at Beverly, who at once ordered the pursuit by Morris, and telegraphed to General Hill at Grafton to move forward by railway to Oatland, and from there intercept the fugitives from St. George's. The active pursuit commenced before daylight the next morning, July 13, under command of Captain Benham, whose report to his superior officer succinctly presents a clear and impressive account of the memorable incidents of the day. "In accordance with your directions this morning," he addresses General Morris, "I took command of the advance troops of your column, consisting of the 14th Ohio regiment, Steedman, with one section of Colonel Barnett's battery, the 7th Indiana regiment, under Colonel Dumont, the 9th Indiana regiment, under Colonel Milroy—in all about 1800 men—and with this force, as instructed, started from near Leedsville, at about four o'clock A. M., to pursue the army of General Garnett, which consisted, as we learned, of from 4,000 to 5,000 men, and from 4 to 6 cannon, and had retreated from the north side of Laurel Mountain, near Bealington, on yesterday. It being ascertained that the enemy had retired toward the village of New Interest, and thence, as was supposed, over a mountain road leading by the Shafer Branch, or main Cheat River, to St. George's, the troops were brought rapidly forward on their route, so as to reach the entrance of the mountain road at about six o'clock. A short distance after entering this path, the passage was found to be obstructed with large trees, recently felled, in about twelve to fifteen places, and in nearly every defile for three or four miles. But the information which was from time to time received that this force, which had some fifteen hours the start of us from Bealington, were only four or five miles in advance, encouraged our efforts, and, though for nearly the whole time the rain was pouring in torrents, and the clayey mud was almost impassable in many places, the spirit of our troops, without exception as it came under my eye, was such as to bear them most rapidly onward under all these trials, superadded to that of hunger with the greater part of them, for the previous fifteen or twenty hours.

---

* Correspondence, Beverly, July 14th, of the *Cincinnati Commercial.*

"At about noon we reached Kalers or the first ford of the Shafer Branch, or main Cheat River, having within the previous two or three miles fired at and driven in several pickets, protecting those who were forming the barricades, and at one place we broke up a camp where meals were being cooked. At the ford near 'Kalers,' and at about one-half the distance to another ford which we met with about one mile further on, we saw the baggage train of the enemy, apparently at rest. This I proposed to attack as soon as strengthened by the arrival of Steedman's 2d Battalion, with Dumont's regiment, when the thoughtless firing of a musket at our ford set the train rapidly in motion, and long lines of infantry were formed in order of battle to protect it. In a few minutes, however, the arrival of Barnett's artillery, with Dumont close upon it, enabled the command to push forward in its original order. But the train and its guard had retired, leaving only a few skirmishers to meet us at the second ford, where, however, quite a brisk firing was kept up by the advance regiments, and the artillery opened for some minutes to clear the adjacent wood the more completely of the enemy. We then continued our march rapidly to this ford, and as we approached it we came upon their train, the last half of it just crossing the river. The enemy was found to have taken a strong position, with his forces upon a precipitous bank of some fifty to eighty feet in height, upon the opposite side of the river; while our own troops were upon the low land, nearly level with the river. Steedman's regiment in the advance opened its fire most gallantly upon them, which was immediately returned by their strong force of infantry and by their cannon; upon which Barnett's artillery was ordered up, and opened upon them with excellent effect. As I soon perceived a position by which their left could be turned, six companies of Dumont's regiment were ordered to cross the river about three hundred yards above them, to pass up the hill obliquely from our right to their left, and take them in the rear. By some mistake, (possibly in the transmission of the order,) this command crossed at about double this distance, and turned at first to their right, which delayed the effect of this movement. After fifteen minutes, however, this error was rectified, and the hill being reported as impracticable, this command, now increased to the whole regiment, was ordered down to the ford under close cover of the hill on their side, and then to take them directly in front and right at the road. The firing of Steedman's regiment and of Milroy's, now well up and in action, with repeated and rapid discharges of the artillery during the movement, decided the action at once. As Dumont reached the road, having passed along and under their whole front, the firing ceased and the enemy fled in great confusion, Dumont's regiment pursuing them about one mile further, having a brisk skirmishing with their rear for the first half of that distance, during which General Garnett was killed.

"The enemy would still have been followed up most closely, and probably to the capture of a large portion of their scattered army, but this was absolutely impossible with our fatigued and exhausted troops, who had already marched some eighteen miles or more, in an almost incessant and violent rain, and the greater part of them without food since the evening, and a portion of them even from the noon of yesterday, so warm had been the pursuit on their hasty retreat from Laurel Mountain, twenty-seven miles distant. The troops were, therefore, halted for food and rest at about two o'clock P. M.

"The result proves to be, the capture of about forty loaded wagons and teams, being nearly all their baggage train, as we learn, and including a large portion of new clothing, camp equipage, and other stores; their headquarter papers, and military chest; also two stands of colors; also a third flag, since taken, and one fine rifled piece of artillery; while the commanding General, Robert S. Garnett, is killed—his body being now cared for by us—and fifteen or twenty more of the enemy are killed, and nearly fifty prisoners. Our own loss is two killed and six wounded, one dangerously. In concluding this report, I feel it my duty to state that, just as the action was closing, the head regiment of the body of troops under yourself, though starting, as I learn, some three hours later, the 6th Indiana, under Colonel Crittenden, came up to the field in excellent order, but unfortunately too late to aid us in the battle. The conduct of those gallant officers, Colonels Barnett, Steedman, Dumont, and Milroy, with the steady perseverance of their officers, in their long and arduous march, suffering from hunger, rain, and cold, with their gallantry in action, was most heroic and beyond all praise of mine. Their country only can appreciate and reward their services."

Such was the battle of Corrack's Ford, as the passage of the stream was called from the name of the farmer occupying the place. General Garnett fell, killed on the instant by a musket shot, with no one near him at the moment, it is said, but a youth of apparently humble station in life, wearing the uniform and button of the Georgia troops, who died by his side. The remains of General Garnett were forwarded to Grafton and tenderly cared for till they could be received by his friends, while the sword and watch which he wore at his death and other personal effects were carefully preserved and sent to his family by Captain Benham. The boy who fell by General Garnett's side was buried by the loyal Virginians, and the inscription placed at his head, "Name unknown. A brave fellow who shared his General's fate, and fell fighting by his side, while his companions fled."*

The credit of this pursuit was mainly due to Captain Benham, who pushed on in spite of orders from General Morris for his recall. The latter had no disposition to let the foe escape, but he was not unnaturally influenced by a desire to spare the men, numbers of whom he met with fallen and exhausted in the rear, the perils of further suffering. Fifty-five loaded wagons, among other spoils, valued in all at two hundred thousand dollars, fell to the victors as the results of the pursuit. Among the trophies were two flags of Georgia regiments, and the standard of Colonel Taliaferro's Virginia regiment. One of the former, above the arms of Georgia, bore the inscription "Cotton is King."

Colonel Pegram meanwhile, on the morning of the eventful 12th, had conducted his men, on their retreat, a few miles north of Beverly, near the Tygart's Valley River, when he felt it incumbent, in consequence of the retreat of General Garnett and "the jaded and reduced condition" of his command, to surrender the entire force "prisoners of war" to General McClellan. The surrender was accepted, with the understanding, however, that while all were received with the kindness due to prisoners of war, it was not in the power of the commanding officer to relieve them from any liabilities they had incurred. They were soon released, however, on oath not to take up arms against the United States.

A week later General McClellan summed up the results of the campaign in a glowing Proclamation to his troops:—"Soldiers of the Army of the West—I am more than satisfied with you. You have annihilated two armies, commanded by educated and experienced soldiers, intrenched in mountain fastnesses and fortified at their leisure. You have taken five guns, twelve colors, fifteen hundred stand of arms, one thousand prisoners, including more than forty officers. One of the two commanders of the rebels is a prisoner, the other lost his life on the field of battle. You have killed more than two hundred and fifty of the enemy, who has lost all his baggage and camp equipage. All this has been accomplished with the loss of twenty brave men killed and sixty wounded on your part. You have proved that Union men fighting for the preservation of our Government are more than a match for our misguided and erring brothers. More than this, you have shown mercy to the vanquished. You have made long and arduous marches, with insufficient food, frequently exposed to the inclemency of the weather. I have not hesitated to demand this of you, feeling that I could rely on your endurance, patriotism and courage. In the future I may have still greater demands to make upon you—still greater sacrifices for you to offer. It shall be my care to provide for you to the extent of my ability; but I know now that by your valor and endurance you will accomplish all that is asked.

---

* Cincinnati *Gazette*.

Soldiers, I have confidence in you, and I trust you have learned to confide in me. Remember that discipline and subordination are qualities of equal value with courage. I am proud to say that you have gained the highest reward that American troops can receive—the thanks of Congress and the applause of your fellow-citizens."

A few days after, General McClellan was called to Washington to succeed General McDowell on the Potomac, and the command of the Department of the Ohio and the army of occupation in Western Virginia was assigned to Brigadier-General Rosecrans. By his general orders of the 25th of July his entire force was divided into four brigades. One of these was entrusted to Colonel Robert L. McCook of the 9th Ohio regiment, a resolute officer who will be found hereafter actively engaged in some of the most perilous encounters of the war. The brigade of the Kanawha remained under the command of General Cox.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS IN JULY.

In accordance with the Proclamation by President Lincoln of the 15th April, the 37th National Congress met in special session at Washington on the 4th of July. Members from twenty-three out of the thirty-four States took their seats in the Senate. Kansas was not as yet represented, but the number of the loyal States was made good on the floor by the presence of that resolute defender of the Union, Senator Johnson from Tennessee. In the House of Representatives a quorum was also present. In the first ballot for Speaker the republican vote was divided between Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, who had been second on the list of candidates for the same office in the previous Congress, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri. Out of the 159 votes cast, Mr. Grow received 71; Mr. Blair 40, 12 of the remainder being given to Mr. Crittenden. The largest vote falling short of a majority, Mr. Blair withdrew in favor of Mr. Grow, when the latter on a second ballot was elected by 99 votes.

Mr. Grow's address on taking his seat as Speaker, proved characteristic of the temper of the House. Appropriately referring to the foundation of the Government in the Act of Independence which had given the day on which the present Congress had met its peculiar significance, he proceeded in a few words to depict the extraordinary position in which the country was now placed. "A rebellion," said he, "the most causeless in the history of the race, has developed a conspiracy of long-standing to destroy the Constitution formed by the wisdom of our fathers, and the Union cemented by their blood. This conspiracy, nurtured for long years in secret councils, first develops itself openly in acts of spoliation and plunder of public property, with the connivance or under the protection of treason enthroned in all the high places of the Government, and at last in armed rebellion for the overthrow of the best Government ever devised by man. Without an effort in the mode prescribed by the organic law for a redress of all grievances, the malcontents appeal only to the arbitrament of the sword, insult the nation's honor, trample upon its flag, and inaugurate a revolution which, if successful, would end in establishing petty, jarring confederacies, or despotism and anarchy, upon the ruins of the republic, and the destruction of its liberties." Of the prompt response of the people of the country to the call of the Executive, and of the nature of the struggle upon which they were entering, he said, "The 19th of April, canonized in the first struggle for American nationality, has been reconsecrated in martyr blood. Warren has his counterpart in Ellsworth, and the heroic deeds and patriotic sacrifices of the struggle for the establishment of the republic are being reproduced upon the battle-fields for its maintenance. Every race and tongue almost is represented in the grand legion of the Union: their standards proclaim in language more impressive than words, that here indeed is the home of the emigrant and the asylum of the exile. No matter where was his birth-place, or in what clime his infancy was cradled, he devotes his life to the defence of his adopted land, the vindication of its honor, and the protection of its flag, with the same zeal with which he would guard his hearthstone or his fireside. All parties, sects, and conditions of men not corrupted by the institutions of human bondage, forgetting bygone rancors or prejudices, blend in one united phalanx for the integrity of the Union and the perpetuity of the republic. Long years of peace, in the pursuit of sordid gain, instead of blunting the patriotic devotion of loyal citizens, seem but to have intensified its development when the existence of the Government is threatened and its honor assailed. The merchant, the banker, and the tradesman, with an alacrity unparalleled, proffer their all at the altar of their country, while from the counter, the workshop, and the plow, brave hearts and stout arms, leaving their tasks unfinished, rush to the tented field. The air vibrates with martial strains, and the earth shakes with the tread of armed men. In view of this grandest demonstration for self-preservation in the history of nationalities, desponding patriotism may be assured that the foundations of our national greatness still stand strong, and that the sentiment which to-day beats responsive in every loyal heart will for the future be realized. No flag alien to the sources of the Mississippi river will ever float permanently over its mouths till its waters are crimsoned in human gore; and not one foot of American soil can ever be wrenched from the jurisdiction of the Constitution of the United States until it is baptized in fire and blood."

On the 5th, President Lincoln having been, according to custom, informed of the organization of Congress, transmitted the usual Message. Like his previous inaugural, it was marked by individual traits of style, and an equal candor and earnestness. It began with a brief recapitulation of the circumstances under which he had entered upon the Presidency. At the beginning of his term, four months before, the functions of the Federal Government, excepting the Post-Office Department, were generally suspended in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and

Florida. All the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom-houses and the like, with the property belonging to them, were then seized and held in open hostility to the Government, excepting only Forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. The forts which had been seized were filled with hostile garrisons; others, in or near the disaffected States, were menaced; new ones were built and armed against the Government. "A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government. Accumulations of the public revenue, lying within them, had been seized for the same object. The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers; and of those resigning, a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government. Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring the States, respectively, to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined government of these States had been promulgated; and this illegal organization, in the character of Confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid and intervention from foreign Powers. Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the Inaugural Address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures, before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government; and to collect the revenue; relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at Government expense, to the very people who were resisting the Government; and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was forborne, without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot."

The measures taken in pursuance of this resolution—the attempts made for the relief of Sumter, the call, under the war power, for defenders of the Union, the gathering of troops, and the suspension of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*—have already passed under our notice, with the President's explanation or justification of them offered on this occasion.* He now further recommended that Congress "give the legal means for making this contest a short and a decisive one, that it place at the control of the Government for the work, at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred millions of dollars. "That number of men," he urged, "is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where, apparently, *all* are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of six hundred millions of dollars *now*, is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle ; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was *then*, than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive *now*, to *preserve* our liberties, as each had *then* to *establish* them. A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant ; and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well."

---

* Ante, p. 121–3; 243–4.

The remainder of the Message was mainly occupied with an argument on the legality of the ground assumed by the Southern States in their revolt, the President apparently being anxious, at the expense even of reviewing a matter on which the public was already convinced, to state, once for all, clearly and fully the principles which would govern him in his future action for the preservation of the Government. He would have the world know that, not as a dogmatist or a blind follower of other's authority, he would exercise the power intrusted to his hands, but that he would bring to the work every effort of his judgment to arrive at a sound conclusion. This exercise of the reasoning faculty, a trait perhaps derived from his legal experience, appears, throughout, a characteristic of the President's proceedings. He was often afterward called to employ it in the midst of opposing appeals of prejudice, interest and other motives ; and though his decision might be fallible, the confidence of the people that it was laboriously and honestly formed, was, in consequence, freely given to sustain him in many trying difficulties and embarrassments of his situation.

"It would seem, at first thought," says he, in this argumentative portion of his Message, "to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called 'secession' or 'rebellion.' The movers, however, well understood the difference. At the beginning, they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies *violation* of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in, and reverence for, the history and government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps, through all the incidents to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any State of the Union may, *consistently* with the national Constitution, and therefore *lawfully* and *peaceably*, withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judge of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice. With rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years; and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Government the day *after* some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretence of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day *before*.

"This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a *State*—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State *out* of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union *before* they cast off their British colonial dependence; and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas. And even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones, in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the 'United Colonies' were declared to be 'free and independent States;' but, even then, the object plainly was not to declare their independence of *one another*, or of the *Union*, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly show. The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen, in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States, neither in substance nor in name, *outside* of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of 'State rights,' asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the 'sovereignty' of the States; but the word, even, is not in the national Constitution; nor, as is believed, in any of the State Constitutions. What is a 'sovereignty,' in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it, 'A political community without a political superior?' Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty. And even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union; by which act, she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be, for her, the supreme law of the land. The States have their *status* IN the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break from this, they can only do so against law, and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest, or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State Constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union;

nevertheless, dependent upon, and preparatory to, coming into the Union.

"Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the national Constitution; but among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive; but, at most, such only as were known in the world, at the time, as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the government itself had never been known as a governmental—as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of *generality* and *locality*. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole—to the general Government; while whatever concerns *only* the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the national Constitution, in defining boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are all bound to that defining, without question. What is now combatted, is the position that secession is *consistent* with the Constitution—is *lawful* and *peaceful*. It is not contended that there is any express law for it; and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased, with money, the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave, and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums, (in the aggregate, I believe, nearly a hundred millions,) to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now be off without consent, or without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceding States, in common with the rest. Is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the whole? A part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave, and pay no part of this herself? Again, if one State may secede, so may another; and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain.

"The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national Constitution of their own, in which, of necessity, they have either *discarded* or *retained* the right of secession, as, they insist, it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that, on principle, it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it, by their own construction of ours they show that, to be consistent, they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure. If all the States, save one, should assert the power to *drive* that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called 'driving the one out,' should be called 'the seceding of the others from that one,' it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do; unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which made the Constitution, and speaks from the preamble, calling itself 'We, the People.' It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee; for the result of an election, held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are at once *for* the Union, and *against* coercion, would be coerced to vote against the Union."

Having thus disposed of the legal argument as it presented itself to his mind, he drew as a practical inference from the whole, an actual test of the value of the theory, a picture of the fruits of the system in the end of all good government, the welfare of the people. As a cardinal principle of his action which might be required to guide him through great perplexities lying dark and threatening in the concealed future, he evidently laid particular stress upon this topic. "It may be affirmed," he said, "without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers, and improved the condition, of our whole people, beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it, but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this: there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a Court, abundantly competent to administer the government itself! Nor do I say that this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries, in this contest; but if it is, so much better the reason why the government, which has conferred such benefits on both them and us, should not be broken up. Whoever, in any section, proposes to abandon such a government, would do well to consider, in deference to what principle it is that he does it—what better he is likely to get in its stead—whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people. There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence, in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words 'all men are created equal.' Why? They have adopted a temporary national constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit 'We, the people,' and substitute 'We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States.' Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

"This is essentially a People's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life. Yielding to partial and temporary departures, from necessity, this is the leading object of the government for whose existence we contend. I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note, that while in this, the government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices, have resigned, and proved false to the hand which had pampered them, not one common soldier, or common sailor, is known to have deserted his flag. Great honor is due to those officers who remained true, despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor, and most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands, but an hour before, they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of plain people. They understand, without an argument, that the destroying the government which was made by Washington means no good to them."

President Lincoln concluded his message with evident feeling of the weight of responsibility cast upon him, as he gave utterance to this declaration of the motives and principles of his future action. "Our popular government," he said, "has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled—the successful *establishing* and the successful *administering* of it. One still remains—its successful *maintenance* against a formidable internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves, at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace; teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take it by a war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of a war.

"Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men, as to what is to be the course of the government towards the southern States *after* the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the federal government relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than that expressed in the inaugural address. He desires to preserve the government, that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government; and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that, in giving it, there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sense of those terms. The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that 'The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government.' But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable *means*, to the *end*, of maintaining the guaranty mentioned; and when an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory.

"It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war-power, in defence of the government, forced upon him. He could but perform this duty, or surrender the existence of the government. No compromise, by public servants, could, in this case, be a cure; not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent, that those who carry an election can only save the government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions. As a private citizen, the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he, in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility, he has, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your own judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views, and your action, may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens, who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration to them under the Constitution and the laws. And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear and with manly hearts."

The Cabinet reports accompanying the President's Message exhibited in gratifying terms the unanimity of the loyal States, and their sympathy with and support of the efforts of the Administration. In answer to the first call of the Executive for 75,000 men, notwithstanding the disaffection of the authorities of several of the States appealed to, a greater number came forward and were actually in service. Delaware and Virginia had thus furnished each a regiment, and the loyal citizens of Missouri had contributed twelve regiments to sustain the government. The District of Columbia had sent four full regiments into the field. Under the second call of the 4th of May for volunteers during the war, 208 regiments had been already accepted, all infantry and riflemen with the exception of 2 battalions of artillery and 4 regiments of cavalry. Of these 153 were already in active service. The entire force was thus computed: regulars and volunteers for three months and the war, 235,000; regiments of volunteers accepted and not yet in service

50,000; new regiments of the regular army, 25,000; making a total of 310,000. Deducting the 80,000 three months volunteers, 230,000 would be left for the effective national army for the war.

Pleased with the alacrity with which the call for troops had been answered by the people, and the excellent appearance in general of the recruits, Secretary Cameron eulogized the volunteer system which had borne such fruits. "A government," said he, "whose every citizen stands ready to march to its defence can never be overthrown; for none is so strong as that whose foundations rest immovably in the hearts of the people. The spectacle of more than a quarter of a million of citizens rushing to the field in defence of the Constitution must ever take rank among the most extraordinary facts of history. Its interest is vastly heightened by the lavish outpouring, from States and individuals, of voluntary contributions of money, reaching an aggregate thus far of more than ten millions of dollars. But a few weeks since the men composing this great army were pursuing the avocations of peace. They gathered from the farm, from the workshop, from the factory, from the mine. The minister came from his pulpit, the merchant from his counting-room, the professor and student from the college, the teacher and pupil from the common schools. Young men of fortune left luxurious homes for the tent and the camp. Native and foreign born alike came forward with a kindred enthusiasm. That a well-disciplined, homogeneous, and efficient force should be formed out of such a seemingly heterogeneous mass appears almost incredible. But what is the actual fact? Experienced men, who have had ample opportunity to familiarize themselves with the condition of European armies, concede that, in point of *personnel*, this patriot army is fully equal to the finest regular troops of the Old World. A more intelligent body of men, or one actuated by purer motives, was never before marshalled in the field."

The Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, could hardly as yet be expected to report so satisfactory an increase in his Department. A ship could not be constructed as soon or as readily as a brigade could be got together. His triumphs were to come hereafter, as the result of naval appropriations by Congress. On the 4th of March the navy of the United States, excluding vessels on the stocks unfinished, those used as stationary storeships and receiving ships, and those considered inexpedient to repair, numbered, of all classes, an available force of 69, mounting 1,346 guns; and of these, 24 only, mounting 555 guns, were in commission. From this "available" force of 69 were speedily to be deducted the sloop Levant, given up as lost in the Pacific; the steamer Fulton, seized at Pensacola; and one frigate, two sloops, and a brig burnt at Norfolk. The vessels in commission had a complement, exclusive of officers and marines, of about 7,600 men, and nearly all of them were on foreign stations. The home squadron consisted of twelve vessels carrying 187 guns and about 2,000 men. Of this squadron only four small vessels carrying 25 guns and about 280 men were in northern ports. "With so few vessels," continues Mr. Welles, "in commission on our coast, and our crews in distant seas, the department was very indifferently prepared to meet the exigency that was rising. Every movement was closely watched by the disaffected, and threatened to precipitate measures that the country seemed anxious to avoid. Demoralization prevailed among the officers, many of whom, occupying the most responsible positions, betrayed symptoms of that infidelity which has dishonored the service. But while so many officers were unfaithful, the crews, to their honor be it recorded, were true and reliable, and have maintained, through every trial and under all circumstances, their devotion to the Union and the flag. Unfortunately, however, few comparatively of these gallant men were within the call of the department at that eventful period. They, as well as the ships, were abroad." When it is added that, between the 4th of March and the 4th of July, 259 officers of the navy had resigned their commissions or been dismissed the service from sympathy or complicity with the rebellion, we may estimate the position of the Secretary when he was called upon by the Presidential proclamations of April 19th and 27th, to provide vessels for the blockade of a sea-coast line of nearly three thousand miles, with various inlets and harbors, from the capes of Virginia along the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico to the Rio Grande at the extremity of Texas.

The first duty, in anticipation of this demand was, of course, to recall the ships on foreign service, and as they came in one after the other, they were at once hurried Southward to enforce the blockade. The administration of the oath of allegiance to the officers, purged the service of friends to the rebellion. Other means were, however, necessary to strengthen this arm of the public defence, and they were taken in anticipation of the meeting of Congress, the authority being found "in the necessities and condition of the country and the times." Transport steamers were at first secured; contracts were given out for the building of twenty-three gunboats, each of about 500 tons burden, and other larger and fleeter vessels were bargained for. Eight sloops of war were also put in forwardness at the four Navy Yards. The supply of seamen for this enlarged force had kept pace with the prompt recruiting for the army. "At no period of our history," says Mr. Welles, "has the naval force had so great and rapid an increase, and never have our seamen come forward with more alacrity and zeal to serve the country." The effective force in service on the 4th of July consisted of the squadron in the Atlantic coast, under the command of Flag-Officer S. H. Stringham, consisting of 22 vessels, 296 guns, and 3,300 men—and the squadron in the Gulf of Mexico, under the command of Flag-Officer William Mervine, consisting of 21 vessels, 282 guns, and 3,500 men.

Such an increase of the army and navy as has been indicated, with the vast attendant outlays for various materials of war, equipment, construction and supplies, it was evident would require an enormous outlay—an expectation which was not disappointed in the gigantic figures of the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. From about $60,000,000 per annum, a rough estimate for the expenditures of the year under ordinary circumstances, the calculation for the outlay of the new fiscal year ending June, 1862, was suddenly inflated to about $300,000,000, or five times the sum. To provide for this was the question. Mr. Chase's proposition was two-fold—by taxation and loan. Setting aside $80,000,000 as the regular expenditure of the year, he suggested that sum should be met by the usual custom-house payments, which he calculated, by the increase of the tariff on certain articles of general consumption, as sugar, and the imposition of a duty on others, as tea and coffee, at present wholly exempt, might produce $57,000,000. To this might be added $3,000,000 from the sale of the public lands and various sources, leaving the round sum of $20,000,000 to be provided by direct taxes, or from internal duties or excises, or both. How lightly such a direct tax would fall upon the property of the country he exhibited in the following estimate. The value of the real and personal property of the people of the United States he found, according to the census of 1860, to be about $16,000,000,000, of which something over two-thirds belonged to the States not included in the rebellion, and of this last sum, about seven and a half billions represented the value of the real, and about three billions the value of the personal property. A rate of one-eighth of one per cent. *ad valorem* on the whole real and personal property of the country would thus produce a sum of about twenty millions of dollars; a rate one-fifth of one per cent. on the real and personal property of the States not under insurrection, would produce nearly twenty-two millions, and a rate of three-tenths of one per cent. on the real property alone in these States would produce nearly twenty-three millions; either sum being in excess of the amount required.

In this scheme of the ways and means of taxation, Mr. Chase's recommendation of internal duties brought up the suggestion—an entirely novel one at the time, for the people of the nation had yet to learn the nature of burdens of this kind—of "moderate charges on stills and distilled liquors, on ale and beer, on tobacco, on bank notes, on spring carriages, on silverware and jewelry, and on legacies." Startling as this brief inventory then seemed, the public soon became familiar with these unpleasant details on a much more extended scale and in grander proportions. Mr. Chase's modest paragraph was an innocent-looking prelude to the portentous schedule of the Tax Bill enacted the following year. "It will not, perhaps," added the Secretary, "be thought out of place if the Secretary suggests here that the property of those engaged in insurrection or in giving aid and comfort to insurgents, may properly be made to contribute to the expenditures made necessary by their criminal misconduct as a part of the punishment due to the guilt of involving the nation in the calamities of civil war, and thereby bringing distress upon so many innocent citizens. Congress may justly provide for the forfeiture of the whole or part of the estates of offenders, and for the payment of the proceeds into the public Treasury."

There yet remained, according to Mr. Chase's calculation, some $240,000,000 to be provided for; and this he proposed to manage by loan in triple form. Discarding the usual confined operations through the banking-houses, he devised a plan of directly reaching the public at large by the issue of $100,000,000 of Treasury notes, payable three years after date, bearing $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. interest—a rate chosen "because it is liberal to the subscriber, convenient for calculation, and, under existing circumstances, fair for the Government. . . . It is beneficial to the whole people that a loan distributed among themselves should be made so advantageous to the takers as to inspire satisfaction and hopes of profit rather than annoyance and fears of loss ; and if the rate of interest proposed be somewhat higher than that allowed in ordinary times, it will not be grudged to the subscribers when it is remembered that the interest on the loan will go into the channels of home circulation, and is to reward those who come forward in the hour of peril to place their means at the disposal of their country. The convenience of calculation incident to the rate proposed is quite obvious ; for, the interest being equal to one cent a day on fifty dollars, it is only necessary to know the number of days since the date of a note or of the last payment of interest to determine, at a glance, the amount due upon it. To increase still further this facility of calculation, it is proposed also to issue the Treasury notes of this loan in sums of fifty, one hundred, five hundred, one thousand and five thousand dollars, with the amount of interest for specified periods engraved on the back of each note. The facility thus secured to the holder of determining the exact amount of the note and interest, without any trouble of computation, will materially enhance its value for all purposes of investment and payment." A further issue of a hundred millions of seven per cent. thirty year bonds was recommended—a bid for foreign capitalists—the interest being payable in London or at the Treasury of the United States, with exchange at such rate as will make the payment equivalent to the payment in London. An issue of $50,000,000 of Treasury notes, of ten or twenty dollars each, exchangeable for the 7$\frac{3}{10}$ notes, or payable in coin on demand, completed the recommendations of Mr. Chase's financial budget, which certainly had the merit of presenting a difficult subject with equal ingenuity and clearness. His report, reviewing the difficulties of the situation, concluded with a few words of hopeful augury. "The energies of a great people," he wrote, "will, as he firmly believes, surmount all the troubles and calamities of the present time, and, under the good hand of the God of our fathers, out of these very troubles and difficulties build a future which shall surpass the whole glorious past in the richness of its blessings and benefits."

The temper of the new Congress was, with the exception of a few of the members, decidedly warlike. After the manifold experience of the previous session in that direction, there was little disposition to look into the grounds of political action or contrive profitless schemes of conciliation or adjustment. Sumter had changed all that. The representatives of the people now met to deal practically with rebellion in arms, and they promptly devoted themselves to the business before them. There were not, however, wanting occasional discussions which gave the opportunity for free criticism on both sides of the cause and conduct of the war. A running debate on the joint resolution of approval of the Presidential acts, such as the proclamation calling out the troops, declaring the blockade, and his orders suspending the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which were thought to require a certain sanction or absolution at the hands of Congress, brought up many interesting matters of discussion which will well repay the reader in a study of the reports. Senator Baker of Oregon, spoke on several of these occasions. His speech of the 10th of July is noticeable for its unhesitating confidence in the appeal to arms. "I approve," said he, "as a personal and political friend of the President, of every measure of his administration in relation to the rebellion at present raging in this country. I propose to ratify whatever needs ratification. I propose to render my clear and distinct approval not only of the measure, but of the motive which prompted it. I propose to lend the whole power of the country—arms, men, money—and place them in his hands, with authority almost unlimited, until the conclusion of this struggle. He has asked for $400,000,000. We propose to give him $500,000,000. He has asked for 400,000 men. We propose to give him half a million; and for my part, if, as I do not apprehend, the emergency should be still greater, I will cheerfully add a cypher to either of these figures. But, sir, while I do that, I desire, by my word and my vote, to have it clearly understood that I do that as a measure of war. As I had occasion to say, in a very early discussion of this question, I want sudden, bold, forward, determined war; and I not think anybody can conduct war of that kind as well as a dictator. But, as a Senator, I deem it my duty to look forward to returning peace. I do not believe that it will be longer than next February

> "Till danger's troubled night is o'er,
> And the star of peace returns."

Whether that peace shall be conquered at Richmond, or Montgomery, or New Orleans, or in the wilds of Texas, I do not presume to say; but I do know, if I may use so bold a word, that the determined aggregated power of the whole people of this country—all its treasure, all its arms, all its blood, all its enthusiasm, kindled, concentrated, poured out into one mass of living valor upon any foe—will conquer."

In his concluding remarks he struck upon a vein of thought which might then have been regarded as a random speculation, but which, in the strange experiences which the country was soon to undergo, became familiar enough as a practical necessity—that of providing an intermediate government for States subjugated by the Union arms. "I believe," said he, "with most gentlemen that the Union sentiment will yet prevail in the southern States. Bayonets are sharp remedies, but they are very powerful. I am one of those who believe that there may be reverses. I am not quite confident that we shall overrun the southern States, as we shall have to overrun them, without severe trials of our courage and our patience. I believe they are a brave, determined people, filled with their enthusiasm, false in its purposes, as I think, but still one which animates almost all classes of their population. But, however that may be, it may be that instead of finding, within a year, loyal States sending members to Congress, and replacing their Senators upon this floor, we may have to reduce them to the condition of Territories, and send from Massachusetts or from Illinois Governors to control them. It may be; and, sir, if need come, I am one of those who would be willing to do it. I would do that. I would risk even the stigma of being despotic and oppressive, rather than risk the perpetuity of the Union of these States. I repeat, and with that repetition I close: fight the war through; accomplish a peace; make it so perfect and so permanent that a boy may preserve it; and when you have done that, you have no more need for a standing army. Patch up a peace; if you make it before you are ready; if you imagine them conquered before they really submit; if you treat with rebels and confederate States, you may need a standing army forever; but if you really conquer a peace; if your bayonets gleam in every city in this Union; if you hold them by the strong hand of power; if you tell them, 'Gentlemen, you have been regardless of the great blessings of free government under which you lived and rejoiced for over seventy years; now as you have sought the despotism of arms, we will show you what arms are:' when you really do that, and break their spirit, when Toombs and Davis are wandering in exile, despised and almost forgotten among men, except by the enormity of their crime, then, sir, you want no standing army."

As the time rapidly approached, the memorable trial of arms between the two divided portions of the country in the fatal day at Manassas, it is curious to note the speculations of prominent members in reference to the military conditions of the war. On the 13th of July Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, in a discussion on the appointments for the army, said, "The Senator (Mr. Nesmith of Oregon) talks about the policy of the Southern confederacy. I say to that Senator that there is no comparison whatever between the officers of the Southern confederacy and the officers now in the service of this Government. They cannot compare a moment in talent or experience. They have some ten or a dozen officers formerly of the Army of the United States who are men of talent, men recognized as men of talent, and they have given them important appointments; but when those men seceded from the Army of the United States they did not take all the talent or all the experience from the army. Far more talent and far more experience were left in the Army of the United States than those gentlemen took away with them. In regard to these appointments generally, men have everywhere been sought who have heretofore served in the army, or who have had a military education. In spite of all our shortcomings—which are great, and I admit them to be great—the Senator will find, if he consults men who know very well the condition of the confederates in the field, that they have men of inexperience; men of as little experience in regard to field duties as can be found in the regiments that have been raised to support the Government of the country. The truth is, that, in bringing into the field—as we have to-day—two hundred and forty-odd thousand men, brought in in less than ninety days, we must necessarily have a great many men of inexperience; but in spite of that, and of the suddenness of this movement, we have many men of a great deal of experience and ability; and there never was a time in the history of the country when men of talent, men of culture, men of experience, men of fortune, men who have mastered all that could be mastered in the colleges and institutions of learning of the country, are seeking, as they are now seeking, admission into the army. There are to-day pending before the War Office many hundreds, and I may say many thousands, of applications; I have seen it estimated as high as seven thousand. I know that from my own State, where men generally have avoided seeking the army, we have from one to two hundred men who are asking for admissions; who would take a second lieutenant's commission and rejoice over it; some of them men who are distinguished for their scholarship, for their attainments, for personal character; men who do not go into the army for any other purpose than to serve the country; men who have fortunes of hundreds of thousands of dollars to live upon. Why, sir, some gentlemen of that kind have been appointed; men who do not go in the army for pay, but who go into it because they want to serve the country in this great crisis; and they prefer to go into the army rather than to go into the volunteers; and I must confess, myself, that I sympathize in that; for, if I had to be pressed into the service, I would rather go into the army and serve five years than into the volunteers and serve three years, at the same pay, for the comforts of life, for safety, for everything connected with a soldier."

Two days after, on the eve of the advance of the Army of the Potomac, Senator Dixon of Connecticut seconded the demand for action, and glancing into the future saw all obstacles rapidly yielding to the one indomitable principle of the territorial integrity of the Union. "Men and money," said he, "in any number and to any amount it is our business to grant to the Administration. That being done—no halting, no delay, no thought of peace, till the supremacy of the Government of the United States shall be an acknowledged fact throughout our entire domain. I rejoice at the signs which indicate early and energetic action on the part of the Government; for of all things, in my judgment, delay is most to be dreaded. Temporary defeat may not be fatal; but the slow canker of tardy inaction will rust into the very heart and spirit of the people. This war is to them a serious and costly business. They demand that it be short, decisive, terrific and overwhelming; and if in any quarter they are thwarted of this purpose, their indignation will be proportioned to their disappointment. The events of the day are marked by rapidity of movement. At the commencement of the last session of Congress, little more than six months ago, the great rebellion which has now reached its height, involving no less than eleven States, was only threatened. To-day, whatever may be its continuance in point of time, we may feel assured that, if the popular will shall be carried into execution, it is already more than half suppressed. That it cannot, if properly treated, grow from a rebellion into a successful revolution, is already decided. Its end is certain, though its length of duration may be uncertain. The United States of America are to remain one nation. The territorial integrity of the Union is to be preserved inviolate. This is what the people of the United States mean by the immense sacrifices they are now making—this and nothing less. Whatever stands in the way of this, whether it be a political creed or a vested right, whether it be democracy or slavery, must go down and perish. And this is true, not merely because twenty millions of people have so determined, but because, in the nature of things, a great nation like this cannot be overthrown and destroyed, without, in its dying struggles, if die it must, overwhelming all the institutions created by its laws in a common ruin. How, then, can the peculiar institution of the South escape destruction, when it shall be found to stand in the way of the preservation of the Government? Yet, in utter blindness to this obvious idea, the maddened South is rushing upon its fate."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD MANASSAS.

At the beginning of July, six weeks after the first formal entrance of the national army upon the soil of Virginia, there were indications at Washington and the camps in its vicinity of the expected grand attack upon the enemy, and loudly called for advance toward the seat of the rebel government at Richmond. It was one of the striking circumstances of this early period of the war that all its movements were watched with a jealous impatience, and a demand for immediate action quite disproportioned to the means and opportunities for preparation. If it had been simply a border foray which had been determined upon, the issue of which would have decided the questions at stake, the eagerness of the public would have been better justified; but they had yet to learn, notwithstanding the alarming symptoms which had shown themselves, the enormous magnitude of the rebellion, and the necessity of taking corresponding means for its suppression. It was only by slow degrees that the majority of the people at the North could be brought to contemplate the real nature and spirit of the great conspiracy suddenly attacking the national Constitution and liberties. Accustomed to freedom of debate and the license of electioneering oratory, they had grown indifferent to the language of treason, and could hardly be brought to believe in its realities till they were forced upon their attention at the point of the bayonet. "Fearing no evil because they meant none," they made no preparation for a struggle for which their assailants, strong in their inveterate purpose of alienation, were fully equipping themselves; and when the conflict was commenced it seemed an easy matter, in the name of Justice and Freedom, to overcome an enemy pronounced essentially weak in the utter unreasonableness and futility of his cause. When it was understood, therefore, that the safety of the capital was provided for, and that an army of fifty thousand men was gathered at Washington, the cry was urgent that they should be at once led against the enemy. This must be a short war, said the politicians and moneyed men who would avoid the hazard to their cause and the public welfare of its gigantic expenses. The statesmen also felt the importance of bringing to a speedy termination a struggle which in its interruption of the commerce of the world was fast endangering the peace of the nation with foreign countries. Strike a prompt and decisive blow at the rebellion, or it will gain its ends simply by time, was the advice of disinterested spectators of the position. These and other general considerations of the kind were now enforced with additional spirit by the northern and western representatives who had just assembled at Washington, in the extra session of Congress which had met at the call of the President on the day of Independence. The army authorities might have hesitated, but they also felt the necessity for action, and there was moreover a special motive for an immediate movement, in the near approach of the expiration of the term of service of the three months militia who had been first called into the field. So an advance with a view to an engagement was resolved upon.

An acute observer at Washington at this period, the Hon. Henry J. Raymond, in his editorial correspondence with the *New York Times*, has given us a vivid picture of the motives and influences, the doubts, the difficulties and necessities by which the Administration and the War Department were hampered and controlled. Writing from the capital on the 14th of July, on the eve of the advance of the Army of the Potomac, he says, "The whole country is impatient for a vigorous prosecution of the war. This impatience finds vent in all the leading public journals, and is fully shared by Congress. In some quarters it takes the shape of direct and bitter censure of the Administration, or some influential member of it, who is supposed to be responsible for the tardy progress of events. There are plenty of men who declare, and a few, doubtless, who believe, that Mr. Seward still cherishes the hope of compromising our present difficulties, and is using all his influence to retard the progress of our armies with a view to that end. Others are confident that the President does not comprehend the real nature of the crisis which is upon the country, or the necessity of a prompt and vigorous policy. One member of the Cabinet has publicly declared that General Scott is utterly incompetent to the conduct of the war—that he never was a soldier—that he blundered all through the Mexican war, and is about to close his career by compromising the honor and welfare of the country now. All this sounds incredible. But it is actually true, and shows to what a degree men's judgments have been warped by the startling events of the day, and how far passion and zeal will lead to the most cruel injustice. There is not a man on this continent more anxious to sustain the authority of the Government and crush this rebellion, thoroughly and forever, than General Scott; not one more hostile to every attempt at compromise, or more fertile in suggestions for efficient action, than Mr. Seward; nor one who more thoroughly understands the wide sweep of the issues involved, and the deadly nature of the warfare waged upon the American Republic, than President Lincoln. The Administration has no reason to complain of the impatience of the people, but it has a right to ask that it shall not prompt to rash or uncharitable accusations. They assert that the movement of the main army is quite as rapid as consists with its safety, and that it is much better to advance slowly, holding every foot of ground once occupied, than to push on recklessly, and be compelled, even in a single instance, to retrace its steps. Probably this is true. But it must be borne in mind that public sentiment is a powerful element of strength in this war—that it must be secured and kept in full vigor even at some expense of scientific routine, and that the present temper of our people demands swift and sudden blows—a bold and dashing policy ; and it is a fair question for those in authority to consider whether it would not be better to meet and satisfy this temper, even at the cost of occasional reverses, than to lose the advantage of its support. In their present mood a slight defeat would only rouse and exasperate our people ; while delay and apparent inaction discourages and disgusts them. This is the reasoning of those who demand an instant advance ; but if that advance were to end disastrously, they would probably be the first to throw the blame upon those who had yielded to their advice."

To this significant passage we may add the writer's review of some of the more striking military data of the position. "Very much of this criticism, moreover," he adds, "is the result of entire ignorance of the nature and wants of an army. Men who fight must be fed ; and they must not be taken into any place or position where they cannot have food, shelter and the means of fighting. In going into an enemy's country, they must take with them all their tents, provisions, spades, and other tools for throwing up intrenchments, cannon, ammunition and whatever else they expect to use. To arrive without these is simply to insure their starvation or swift destruction by the enemy. And to carry them requires wagons, horses, teamsters, time and space. It is, of course, the purpose of an army to reduce, as much as possible, the amount of baggage for which transportation is required. But when reduced to the lowest point, *fifteen* wagons with four horses each, to each full regiment of infantry, is a fair allowance. For an army of 50,000 men are thus required 750 wagons and 3,000 horses, which would extend in single file, each wagon occupying only 100 feet, something more than *fifteen* miles. All these wagons had to be made, and all these horses purchased, before any considerable movement in advance was possible. This number was required for the troops expected to advance from Washington alone. Half as many were wanted for General Patterson's column, and at least 200 wagons and 800 horses for General Butler's column. This makes no account of the horses needed for the artillery and the cavalry. It is merely the number requisite to convey the indispensable baggage, or, as the Romans accurately and expressively styled it, the *impedimenta* of advancing infantry. It is not reasonable to expect that all these things can be extemporized, and it is foolhardy and reckless of the lives of our citizen-soldiers to demand that they shall be ignored. General McClellan's splendid successes in Western Virginia are quoted to show that movements may be made without all this preparation. But it must be remembered that he has comparatively a small body of men to care for, that he is moving in a friendly country where supplies are easy of access, that there is no difficulty in keeping his communications open and that he leaves no enemy in his rear. This is not the case with either of the other columns. General Patterson has 25,000 men to provide for ; General Butler, though with a smaller force, is almost surrounded by the enemy, and the central column is very large and requires an immense amount of transportation.

"But all these difficulties have been surmounted, and the causes of past delays, whether valid or not, are rapidly disappearing. Horses, mules and wagons are coming into the city in great numbers; and everything is ready for an advance. There is a general impression that an advance must of necessity be a sudden and violent movement,—implying a vehement assault, and a consequent battle. The reality may and probably will be very different. Great armies do not move in solid masses, nor does an advance imply a concentration of forces upon a single point. On the contrary, one regiment is pushed forward in one direction to-day and another in quite a different direction to-morrow. And so it will be in this case. General Patterson will move his forces down from Martinsburg towards Winchester, spreading them out in order to cover more points and check probable movements of the enemy to penetrate to his rear. General McDowell will push forward his forces gradually, each regiment feeling its way as it moves along. If any regiment or brigade finds an enemy in possession of the position it is ordered to occupy, its first business will be to dislodge him ; and if he is in too strong force, reinforcements will be brought up to aid the effort. Thus it may be several days before any collision takes place between the opposing forces, although the advance may begin at once. If the enemy has concentrated his forces at any one point, and made preparation for a resolute resistance, this will of course compel us to combine our strength sufficiently to drive him off. According to present appearances, the main body of our forces across the Potomac will move forward on Tuesday morning, the 16th. It is not likely that they will advance more than eight or ten miles the first day. On Wednesday or Thursday they will probably go on, if not sooner resisted, to Manassas Junction, and unless all our advices hitherto have deceived us. we may expect there to meet the rebels in considerable force, and thoroughly intrenched. I doubt whether an attack will be made upon them directly in front ; if at all practicable, I presume the effort will be to throw forces between Manassas and Winchester, so as to prevent General Johnston from joining the main body, and also to turn their right flank As a matter of course, this is mainly speculation, and the events of the coming week may prove it to be without foundation. But the Government will certainly move forward immediately in the prosecution of the war. The capture of Richmond has undoubtedly become a matter of necessity, since that city has been made the capital of the Confederate States. At the outset of the rebellion, I have reason to believe that the programme of operation did not embrace the seizure of this city. While it was merely the capital of a State it was a matter of little consequence who should hold it. General Scott believed that 80,000 men, carefully disciplined during the summer, and sent down the Mississippi as soon as the frosts should make it safe, could hold every important point upon that river, New Orleans included ; and that this, with a rigid blockade of the Atlantic coast, would compel the rebellious States to sue for peace, and end the war with the least possible loss of life. The rebels, however, saw fit to make Virginia the seat of war, and to establish their capital within reach of Washington. This required a change of policy, and they will unquestionably see reason ere long to repent their temerity. Unless the administration is compelled by the public impatience to dissipate its strength in movements having no direct bearing on the main results of the war, the early autumn will undoubtedly witness a blow which will break the back of this great rebellion."

From this instructive survey of the national position we may turn to a striking account of the rebel camp before Washington, as it was presented by a correspondent of the New Orleans *Picayune*, in a letter written from Manassas Junction on the 7th of July. "This place," says he, "still continues the headquarters of the army of the Potomac. There are many indications of an intended forward movement, the better to invite the enemy to an engagement, but the work of fortification still continues. By nature, the position is one of the strongest that could have been found in the whole States. About half-way between the eastern spur of the Blue Ridge and the Potomac, below Alexandria, it commands the whole country between so perfectly that there is scarcely a possibility of its being turned. The right wing stretches off toward the headwaters of the Occoquan, through a wooded country, which is easily made impassable by the felling of trees. The left is a rolling table-land, easily commanded from the successive elevations, till you reach a country so rough and so rugged that it is a defence to itself. The key to the whole position, in fact, is precisely the point which General Beauregard chose for his centre, and which he has fortified so strongly that, in the opinion of military men, 5,000 men could there hold 20,000 at bay. The position, in fact, is fortified in part by nature herself. It is a succession of hills, nearly equidistant from each other, in front of which is a ravine so deep and so thickly-wooded, that it is impassable only at two points, and those through gorges which fifty men can defend against a whole army. It was at one of these points that the Washington Artillery were at first encamped, and though only half the battalion was then there, and we had only one company of artillery to support us, we slept as soundly under the protection of our guns as if we had been in a fort of the amplest dimensions. Of the fortifications superadded here by General Beauregard to those of nature, it is, of course, not proper for me to speak. The general reader, in fact, will have a sufficiently precise idea of them by conceiving a line of forts some two miles in extent, zig-zag in form, with angles, salients, bastions, casemates, and everything that properly belongs to works of this kind. The strength and advantages of this position at Manassas are very much increased by the fact that fourteen miles further on is a position of similar formation, while the country between is admirably adapted to the subsistence and intrenchment of troops in numbers as large as they can easily be maneuvred on the real battle-field. Water is good and abundant; forage such as is everywhere found in the rich farming districts of Virginia, and the communication with all parts of the country easy. Here, overlooking an extensive plain watered by mountain streams which ultimately find their way to the Potomac, and divided into verdant fields of wheat and oats and corn, pasture and meadow, are the headquarters of the advanced forces of the army of the Potomac. They are South Carolinians, Louisianians, Alabamians, Mississippians and Virginians, for the most part; the first two, singularly enough, being in front, and that they will keep it, their friends at home may rest assured. Never have

I seen a finer body of men—men who were more obedient to discipline, or breathed a more self-sacrificing patriotism.

"As might be expected from the skill with which he has chosen his position, and the system with which he encamps and moves his men, General Beauregard is very popular here. I doubt if Napoleon himself had more the undivided confidence of his army. By nature, as also from a wise policy, he is very reticent. Not an individual here knows his plans, or a single move of a regiment before it is made, and then only the colonel and his men know where it goes to. There is not a man here who can give anything like a satisfactory answer how many men he has, or where his exact lines are. For the distance of fourteen miles around you see tents everywhere, and from them you can make a rough estimate of his men; but how many more are encamped on the by-roads and in the forests none can tell. The new-comer, from what he sees at first glance, puts down the number at about 50,000 men; those who have been here longest estimate the force at 40,000, 50,000, and some even at 60,000 strong. And there is the same discrepancy as to the quantity of his artillery. So close does the General keep his affairs to himself, his left hand hardly knows what his right hand doeth, and so jealous is he of this prerogative of a commanding officer, that I verily believe that if he suspected his coat of any acquaintance with the plans revolving within him, he would cast it from him. The General's headquarters is a little farm-house, about fifteen feet by twenty, fronting on one of the roads that leads to Alexandria. The ground floor is divided into two rooms. The front one is filled with desks, at which clerks sit writing, or engaged in business of a varied character. The back one appears to be used as a state-room or kitchen. Above, the same division continues, and the front room is the General's apartment. It is about fifteen feet long by ten wide, and hung with maps of the State and country around. In the centre is a plain pine table, on which lie, neatly folded up, what the visitor would naturally take to be plans, specifications, surveys, geometrical drawings, etc., and, by their side, military reports. Everything has the air of neatness, coolness, and mathematical calculation. Of course there is nothing in the room but what pertains to the office, and to most eyes it would appear somewhat bare; but what there is, is arranged with so much taste, that the general impression is by no means unpleasing. The General is in his room the greater part of the day, apparently occupied with his plans and reports. Then hour after hour he sits alone by his neat little pine table, maps, plans and specifications before him, and large windows open behind and around him—at first sight the cold, calculating, unsympathizing mathematician. Every now and then an aid enters with a report or a message, which is delivered in military style, deliberately examined in silence, the corresponding order promptly written out or delivered in as few words as possible, and our mathematical iceberg is alone again. When a visitor drops in, however, at a leisure moment, the formality of the officer readily gives way to that easy interchange of civilities which characterizes our people at home, but nothing more. Even at the table, when the General is daily surrounded by the most distinguished gentlemen of the country, there appears to be a distance which I suppose is natural to his position, but which is rarely found elsewhere. The leading characteristic of General Beauregard's mind is clearness of perception. Superadded to this is a strictly mathematical education. This you see in every word and look, even in the expression of his face. Sines, cosines and tangents stick out everywhere. In person he is slender, but compactly built, and extremely neat. Add to this a precision of manner slightly modified by the ease which characterizes the well-bred man of the world, and you have a correct idea of the man whose word is law and gospel throughout one of the largest, most intelligent, and best appointed armies ever assembled on the American continent. In his personal staff the General has been peculiarly fortunate. They are principally from South Carolina, the same he had with him at the siege of Fort Sumter; all of them accomplished, discreet gentlemen of the most pleasing manners. Among them I have been happy to meet Colonel Preston, so long a resident and so well known in Louisiana, whose genial society must be a happy relief to the severe labors of the day. The General's mess is very much in keeping with his character, and simple enough for Napoleon himself. It is served on a long pine table, set in an open piazza of the farmhouse, and all his friends are hospitably welcomed to it three times a day. The General sits nearly in the middle, his aids immediately on one side, and his latest guests on the other; the rest of the company as they may choose or chance to seat themselves. The viands are such as the country around affords; only the rice was "imported," and with it, I suspect, a South Carolina cook, for every kernel was as independent as the State from which it came."

General McDowell continued in command of the army of the Potomac at the head of the military department of Northeastern Virginia. The force at his disposal at the beginning of July consisted of about forty-five regiments of volunteers, chiefly from New York and the Eastern States, with several from the West, a large portion of the whole being called out under the first requisition of the President for three months only. The remainder were three years' volunteers, but, having come into the field later, possessed even less than their comrades of the advantages of military drill and discipline. With them were mixed a slight sprinkling of regular infantry, a few companies of United States cavalry, and several light batteries of the United States artillery. The general, staff and field officers assigned to the commands included a number of the most meritorious officers of the former small but efficient national army; the company officers being mostly taken from civil life, were of course less experienced and less efficient in their degree. More than one name of distinguished fame in the subsequent annals of the war in departments widely removed from each other, first became prominently known to the public in connection with the army of the Potomac.

As the composition of this army soon became a matter of general interest, we may here give the details of its organization as they were presented in the general orders of the commander-in-chief of the 8th of July. The entire force was arranged in five divisions. The 1st was assigned to Brigadier-General Daniel

Tyler of the Connecticut militia. It embraced the brigades of Colonel Erasmus D. Keyes, of the 11th United States Infantry, composed of the 1st, 2d and 3d regiments of Connecticut Volunteers, the 4th Maine regiment Volunteers, Captain Varian's New York battery, and a company of the 2d United States Cavalry; a second brigade, formed of the 1st and 2d regiments Ohio Volunteers, the 2d New York Volunteers, and a light battery company of the 3d United States Artillery; a third brigade, commanded by Colonel William T. Sherman of the 13th Infantry, embracing Colonel Corcoran's 69th Irish regiment, New York Militia, Colonel Cameron's 79th Scotch regiment, New York Militia, the 13th New York regiment Volunteers, the 2d regiment Wisconsin Volunteers, and a light battery company of the 3d United States Artillery; and a fourth brigade, commanded by Colonel J. B. Richardson of the Michigan Volunteers, embracing the 2d and 3d regiments Michigan Volunteers, the 1st regiment Massachusetts Volunteers, and the 12th regiment New York Volunteers. The Second Division was commanded by Colonel David Hunter of the 3d United States Cavalry, and consisted of two brigades. The first was commanded by Colonel Andrew Porter of the 16th United States Infantry, and was composed of a battalion of Regular Infantry, the 8th and 14th regiments of New York Militia, a squadron of the 2d United States Cavalry, and a light battery of the 5th United States Artillery. The Second, led by Colonel Ambrose E. Burnside, of the Rhode Island Volunteers, embraced the 1st and 2d Rhode Island regiments Volunteers, the 71st New York Militia, the 2d regiment New Hampshire Volunteers, and a battery of light artillery of the 2d Rhode Island regiment. The Third Division was commanded by Colonel S. P. Heintzelman of the 17th United States Infantry, in charge lately of Alexandria, and was composed of the brigade of Colonel W. B. Franklin of the 12th regiment United States Infantry, with the 4th regiment Pennsylvania Militia, the 5th regiment Massachusetts Militia, the 1st regiment Minnesota Volunteers, a company of the 2d United States Cavalry, and a light battery of the 1st United States Artillery; of the brigade of Colonel O. B. Wilcox of the Michigan Volunteers, with the 1st regiment Michigan Volunteers, the 11th regiment New York Volunteers, and a light battery company of the 2d United States Artillery; of the brigade of Colonel O. O. Howard of the Maine Volunteers, including the 2d, 4th and 5th regiments Maine Volunteers, and the 2d Vermont regiment Volunteers. The Fourth and Fifth Divisions constituted the reserve. The one composed of the 1st, 2d, 3d and 4th New Jersey Militia regiments—three months' Volunteers—and the 1st, 2d and 3d New Jersey Militia regiments—three years' Volunteers—was commanded by Brigadier-General Theodore Runyon, New Jersey Militia; the other, commanded by Colonel Dixon S. Miles of the 2d United States Infantry, consisted of two brigades; the first, commanded by Colonel Louis Blenker of the New York Volunteers, included the 8th and 29th New York regiments Volunteers, the New York Garibaldi Guard, and the 24th regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers; the second brigade, commanded by Colonel Thomas A. Davies, New York Volunteers, was composed of the 16th, 18th, 31st and 32d regiments New York Volunteers, and a light battery company of the 2d United States Artillery.

General McDowell's staff consisted of Captain James B. Fry, assistant Adjutant-General; Aides-de-Camp—1st Lieutenant Henry W. Kingsbury, 5th United States Artillery, Major Clarence S. Brown and Major James S. Wadsworth, New York State Militia; Acting Inspector-General—Major William H. Wood, 17th United States Infantry; Engineers—Major John G. Barnard, 1st Lieutenant Frederick E. Prime; Topographical Engineers—Captain Amiel W. Whipple, 1st Lieutenant Henry L. Abbot, 2d Lieutenant Haldimand S. Putnam; Quartermaster's Department—Captain O. H. Tillinghast; Captain Horace F. Clark, of New York, Commissary of Subsistence; Surgeon—William S. King; Assistant Surgeon—David L. Magruder.

The grand march from Washington and its immediate vicinity, under this general arrangement, began on the 16th of July, with the movement of the main divisions toward the most advanced position of the enemy at Fairfax Court-House. General Hunter's central column took the direct road, the division of General Tyler pursued the Vienna route to the right, while General Miles with his command took the extreme left. Having marched about eight or nine miles, the army encamped for the night. The next day it was early in motion. General McDowell was with the centre, and at noon saw its advance safely arrived at Fairfax Court-House. The enemy, who were supposed to be in force in the vicinity, evidently avoided a conflict. They left, however, some considerable obstructions of hewn down trees on the road, but these were readily cleared away by the axemen. No opposition was encountered at the village. The enemy had occupied it in the morning, and, warned of the approach of the Union troops, had fled in haste, leaving provisions, intrenching tools and personal effects behind. The secession flag, which Colonel Burnside's Rhode Islanders, who were in advance, found still flying on the Court-House, was taken down, and the Stars and Stripes raised by a corporal of the brigade in its stead. The Union soldiers, rejoicing in their easy progress and the flight of the enemy, which they interpreted as the first stage of a victory and a compliment to their superiority, held possession of the town, and were not scrupulous in ransacking the abandoned homes. Several buildings, left by their owners, were broken open and pillaged, and others, chiefly barns on the outskirts of the town, were set fire to and consumed on the pretence that a Union man had been shot from one of them. Some of the soldiers, in the evening, dressed in female apparel which they had found in the wardrobes of the plundered houses, walked the streets with their bearded comrades, jocularly replying to the passers-by as if it were a holiday entertainment or carnival upon which they had entered. "This," says an observer, "to the superficial looker-on gave the scene a merry show; but I noticed that the shuddering inhabitants regarded it with fear and undisguised abhorrence. One female, hearing me condemn the conduct of the soldiers, as a fellow passed by with a pair of ladies' ruffled drawers hauled up over his pantaloons, said she 'thought it was really too bad that the clothes of Mr. Smith's poor dead mother, which had been packed away for several years untouched, should be desecrated in that coarse, vulgar way.' I myself half shuddered as she turned this idea on the fellow's conduct, and I made up my mind thenceforth to contribute my share of effort to put a check upon such shocking license."*

This disgraceful conduct, however, was not left solely to be condemned by civilians and lookers-on. The Commander-in-Chief and his officers immediately took prompt measures to repress the license which they must have felt as an ill omen for the conduct of at least a portion of the comparatively undisciplined troops assigned to them. "I am distressed," wrote General McDowell, with feeling, in a dispatch to Washington announcing the military movements of the day, "to have to report excesses by our troops. The excitement of the men found vent in burning and pillaging, which, however, was soon checked. It depressed us all greatly." The following stringent order, dated from his headquarters at Fairfax Court-House, was directed against these depredations. "It is with the deepest mortification the General commanding finds it necessary to reiterate his orders for the preservation of the property of the inhabitants of the district occupied by the troops under his command. Hardly had we arrived at this place, when, to the horror of every right-minded person, several houses were broken open, and others were in flames, by the act of some of those who, it has been the boast of the loyal, came here to protect the oppressed and free the country from the domination of a hated party. The property of this people is at the mercy of the troops who, we rightly say, are the most intelligent, best-educated, and most law-abiding of any that were ever under arms. But do not therefore the acts of yesterday cast the deeper stain upon them? It has been claimed by some that their particular corps were not engaged in these acts. This is of but little moment; since the individuals are not found out, we are all alike disgraced. Commanders of regiments will select a commissioned officer as a provost-marshal, and ten men as a police force under him, whose special and sole duty it shall be to preserve the property from depredations, and to arrest all wrong-doers of whatever regiment or corps they may be. Any persons found committing the slightest depredation, killing pigs or poultry, or trespassing on the property of the inhabitants, will be reported to headquarters, and the least that will be done to them will be to send them to the Alexandria jail. It is again ordered that no one shall arrest or attempt to arrest any citizen not in arms at the time, or search or attempt to search any house, or even to enter the same without permission. The troops must behave themselves with as much forbearance and propriety as if they were at their own homes. They are here to fight the enemies of the country, not to judge and punish the unarmed and defenceless, however guilty they may be. When necessary, that will be done by the proper person."

The other columns, meanwhile, were advancing on the right and left. General McDowell would have followed the enemy to Centreville, but the men were too much exhausted. He reported as the casualties of the day, an officer and three men slightly wounded in Miles' division.

The withdrawal of the enemy from their outposts at Fairfax Court-House, and immediately after from Centreville, was in accordance with express instructions from their commander-in-chief, General Beauregard, who, as he himself afterwards asserted, was "opportunely informed" of the determination of General McDowell to advance upon Manassas. He claims, indeed, the retreat as a highly creditable maneuvre in face of, and in immediate proximity to, a largely superior force, despite a well-planned, well-executed effort to cut off the retreat of Bonham's brigade—first at Germantown, and subsequently at Centreville, whence he withdrew by my direction after midnight, without collision, although enveloped on three sides by their lines." General Beauregard further claims for his retreat "the intended effect of deceiving the enemy as to his ulterior purposes, and leading him to anticipate an unresisted passage of Bull Run."

---

* Editorial Correspondence of Mr. George Wilkes to the *Spirit of the Times*. August 3, 1862.

Whatever may have been the opinion in the Union army, however, in this first step of its advance, an accurate knowledge of the true state of affairs was gained by the costly reconnoissance of the next day, the 18th. Early in the morning the division of General Tyler was set in motion to move against and occupy Centreville. Colonel Richardson went forward with his brigade, and found the place had been abandoned by the enemy in the night. It was then determined by General Tyler to follow, for purposes of observation, one of the main routes by which their camp might be approached. "I took," says he, "a squadron of cavalry and two light companies from Richardson's brigade, with Colonel Richardson to make a reconnoissance, and, in feeling our way carefully, we soon found ourselves overlooking the strong position of the enemy, situated at Blackburn's Ford, or Bull Run. A moment's observation discovered a battery on the opposite bank, but no great body of troops, although the usual pickets and small detachments showed themselves on the left of the position. Suspecting, from the natural strength which I saw the position to possess, that the enemy must be in force, and desiring to ascertain the extent of that force and the position of his batteries, I ordered up the two rifled guns, Ayres' battery, and Richardson's entire brigade, and subsequently Sherman's brigade in reserve, to be ready for any contingency. As soon as the rifled guns came up, I ordered them into battery on the crest of the hill, nearly a mile from a single battery which we could see placed on the opposite side of the run. Ten or a dozen shots were fired, one of them seeming to take effect on a large body of cavalry, who evidently thought themselves out of the range. The battery we had discovered on our arrival fired six shots and discontinued fire. Finding that our fire did not provoke the enemy to discover his force and his batteries, I ordered Colonel Richardson to advance his brigade, and to throw out skirmishers to scour the thick woods with which the whole bottom of Bull Run was covered. This order was skillfully executed, and the skirmishers came out of the wood into the road, and close to the ford without provoking any considerable fire from the enemy. Desiring to make a further attempt to effect the object of the movement, and discovering an opening low down on the bottom of the stream, where a couple of howitzers could be put into battery, I ordered Captain Ayres to detach a section, put himself on the ground pointed out to him, and sent a squadron of cavalry to support this movement. The moment Captain Ayres opened his fire, the enemy replied with volleys which showed that the whole bottom was filled with troops, and that he had batteries established in different positions to sweep all the approaches by the road leading to Blackburn's Ford. Captain Ayres maintained himself most gallantly, and after firing away all his canister shot and some spherical case with terrible effect, as we afterwards learned, withdrew his pieces safely and rejoined his battery. This attack on Captain Ayres accomplished the object I desired, as it showed that the enemy was in force, and disclosed the position of his batteries, and had I been at hand the movement would have ended here ; but Colonel Richardson, having previously given an order for the 12th New York to deploy into line and advance into the woods, in an attempt to execute this order the regiment broke, (with the exception of two companies, A and I, who stood their ground gallantly,) and was only rallied in the woods some mile and a half in the rear. The fire which the regiment encountered was severe, but no excuse for the disorganization which it produced. Having satisfied myself that the enemy was in force, and also as to the position of his batteries, I ordered Colonel Richardson to withdraw his brigade, which was skillfully though unwillingly accomplished, as he requested permission, with the 1st Massachusetts and 2d and 3d Michigan regiments, to charge the enemy and drive him out. It is but justice to these regiments to say that they stood firm, maneuvred well, and I have no doubt would have backed up manfully the proposition of their gallant commander. After the infantry had been withdrawn, I directed Captain Ayres and Lieutenant Benjamin, who commanded the two 20-pounders to open their fire both on the battery which enfiladed the road leading to the ford and on the battery which we had discovered in the bottom of Bull Run, which we knew to be surrounded by a large body of men. This fire was continued from 3 until 4 o'clock, firing 415 shots. The fire was answered from the enemy's batteries, gun for gun, but was discontinued the moment we ceased firing. The concentrated position of the enemy, and the fact that the elevation of our battery and the range were both favorable, induce the belief that the enemy suffered severely from our fire, and this belief is confirmed by the fact that, on the ensuing day, until 12 M., ambulances were seen coming and going from and to Manassas, two miles distant."*

In the accompanying official report of Colonel Richardson, the loss in this affair is stated at nineteen killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-six missing. Among other incidents of the day, he mentions that " his skirmishers advanced so close to the enemies works and batteries that two mounted officers were killed under the breastworks, and one of our men was shot through the shoulder with a revolver by one of the enemy's officers, and one of their cannoneers was bayoneted by one of our men while the former was engaged in loading his gun. Our skirmishers, also, in falling back, had several of their wounded bayoneted by order of the enemy's officers."†

We have also a report of this action from General Beauregard. It is an elaborate document of cônsiderable length, in which the dispositions of his forces and the particulars of the encounter in the vicinity of Mitchell's and Blackburn's Fords and of Bull Run, are set forth with minuteness. The effective troops, of which he enumerates some twenty regiments—Louisiana, South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama and Virginia Volunteers, with various light batteries and companies of Virginia cavalry — rested on Bull Run from Union Mills Ford to the Stone Bridge on the main road from Centreville, a distance of about eight miles. This force, as stated by General Beauregard, with which the Union army had to deal was thus disposed: "Ewell's brigade occupied a position in the vicinity of Union Mills Ford. It consisted of Rhode's 5th and Siebel's 7th regiments of Alabama, and Seymour's 5th regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, with four 12-pounder howitzers, of Walton's battery, and Harrison's, Green's and Campbell's companies of Virginia cavalry. D. R. Jones' brigade was in position in the rear of McLean's Ford, and consisted of Jenkins' 5th South Carolina, and Bunt's 15th and Fetherstone's 18th regiments of Mississippi Volunteers, with two brass 6-pounder guns of Walton's battery, and one company of cavalry. Longstreet's brigade covered Blackburn's Ford, and consisted of Moore's 1st, Garland's 11th and Crose's 17th regiments Virginia Volunteers, with two 6-pounder brass guns of Walton's battery. Bonham's brigade held the approaches to Mitchell's Ford; it was composed of Kershaw's 2d, Williams' 3d, Bacon's 7th and Cash's 8th regiments South Carolina Volunteers; of Shields' and Del Kemper's batteries, and of Flood's, Radford's, Payne's, Ball's, Wickman's and Powell's companies of Virginia cavalry, under Colonel Radford. Cocke's brigade held the Ford below and in vicinity of the Stone Bridge, and consisted of Wither's 18th, Lieutenant-Colonel Strange's 19th, and R. T. Preston's 28th regiments, with Latham's battery and one company of cavalry, Virginia Volunteers. Evans held my left flank and protected the Stone Bridge crossing, with Sloane's 4th regiment South Carolina Volunteers, Wheat's Special Battalion Louisiana Volunteers, four 6-pounder guns and two companies of Virginia cavalry. Early's brigade, consisting of Kemper's 7th, Early's 24th regiment of Virginia Volunteers, Hays' 7th regiment Louisiana Volunteers, and three rifle pieces of Walton's battery. Lieutenant Squires' at first were held in position in the rear of, and as a support to, Ewell's brigade, until after the development of the enemy in heavy offensive force, in front of Mitchell's and Blackburn's Fords, when it was placed in rear of, and nearly equidistant between, McLean's, Blackburn's, and Mitchell's Fords. Pending the development of the enemy's purpose, about ten (10) o'clock A. M., I established my headquarters at a central point — McLean's farm-house — near to McLean's and Blackburn's Fords, where two 6-pounders of Walton's battery were in reserve; but, subsequently during the engagement, I took post to the left of my reserve."

---

* General Tyler's Report to General McDowell, July 27, 1861.

† Colonel Richardson's Report to Brigadier-General Tyler, July 19, 1861.

Having thus duly chronicled the various positions of his army, General Beauregard proceeds to narrate the incidents of the 18th July—to which it will be observed he gives the name of the battle of Bull Run—the second engagement to which that title is generally given being called by the Confederates the battle of Manassas. "Of the topographical features of the country thus occupied, it must suffice to say that Bull Run is a small stream running in this locality, nearly from West to East, to its confluence with the Occoquan River, about twelve miles from the Potomac, and draining a considerable scope of country, from its source in Bull Run Mountain to a short distance of the Potomac at Occoquan. At this season, habitually low and sluggish, it is, however, rapidly and frequently swollen by the summer rains until unfordable. The banks for the most part are rocky and steep, but abound in long-used fords. The country, on either side much broken and thickly wooded, becomes gently rolling and open as it recedes from the stream. On the Northern side the ground is much the highest, and commands the other bank completely. Roads traverse and intersect the surrounding country in almost every direction. Finally, at Mitchell's Ford, the stream is about equidistant between Centreville and Manassas, some six miles apart. On the morning of the 18th, finding that the enemy was assuming a threatening attitude, in addition to the regiments whose positions have been already stated, I ordered up from Camp Pickens, as a reserve, in rear of Bonham's brigade, the effective men of six companies of Kelley's 8th regiment Louisiana Volunteers, and Kirkland's 11th regiment North Carolina Volunteers, which, having arrived the night before *en route* for Winchester, I had halted in view of the existing necessities of the service. Subsequently the latter was placed in posisition to the left of Bonham's brigade.

"Appearing in heavy force in front of Bonham's position, the enemy, about meridian, opened fire, with several 20-pounder rifle guns from a hill, over one and a half miles from Bull Run. At the same time Kemper, supported by two companies of light infantry, occupied a ridge on the left of the Centreville road, about six hundred yards in advance of the ford, with two 6-pounder (smooth) guns. At first the firing of the enemy was at random, but by half-past 12 P. M., he had obtained the range of our position, and poured into the brigade a shower of shot, but without injury to us in men, horses and guns. From the distance, however, our guns could not reply with effect, and we did not attempt it, patiently awaiting a more opportune moment. Meanwhile a light battery was pushed forward by the enemy, whereupon Kemper threw only six solid shot, with the effect of driving back both the battery and its supporting force. This is understood to have been Ayres' battery, and the damage must have been considerable to have obliged such a retrograde movement on the part of that officer. The purposes of Kemper's position having now been fully served, his pieces and support were withdrawn across Mitchell's Ford, to a point previously designated, and which commanded the direct approaches to the ford.

"About half-past 11 o'clock A. M., the enemy was also discovered by the pickets of Longstreet's brigade advancing in strong columns of infantry, with artillery and cavalry, on Blackburn's Ford. At meridian the pickets fell back silently before the advancing fire across the ford, which, as well as the entire southern bank of the stream for the whole front of Longstreet's brigade, was covered at the water's edge by an extended line of skirmishers, while two 6-pounders of Walton's battery, under Lieutenant Garnett, were advantageously placed to command the direct approach to the ford, but with orders to retire to the rear as soon as commanded by the enemy. The northern bank of the stream, in front of Longstreet's position, rises with a steep slope at least fifty feet above the level of the water, leaving a narrow berme in front of the ford of some twenty yards. This ridge formed for them an admirable natural parapet, behind which they could, and did approach, under shelter, in heavy force, within less than 100 yards of our skirmishers ; the southern shore was almost a plain, raised but a few feet above the water for several hundred yards, then rising with a very gradual, gentle slope and undulations back to Manassas. On the immediate bank there was a fringe of trees, but with little, if any, undergrowth or shelter, while on the other shore there were timber and much thick brush and covering. The ground in the rear of our skirmishers, and occupied by our artillery, was an old field extending along the stream about one mile, and immediately back or about half a mile to a border or skirting of dense, second-growth pines. The whole of the ground was commanded at all points by the ridge occupied by the enemy's musketry, as was also the country to the rear, for a distance much beyond the range of 20-pounder rifle guns, by the range of hills on which their batteries were planted, and which, it may be further noted, commanded also all our approaches from this direction to the three threatened fords. Before advancing his infantry, the enemy maintained a fire of rifled artillery from the batteries just mentioned for half an hour, then he pushed forward a column of over 3,000 infantry to the assault, with such a weight of numbers as to be repelled with difficulty by the comparatively small force at not more than twelve hundred bayonets, with which Brigadier-General Longstreet met him with characteristic vigor and intrepidity. Our troops engaged at this time were the 1st and 17th, and four companies of the 11th regiment Virginia Volunteers ; their resistance was resolute, and maintained with a steadiness worthy of all praise; it was successful, and the enemy was repulsed. In a short time, however, he returned to the contest with increased force and determination, but was again foiled and driven back by our skirmishers and Longstreet's reserve companies, which were brought up and employed at the most vigorously assailed points at the critical moment.

"It was now that Brigadier-General Longstreet sent for reinforcements from Early's brigade, which I had anticipated by directing the advance of General Early, with two regiments of infantry and two pieces of artillery. As these came upon the field the enemy had advanced a third time with heavy numbers to force Longstreet's position. Hay's regiment, 7th Louisiana Volunteers, which was in advance, was placed on the bank of the stream, under some cover, to the immediate right and left of the ford, relieving Corse's regiment, 17th Virginia Volunteers ; this was done under a heavy fire of musketry, with promising steadiness. The 7th Virginia, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, was then formed to the right, also under heavy fire, and pushed forward to the stream, relieving the 1st regiment Virginia Volunteers. At the same time two rifle guns, brought up with Early's brigade, were moved down in the field to the right of the road, so as to be concealed from the enemy's artillery by the girth of timber on the immediate bank of the stream, and there opened fire, directed only by the sound of the enemy's musketry. Unable to effect a passage, the enemy kept up a scattering fire for some time. Some of our troops had pushed across the stream, and several small parties of Corse's regiment, under command of Captain Mayre, met and drove the enemy with the bayonet; but as the roadway from the ford was too narrow for a combined movement in force, General Longstreet recalled them to the south bank. Meanwhile, the remainder of Early's infantry and artillery had been called up—that is, six companies of the 24th regiment Virginia Volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hairston, and five pieces of artillery, one rifle gun and four 6-pounder brass guns, including two 6-pounder guns under Lieutenant Garnett, which had been previously sent to the rear by General Longstreet. This infantry was at once placed in position to the left of the ford, in a space unoccupied by Hays, and the artillery was unlimbered in battery to the right of the road in a line with the two guns already in action. A scattering fire of musketry was still kept up by the enemy for a short time, but that was soon silenced.

"It was at this stage of the affair that a remarkable artillery duel was commenced and maintained on our side with a long-trained professional opponent, superior in character as well as in the number of his weapons, provided with improved munitions and every artillery appliance, and at the same time occupying the commanding position. The results were marvellous, and fitting precursors to the artillery achievements of the 21st of July. In the outset, our fire was directed against the enemy's infantry, whose bayonets, gleaning above the tree-tops, alone indicated their presence and force. This drew the attention of a battery placed on a high commanding ridge, and a duel began in earnest. For a time the aim of the adversary was inaccurate, but this was quickly corrected, and shot fell and shells burst thick and fast in the midst of our battery, wounding in the course of the combat Captain Eschelman, five privates, and the horse of Lieutenant Richardson. From the position of our pieces and the nature of the ground, their aim could only be directed at the smoke of the enemy's artillery; how skillfully and with what execution this was done can only be realized by an eye-witness. For a few moments their guns were silenced, but were soon reopened. By direction of General Longstreet his battery was then advanced by hand out of the range now ascertained by the enemy, and a shower of spherical case, shell and round shot flew over the heads of our gunners; but one of our pieces had become *hors de combat* from an enlarged vent. From the new position our guns fired as before, with no other aim than the smoke and flash of their adversaries' pieces—renewed and urged the conflict with such signal vigor and effect, that gradually the fire of the enemy slackened, the intervals between their discharges grew longer and longer, finally to cease, and we fired a last gun at a baffled, flying foe, whose heavy masses in the distance were plainly seen to break and scatter, in wild confusion and utter rout, strewing the ground with cast-away guns, hats, blankets and knapsacks, as our parting shells were thrown among them. In their retreat one of their pieces was abandoned, but from the nature of the ground it was not sent for that night, and under cover of darkness the enemy recovered it. The guns engaged in this singular conflict on our side were three 6-pounder rifle pieces and four ordinary 6-pounders, all of Walton's battery—the Washington Artillery of New Orleans."

"As a part of the history of this engagement," adds General Beauregard, calling to mind doubtless the frequent statements of advantages of this kind sheltering the Confederate troops, "I desire to place on record that, on the 18th of July, not one yard of intrenchment, not one rifle-pit sheltered the men at Blackburn's Ford, who, officers and men, with rare exceptions, were on that day for the first time under fire, and who, taking and maintaining every position ordered, cannot be too much commended for their soldierly behavior."

The casualties of the Confederate force are given by General Beauregard at fifteen killed, including two missing, and fifty-three wounded, several of them mortally."*

This expedition or reconnoissance of General Tyler was accompanied by Major Barnard, the Chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac, who, in his published letter on the battle of Bull Run, has given a critique of the affair. In fact, he seems to have considered it something of an unnecessary trial of strength, and injudiciously carried far beyond the bounds of the simple observation of the enemy's force, which was designed. After the position of the enemy's battery was ascertained by the replies to the fire of the Parrott guns and battery of rifled 6-pounders, the affair, he thinks, should have ended; "but General Tyler, though warned that no serious engagement was intended at this point, persisting in the belief that the enemy would run whenever menaced by serious attack, had determined, I believe, to march to Manassas that day. Had he made a vigorous charge and crossed the stream at once, it is quite possible, so much depends upon *moral effect* in operating with raw troops, that he might have succeeded. But he only filed his brigade down to the stream, drew it up parallel to the other shore, and opening an unmeaning fusilade, the results of which were all in favor of the enemy, and before which, overawed rather by the tremendous volley directed at them than suffering from heavy loss, one of the regiments broke in confusion and the whole force retired. This foolish affair had a marked effect upon the *morale* of our raw forces."*

---

* General Beauregard's Report to General Cooper, Adjutant and Inspector-Gen'l, C. S. A. Manassas, August, 1861.

* The C. S. A. and the Battle of Bull Run. By J G Barnard; pp. 48–9.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

THE day following the engagement described in the last chapter, the 19th of July, was passed by General McDowell and his staff in a thorough reconnoissance of the region round about the advanced Union lines, the result of which, in connection with General Tyler's practical experience in the neighborhood of Blackburn's Ford, was a conviction that the strength and position of the enemy rendered it unadvisable, without a diversion, to risk the main attack directly in front, or make the attempt, of which much had been said, to gain Manassas by an approach from the east. Above Stone Bridge, however, the ground appeared more practicable. The stream, Bull Run, might readily be forded, and though there were no good roads leading from the camps in that direction, the country afforded no serious obstacle to the movement of troops. It was accordingly resolved, by a flank movement, to turn the enemy's position on their left with a sufficient force which should coöperate with a direct attack on their position at Stone Bridge, and thus open the turnpike road from Centreville, and cut off the railway communication of Manassas with the army of Johnston in and about Winchester.

In pursuance of this plan, General McDowell, on the 20th, issued the following military orders for an advance early the following morning. "The enemy has planted a battery on the Warrenton turnpike to defend the passage of Bull Run; has seized the stone bridge and made a heavy abattis on the right bank, to oppose our advance in that direction. The ford above the bridge is also guarded, whether with artillery or not is not positively known, but every indication favors the belief that he proposes to defend the passage of the stream *It is intended to turn the position, force the enemy from the road*, that it may be reopened, and, if possible, *destroy the railroad leading from Manassas* to the valley of Virginia, where the enemy has a large force. As this may be resisted by all the force of the enemy, the troops will be disposed as follows: The first division (General Tyler's) with the exception of Richardson's brigade, will, at half-past 2 o'clock in the morning precisely, be on the Warrenton turnpike to threaten the passage of the bridge, but will not open fire until full daybreak. The second division (Hunter's) will move from its camp at two o'clock in the morning precisely, and, led by Captain Woodbury, of the Engineers, will, after passing Cub Run, turn to the right and pass the Bull Run stream above the ford at Sudley's Spring, and then turning down to the left, descend the stream and clear away the enemy who may be guarding the lower ford and bridge. It will then bear off to the right and make room for the succeeding division. The third division (Heintzelman's) will march at half-past 2 o'clock in the morning, and follow the road taken by the second division, but will cross at the lower ford after it has been turned as above, and then, going to the left, take place between the stream and second division. The fifth division (Miles') will take position on the Centreville Heights, (Richardson's brigade will, for the time, form part of the fifth division, and will continue in its present position.) One brigade will be in the village, and one near the present station of Richardson's brigade. This division will threaten the Blackburn Ford, and remain in reserve at Centreville. The commander will open fire with artillery only, and will bear in mind that it is a demonstration only he is to make. He will cause such defensive works, abattis, earthworks, etc., to be thrown up as will strengthen his position. Lieutenant Prime, of the Engineers, will be charged with this duty. These movements may lead to the gravest results, and commanders of divisions and brigades should bear in mind the immense consequences involved. There must be no failure, and every effort must be made to prevent straggling. No one must be allowed to leave the ranks without special authority. After completing the movements ordered, the troops must be held in order of battle, as they may be attacked at any moment."

A general engagement was evidently looked for in these dispositions, which were well planned, and had, as we shall see, the effect of taking the enemy by surprise, and disconcerting their scheme of attack upon the Union lines. "It had been my intention," says General McDowell in his subsequent final report of the action which ensued—a masterpiece of military narrative in its clearness, simplicity and truthfulness, "to move the several columns out on the road a few miles on the evening of the 20th, so that they would have a shorter march in the morning; but I deferred to those who had the greatest distance to go, and who preferred starting early in the morning and making but one move. On the evening of the 20th, my command was mostly at or near Centreville. The enemy was at or near Manassas, distant from Centreville about seven miles to the southwest. Centreville is a village of a few houses, mostly on the west side of a ridge running nearly north and south. The road from Centreville to Manassas Junction was along this ridge, and crosses Bull Run about three miles from the former place. The Warrenton turnpike, which runs nearly east and west, goes over this ridge, through the village, and crosses Bull Run about four miles from it, Bull Run having a course between the crossing from northwest to southeast. The first division (Tyler's) was stationed on the north side of the Warrenton turnpike, and on the eastern slope of the Centreville ridge, two brigades on the same road, and a mile and a half in advance; to the west of the ridge, and one brigade on the road from Centreville to Manassas, where it crosses Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford, where General Tyler had the engagement of the 18th. The second division (Hunter's) was on the Warrenton turnpike, one mile east of Centreville. The third division (Heintzelman's) was on a road known as the Old Braddock road, which comes into Centreville from the southeast, about a mile and a half from the village. The fifth division (Miles') was on the same road with the third division, and between it and Centreville.

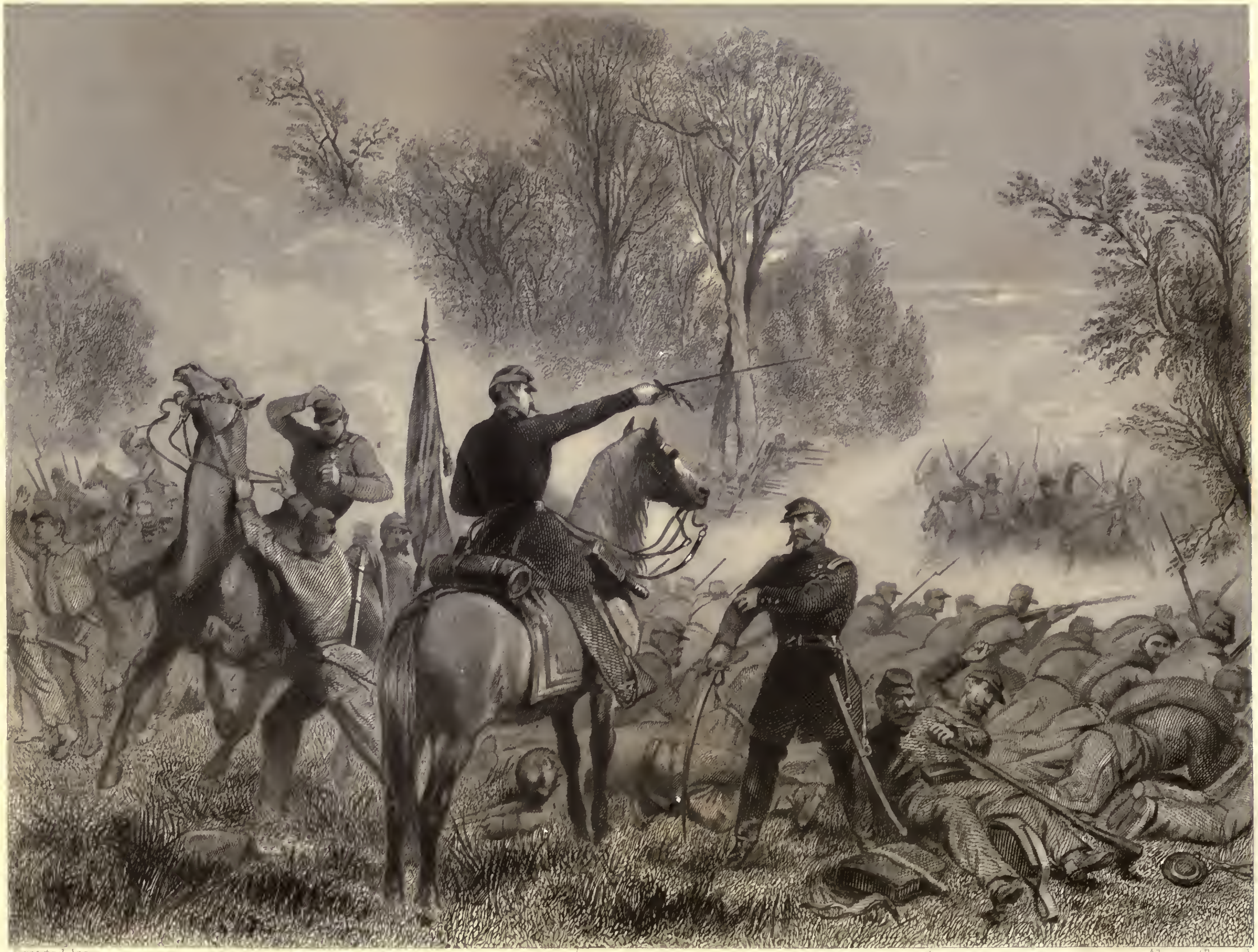
"On Friday night, the 10th, a train of subsistence arrived, and on Saturday its contents were ordered to be issued to the command, and the men required to have three days' rations in their haversacks. On Saturday orders were issued for the available force to march. My personal reconnoissance of the roads to the South had shown that it was not practicable to carry out the original plan of turning the enemy's position on their right. The affair of the 18th at Blackburn's Ford showed that he was too strong at that point for us to force a passage there without great loss, and if we did that it would bring us in front of his strong position at Manassas, which was not desired. Our information was that the stone bridge, over which the Warrenton road crossed Bull Run, to the west of Centreville, was defended by a battery in position, and the road on his side of the stream impeded by a heavy abattis. The alternative was, therefore, to turn the extreme left of his position. Reliable information was obtained of an undefended ford about three miles above the bridge, there being another ford between it and the bridge, which was defended. It was therefore determined to take the road to the upper ford, and after crossing, to get behind the forces guarding the lower ford and the bridge, and after occupying the Warrenton road east of the bridge, to send out a force to destroy the railroad at or near Gainesville, and thus break up the communication between the enemy's forces at Manassas and those in the valley of Virginia, before Winchester, which had been held in check by Major-General Patterson.

"Brigadier-General Tyler was directed to move with three of his brigades on the Warrenton road, and commence cannonading the enemy's batteries, while Hunter's division, moving after him, should, after passing a little stream called Cub Run, turn to the right and north, and move around to the upper ford, and there turn south and get behind the enemy. Colonel Heintzelman's division was to follow Hunter's as far as the turning off place to the lower ford, where he was to cross after the enemy should have been driven out by Hunter's division; the fifth division (Miles') to be in reserve on the Centreville Ridge. I had felt anxious about the road from Manassas by Blackburn's Ford to Centreville, along the ridge, fearing that whilst we should be in force to the front, and endeavoring to turn the enemy's position, we ourselves should be turned by him by this road; for if he should once obtain possession of this ridge, which overlooks all the country to the west to the foot of the spurs of the Blue Ridge, we should have been irretrievably cut off and destroyed. I had, therefore, directed this point to be held in force, and sent an engineer to extemporize some field-works to strengthen the position. The fourth division (Runyon's) had not been brought to the front further than to guard our communications by way of Vienna and the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. His advanced regiment was about seven miles in the rear of Centreville. The divisions were ordered to march at half-past 2 o'clock A. M., so as to arrive on the ground early in the day, and thus avoid the heat which is to be expected at this season. There was delay in the first division getting out of its camp on the road, and the other divisions were, in consequence, between two and three hours behind the time appointed — a great misfortune, as events turned out. The wood road leading from the Warrenton turnpike to the upper ford was much longer than we counted upon, the general direction of the stream being oblique to the road, and we having the obtuse angle on our side.

"General Tyler commenced with his artillery at half-past 6 A. M., but the enemy did not reply, and after some time it became a question whether he was in any force in our front, and if he did not intend himself to make an attack, and make it by Blackburn's Ford. After firing several times, and obtaining no response, I held one of Heintzelman's brigades in reserve, in case we should have to send any troops back to reinforce Miles' division. The other brigades moved forward as directed in the general orders. On reaching the ford at Sudley's Spring, I found part of the leading brigade of Hunter's division (Burnside's) had crossed, but the men were slow in getting over, stopping to drink. As at this time the clouds of dust from the direction of Manassas indicated the immediate approach of a large force, and fearing it might come down on the head of the column before the division could all get over and sustain it, orders were sent back to the heads of regiments to break from the column and come forward separately as fast as possible. Orders were sent by an officer to the reserve brigade of Heintzelman's division to come by a nearer road across the fields, and an aide-de-camp was sent to Brigadier-General Tyler to direct him to press forward his attack, as large bodies of the enemy were passing in front of him to attack the division which had crossed over. The ground between the stream and the road leading from Sudley's Spring south, and over which Burnside's brigade marched, was for about a mile from the ford thickly wooded, whilst on the right of the road for about the same distance the country was divided between fields and woods. About a mile from the road the country on both sides of the road is open, and for nearly a mile further large rolling fields extend down to the Warrenton turnpike, which crosses what became the field of battle through the valley of a small water-course, a tributary of Bull Run.

"Shortly after the leading regiment of the first brigade reached the open space, and whilst others and the second brigade were crossing to the front and right, the enemy opened his fire, beginning with artillery and following up with infantry. The leading brigade (Burnside's) had to sustain this shock for a short time without support, and did it well. The battalion of regular infantry was sent to sustain it, and shortly afterwards the other corps of Porter's brigade, and a regiment detached from Heintzelman's division to the left, forced the enemy back far enough to allow Sherman's and Keyes' brigades of Tyler's division to cross from their position on the Warrenton road. These drove the right of the enemy, understood to have been commanded by Beauregard, from the front of the field, and out of the detached woods, and down to the road, and across it up the slopes on the other side. Whilst this was going on, Heintzelman's division was moving down the field to the stream, and up the road beyond. Beyond the Warrenton road, and to the left of the road, down which our troops had marched from Sudley's Spring, is a hill with a farm-house on it. Behind this hill the enemy had, early in the day, some of his most annoying batteries planted. Across the road from this hill was another hill, or rather elevated ridge, or table of land. The hottest part of the contest was for the possession of this hill with a house on it. The force engaged here was Heintzelman's division. Wilcox's and Howard's brigades on the right, supported by part of Porter's brigade and the cavalry under Palmer, and Franklin's brigade of Heintzelman's division, Sherman's brigade of Tyler's division in the centre and up the road, whilst Keyes' brigade of Tyler's division was on the left, attacking the batteries near the stone bridge. The Rhode Island battery of Burnside's brigade also participated in this attack by its fire from the north of the turnpike. The enemy was understood to have been commanded by J. E. Johnston. Rickett's battery, which did such effective service and played so brilliant a part in this contest, was, together with Griffin's battery, on the side of the hill, and became the object of the special attention of the enemy, who succeeded—our officers mistaking one of his regiments for one of our own, aud allowing it to approach without firing upon it—in disabling the battery, and then attempted to take it. Three times was he repulsed by different corps in succession, and driven back, and the guns taken by hand, the horses being killed, and pulled away. The third time it was supposed by us all that the repulse was final, for he was driven entirely from the hill, and so far beyond it as not to be in sight, and all were certain the day was ours. He had before this been driven nearly a mile and a half, and was beyond the Warrenton road, which was entirely in our possession from the stone bridge westward, and our engineers were just completing the removal of the abattis across the road, to allow our reinforcement (Schenck's brigade and Ayres' battery) to join us.

"The enemy was evidently disheartened and broken. But we had been fighting since half-past ten o'clock in the morning, and it was after three o'clock in the afternoon. The men had been up since two o'clock in the morning, and had made what to those unused to such things seemed a long march before coming into action, though the longest distance gone over was not more than nine and a half miles; and though they had three days' provisions served out to them the day before, many no doubt either did not eat them, or threw them away on the march, or during the battle, and were therefore without food. They had done much severe fighting. Some of the regiments which had been driven from the hill in the first two attempts of the enemy to keep possession of it had become shaken, were unsteady, and had many men out of the ranks. It was at this time that the enemy's reinforcements came to his aid from the railroad train, understood to have just arrived from the valley with the residue of Johnston's army. They threw themselves in the woods on our right and towards the rear of our right, and opened a fire of musketry on our men, which caused them to break and retire down the hillside. This soon degenerated into disorder, for which there was no remedy. Every effort was made to rally them, even beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, but in vain. The battalion of regular infantry alone moved up the hill opposite to the one with the house on it, and there maintained itself until our men could get down to and across the Warrenton turnpike, on the way back to the position we occupied in



Painted by

Alonzo Chappel

BATTLE OF BULL RUN — JULY 1861.

(Gen. Blenker's Brigade covering the retreat.)

[illegible]

the morning. The plain was covered with the retreating troops, and they seemed to infect those with whom they came in contact. The retreat soon became a rout, and this soon degenerated still further into a panic. Finding this state of affairs was beyond the efforts of all those who had assisted so faithfully during the long and hard day's work in gaining almost the object of our wishes, and that nothing remained on the field but to recognize what we could no longer prevent, I gave the necessary orders to protect their withdrawal, begging the men to form in line, and offer the appearance at least, of organization. They returned by the fords to the Warrenton road, protected, by my order, by Colonel Porter's force of regulars. Once on the road, and the different corps coming together in small parties, many without officers, they became intermingled, and all organization was lost.

"Orders had been sent back to Miles' division for a brigade to move forward and protect this retreat, and Colonel Blenker's brigade was detached for this purpose, and was ordered to go as far forward as the point where the road to the right left the main road. By referring to the general order it will be seen that, while the operations were to go on in front, an attack was to be made at Blackburn's Ford by the brigade (Richardson's) stationed there. A reference to his report, and to that of Major Hunt, commanding the artillery. will show that this part of the plan was well and effectively carried out. It succeeded in deceiving the enemy for a considerable time, and in keeping in check a part of his force. The fire of the artillery at this point is represented as particularly destructive. At the time of our retreat, seeing great activity in this direction, much firing, and columns of dust, I became anxious for this place, fearing if it were turned or forced the whole stream of our retreating mass would be captured or destroyed. After providing for the protection of the retreat by Porter's and Blenker's brigades, I repaired to Richardson's, and found the whole force ordered to be stationed for the holding of the road from Manassas by Blackburn's Ford to Centreville, on the march, under the orders from the division commander for Centreville. I immediately halted it, and ordered it to take up the best line of defence across the ridge that their position admitted of, and subsequently taking in person the command of this part of the army, I caused such disposition of the forces, which had been added to by the 1st and 2d New Jersey and the De Kalb regiments, ordered up from Runyon's reserve, before going forward, as would best serve to check the enemy. The ridge being held in this way, the retreating current passed slowly through Centreville to the rear. The enemy followed us from the ford as far as Cub Run, and owing to the road becoming blocked up at the crossing, caused us much damage there, for the artillery could not pass, and several pieces and caissons had to be abandoned. In the panic, the horses hauling the caissons and ammunition were cut from their places by persons to escape with, and in this very much confusion was caused, the panic aggravated, and the road encumbered. Not only were pieces of artillery lost, but also many of the ambulances carrying the wounded.

"By sundown most of our men had gotten behind Centreville Ridge, and it became a question whether we should or not endeavor to make a stand there. The condition of our artillery and its ammunition, and the want of food for the men, who had generally abandoned or thrown away all that had been issued the day before, and the utter disorganization and consequent demoralization of the mass of the army, seemed to all who were near enough to be consulted—division and brigade commanders and staff—to admit of no alternative but to fall back; the more so as the position of Blackburn's Ford was then in the possession of the enemy, and he was already turning our left. On sending the officers of the staff to the different camps, they found, as they reported to me, that our decision had been anticipated by the troops, most of those who had come in from the front being already on the road to the rear, the panic with which they came in still continuing and hurrying them along. At — o'clock the rear-guard (Blenker's brigade) moved, covering the retreat, which was effected during the night and next morning. The troops at Fairfax station leaving by the cars, took with them the bulk of the supplies which had been sent there. My aide-de-camp, Major Wadsworth, stayed at Fairfax Court-House till late in the morning, to see that the stragglers and weary and worn-out soldiers were not left behind."

From this account of the battle of Bull Run, as it is succinctly narrated by the Union general with the candor of a gentleman and soldier, we may turn to the complement of the picture in the official report of the rebel commander, General Beauregard. Like his statement of the preceding engagement at Blackburn's Ford, it is a minute, elaborate and well presented exhibition of the military movements of the day. Time was taken for its preparation, and its writer had consequently the advantage, of which he availed himself, of the published reports of the Union officers; so that the paper is much more complete than is usual with documents of this kind. It bears date August 26, 1861, but was not given to the public for some time after, and then, as it was said, in a somewhat abridged form, curtailed of the comments of the writer on the subsequent conduct of the campaign by the Confederate government. The report was not in fact published till more than six months after the battle which it described, about the time of General Beauregard's departure from Manassas for a new field of operations in the South.

Immediately on the advance of General McDowell from before Washington, on the 17th July, as appears from this document, General Beauregard apprised the Confederate War Department at Richmond, by telegraph, of the fact, when government orders were at once transmitted for the reinforcement of his command. General Johnston was directed to bring his forces, if possible, from Winchester, and General Holmes, who was in the rear of Manassas, in Eastern Virginia, at Fredericksburg, was sent forward with his brigade. On being advised of these measures, General Beauregard at first intended that one portion of Johnston's force should advance by a route below Leesburg and take the Union forces on their right flank and in the rear at Centreville; but it was found that the means of transportation did not admit of this, and a junction of the forces was resolved upon within the lines of Bull Run, with the view of an immediate attack on the enemy. General Johnston having evaded his antagonist, General Patterson, by a skillful disposition of his advance guard, under Colonel Stuart, leaving his sick, about 1,700 in number, under the care of a small militia force at Winchester, moved with the remainder of his army through Ashby's Gap to Piedmont, a station of the Manassas Gap Railroad. From this point the infantry were to be transported to the camp of General Beauregard by rail, while the cavalry and artillery were ordered to continue their march. About noon on the 20th, having been preceded by two Georgia, and Jackson's brigade of five Virginia regiments, General Johnston, accompanied by General Bee with two regiments from Alabama and Mississippi, arrived at Manassas, and being the senior of General Beauregard in rank, assumed the command of the entire force. The untoward detention of some 5,000 of General Johnston's army, which he expected to follow him immediately on the railway, but which were detained in consequence of the imperfect means of transportation, with the advance in force of McDowell's army, compelled a disposition of the enemy's command to repel the threatened attack on their defensive line of Bull Run. At half-past four on the morning of the 21st, the day of the battle, the Confederate forces, says General Beauregard, were thus arranged:

"Ewell's brigade, constituted as on the 18th of July, remained in position at Union Mills Ford, his left extending along Bull Run, in the direction of McLean's Ford, and supported by Holmes' brigade, 2d Tennessee and 1st Arkansas regiments a short distance in the rear—that is, at and near Camp Wigfall. D. R. Jones' brigade, from Ewell's left, in front of McLean's Ford and along the stream to Longstreet's position. It was unchanged in organization, and was supported by Early's brigade, also unchanged, placed behind a thicket of young pines, a short distance in the rear of McLean's Ford. Longstreet's brigade held its former ground at Blackburn's Ford, from Jones' left to Bonham's right, at Mitchell's Ford, and was supported by Jackson's brigade, consisting of Colonels James L. Preston's 4th, Harper's 5th, Allen's 2d, the 27th, Lieutenant-Colonel Echoll's, and the 33d, Cumming's Virginia regiments, 2,611 strong, which were posted behind the skirting of pines to the rear of Blackburn's and Mitchell's Fords, and in the rear of this support was also Barksdale's 13th regiment Mississippi Volunteers, which had lately arrived from Lynchburg. Along the edge of a pine thicket, in rear of and equidistant from McLean's and Blackburn's Fords, ready to support either position, I had also placed all of Bee's and Bartow's brigades that had arrived—namely, two companies of the 11th Mississippi, Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, the 2d Mississippi, Colonel Falkner, and the Alabama, with the 7th and 8th Georgia regiments (Colonel Gartrell and Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner), in all 2,732 bayonets. Bonham's brigade, as before, held Mitchell's Ford, its right near Longstreet's left, its left extending in the direction of Cocke's right. It was organized as at the end of the 18th of July, with Jackson's brigade, as before said, as a support. Cocke's brigade, increased by seven companies of the 8th, Hunton's; three companies of the 49th, Smith's Virginia regiments; two companies of cavalry, and a battery under Rogers of four 6-pounders, occupied the line in front and rear of Bull Run, extending from the direction of Bonham's left, and guarding Island, Ball's and Lewis' Fords, to the right of Evans' demi-brigade, near the Stone Bridge, also under General Cocke's command. The latter held the Stone Bridge, and its left covered a farm ford about one mile above the bridge. Stuart's cavalry, some three hundred men of the army of the Shenandoah, guarded the level ground extending in rear from Bonham's left to Cocke's right. Two companies of Radford cavalry were held in reserve a short distance in rear of Mitchell's Ford, his left extending in the direction of Stuart's right. Colonel Pendleton's reserve battery of eight pieces was temporarily placed in rear of Bonham's extreme left. Major Walton's reserve battery of five guns was in position on McLean's farm, in a piece of woods in rear of Bee's right. Hampton's legion of six companies of infantry, six hundred strong, having arrived that morning by the cars from Richmond, was subsequently, as soon as it arrived, ordered forward to a position in immediate vicinity of the Lewis House, as a support for any troops engaged in that quarter. The effective force of all arms of the army of the Potomac on that eventful morning, including the garrison of Camp Pickens, did not exceed 21,833 and 29 guns. The army of the Shenandoah, ready for action on the field, may be set at 6,000 men and 20 guns. That is, when the battle begun, Smith's brigade and Fisher's North Carolina came up later, and made total of army of Shenandoah engaged of all arms, 8,334. Hill's Virginia regiment, 550, also arrived, but was posted as reserve to right flank. The brigade of General Holmes mustered about 1,265 bayonets, six guns and a company of cavalry about 90 strong.

"Informed at half-past five A. M., by Colonel Evans," continues General Beauregard, "that the enemy had deployed some 1,200 men [these were what Colonel Evans saw of General Schenck's brigade of General Tyler's division and two other heavy brigades, in all over 9,000 men and thirteen pieces of artillery—Carlisle's and Ayres's batteries. That is, 900 men and two 6-pounders, confronted by 9,000 men and thirteen pieces of artillery, mostly rifled], with several pieces of artillery in his immediate front, I at once ordered him, as also General Cocke, if attacked, to maintain their position to the last extremity. In my opinion the most effective method of relieving that flank was by a rapid, determined attack, with my right wing and centre on the enemy's flank and rear at Centreville, with due precautions against the advance of his reserves from the direction of Washington. By such a movement I confidently expected to achieve a complete victory for my country by twelve o'clock M. These new dispositions were submitted to General Johnston, who fully approved them, and the orders for their immediate execution were at once issued. Brigadier-General Ewell was directed to begin the movement, to be followed and supported successively by Generals D. R. Jones, Longstreet and Bonham respectively, supported by their several appointed reserves. The cavalry, under Stuart and Radford, were to be held in hand, subject to future orders and ready for employment as might be required by the exigencies of the battle. About half-past eight o'clock A. M. General Johnston and myself transferred our headquarters to a central position about half a mile in the rear of Mitchell's Ford, whence we might watch the course of events. Previously, as early as half-past five, the Federalists in front of Evans' position, Stone Bridge, had opened with a large 30-pounder Parrott rifle gun, and thirty minutes later with a moderate, apparently tentative, fire from a battery of rifle pieces, directed first in front at Evans', and then in the direction of Cocke's position, but without drawing a return fire and discovery of our positions, chiefly because in that quarter we had nothing but eight 6-pounder pieces, which could not reach the distant enemy. As the Federalists had advanced with an extended line of skirmishers in front of Evans, that officer promptly threw forward the two flank companies of the 4th South Carolina regiment and one company of Wheat's Louisiana battalion, deployed as skirmishers, to cover his small front. An occasional scattering fire resulted, and thus the two armies in that quarter remained for more than an hour, while the main body of the enemy was marching its dubious way through the 'big forest' to take our forces in flank and rear.

"By half-past eight A. M., Colonel Evans having become satisfied of the counterfeit character of the movement on his front, and persuaded of an attempt to turn his left flank, decided to change his position to meet the enemy, and for this purpose immediately put in motion to his left and rear six companies of Sloan's 4th South Carolina regiment, Wheat's Louisiana battalion, five companies, and two 6-pounders of Latham's battery, leaving four companies of Sloan's regiment under cover as the sole immediate defence of the Stone Bridge, but giving information to General Cocke of his change of position and the reasons that impelled it. Following a road leading by the Old Pittsylvania (Carter) mansion, Colonel Evans formed in line of battle some four hundred yards in rear—as he advanced—of that house, his guns to the front and in position, properly supported, to its immediate right. Finding, however, that the enemy did not appear on that road, which was a branch of one running by Sudley's Springs Ford to Brentsville and Dumfries, he turned abruptly to the left, and marching across the fields for three-quarters of a mile, about half-past nine A. M., took a position in line of battle; his left, Sloan's companies, resting on the main Brentsville road in a shallow ravine, the Louisiana battalion to the right, in advance some two hundred yards, a rectangular course of wood separating them—one piece of his artillery planted on an eminence some seven hundred yards to the rear of Wheat's battalion, and the other on a ridge near and in rear of Sloan's position, commanding a reach of the road just in front of the line of battle. In this order he awaited the coming of the masses of the enemy now drawing near. In the meantime about seven o'clock A. M., Jackson's brigade, with Imboden's, and five pieces of Walton's battery, had been sent to take up a position along Bull Run to guard the interval between Cocke's right and Bonham's left, with orders to support either in case of need—the character and topographical features of the ground having been shown to General Jackson by Captain D. R. Harris, of the Engineers, of this army corps. So much of Bee's and Bartow's brigades, now united, as had arrived—some 2,800 muskets—had also been sent forward to the support of the position of the Stone Bridge.

"The enemy beginning his detour from the turnpike at a point nearly half way between Stone Bridge and Centreville, had pursued a tortuous, narrow trace of a rarely-used road, through a dense wood, the greater part of his way, until near the Sudley road. A division under Colonel Hunter, of the Federal regular army, of two strong brigades, was in the advance, followed immediately by another division under Colonel Heintzelman, of three brigades and seven companies of regular cavalry and twenty-four pieces of artillery — eighteen of which were rifle guns. This column, as it crossed Bull Run, numbered over sixteen thousand men of all arms, by their own accounts. Burnside's brigade, which here as at Fairfax Court-House, led the advance, at about forty-five minutes past nine A. M., debouched from a wood in front of Evans' position, some five hundred yards distant from Wheat's battalion. He immediately threw forward his skirmishers in force, and they became engaged with Wheat's command and the 6-pounder gun under Lieutenant Leftwich. The Federalists at once advanced, as they report officially, the 2d Rhode Island regiment Volunteers, with its vaunted battery of six 13-pounder rifle guns. Sloan's companies were then brought into action, having been pushed forward through the woods. The enemy, soon galled and staggered by the fire, and pressed by the determined valor with which Wheat handled his battery, until he was desperately wounded, hastened up three other regiments of the brigade and two Dahlgren howitzers, making in all quite 3,500 bayonets and eight pieces of artillery, opposed to less than 800 men and two 6-pounder guns. Despite these odds, this intrepid command of but eleven weak companies maintained its front to the enemy for quite an hour, and until General Bee came to their aid with his command. The heroic Bee, with a soldier's eye and recognition of the situation, had previously disposed his command with skill—Imboden's battery having been admirably placed between the two brigades under shelter behind the undulations of a hill about 150 yards north of the now famous Henry House, and very near where he subsequently fell mortally wounded, to the great misfortune of his country, but after deeds of deliberate and ever-memorable courage.

"Meanwhile the enemy had pushed forward a battalion of eight companies of regular infantry and one of their best batteries of six pieces (four rifled), supported by four companies of marines, to increase the desperate odds against which Evans and his men had maintained their stand with an almost matchless tenacity. General Bee, now finding Evans sorely pressed under the crushing weight of the masses of the enemy, at the call of Colonel Evans, threw forward his whole force to his aid across a small stream—Young's Branch and Valley—and engaged the Federalists with impetuosity; Imboden's battery at the time playing from his well-chosen position with brilliant effect with spherical case, the enemy having first opened on him from a rifle battery, probably Griffin's, with elongated cylindrical shells, which flew a few feet over the heads of our men, and exploded in the crest of the hill immediately in rear. As Bee advanced under a severe fire, he placed the 7th and 8th Georgia regiments under the chivalrous Bartow, at about eleven A. M., in a wood of second grown pines, to the right and front of and nearly perpendicular to Evans' line of battle, the 4th Alabama to the left of them, along a fence connecting the position of the Georgia regiments with the rectangular copse in which Sloan's South Carolina companies were engaged, and into which he also threw the 2d Mississippi. A fierce and destructive conflict now ensued; the fire was withering on both sides, while the enemy swept our short, thin lines with their numerous artillery, which, according to their official reports, at this time consisted of at least ten rifle guns and four howitzers. For an hour did these stout-hearted men of the blended command of Bee, Evans and Bartow breast an unintermitting battle-storm, animated, surely, by something more than the ordinary courage of even the bravest men under fire; it must have been indeed the inspiration of the cause, and consciousness of the great stake at issue, which thus nerved and animated one and all to stand unawed and unshrinking in such extremity. Two Federal brigades of Heintzelman's division were now brought into action, led by Ricketts' superb light battery of six 10-pounder rifle guns, which, posted on an eminence to the right of the Sudley road, opened fire on Imboden's battery—about this time increased by two rifle pieces of the Washington Artillery, under Lieutenant Richardson, and already the mark of two batteries, which divided their fire with Imboden, and two guns, under Lieutenants Davidson and Leftwitch, of Latham's battery, posted as before mentioned. At this time, confronting the enemy, we had still but Evans' eleven companies and two guns—Bee's and Bartow's four regiments, the two companies 11th Mississippi, under Lieutenant-Colonel Liddell, and the six pieces under Imboden and Richardson The enemy had two divisions of four strong brigades, including seventeen companies of regular infantry, cavalry and artillery, four companies of marines and twenty pieces of artillery. [See official reports of Colonels Heintzelman, Porter, etc.] Against this odds, scarcely credible, our advance position was still for a while maintained, and the enemy's ranks constantly broken and shattered under the scorching fire of our men; but fresh regiments of the Federalists came upon the field—Sherman's and Keyes' brigades of Tyler's division—as is stated in their reports, numbering over 6,000 bayonets, which had found a passage across the Run about eight hundred yards above the Stone Bridge, threatened our right.

"Heavy losses had now been sustained on our side, both in numbers and in the personal worth of the slain. The Georgia regiment had suffered heavily, being exposed, as it took and maintained its position, to a fire from the enemy already posted within a hundred yards of their front and right, sheltered by fences and other cover. It was at this time that Lieutenant-Colonel Gardener was severely wounded, as also several other valuable officers; the Adjutant of the regiment, Lieutenant Branch, was killed, and the horse of the regretted Bartow was shot under him. The 4th Alabama also suffered severely from the deadly fire of the thousands of muskets which they so dauntlessly fronted under the immediate leadership of Bee himself. Its brave Colonel, E. J. Jones, was dangerously wounded, and many gallant officers fell, slain or *hors de combat.* Now, however, with the surging mass of over fourteen thousand federal infantry pressing on their front, and under the incessant fire of at least twenty pieces of artillery, with the fresh brigades of Sherman and Keyes approaching—the latter already in musket range—our lines gave back, but under orders from General Bee. The enemy, maintaining the fire, pressed their swelling masses onward as our shattered battalions retired ; the slaughter for the moment was deplorable, and has filled many a Southern home with life-long sorrow. Under this inexorable stress the retreat continued until arrested by the energy and resolution of General Bee, supported by Bartow and Evans, just in the rear of the Robinson House, and Hampton's Legion, which had been already advanced, and was in position near it. Imboden's battery, which had been handled with marked skill, but whose men were almost exhausted, and the two pieces of Walton's battery under Lieutenant Richardson, being threatened by the enemy's infantry on the left and front, were also obliged to fall back. Imboden, leaving a disabled piece on the ground, retired until he met Jackson's brigade, while Richardson joined the main body of his battery near the Lewis House. As our infantry retired from the extreme front the two 6-pounders of Latham's battery, before mentioned, fell back with excellent judgment to suitable positions in the rear, when an effective fire was maintained upon the still advancing lines of the Federalists with damaging effect, until their ammunition was nearly exhausted, when they, too, were withdrawn in the near presence of the enemy, and rejoined their captain. From the point previously indicated, where General Johnston and myself had established our headquarters, we heard the continuous roll of musketry and the sustained din of the artillery, which announced the serious outburst of the battle on our left flank, and we anxiously, but confidently, awaited similar sounds of conflict from our front at Centreville, resulting from the prescribed attack in that quarter by our right wing.

"At half-past ten in the morning, however, this expectation was dissipated, from Brigadier-General Ewell informing me, to my profound disappointment, that my orders for his advance had miscarried, but that, in consequence of a communication from General D. R. Jones, he had just thrown his brigade across the stream at Union Mills. But, in my judgment, it was now too late for the effective execution of the contemplated movement, which must have required quite three hours for the troops to get into position for the attack ; therefore, it became immediately necessary to depend on new combinations and other dispositions suited to the now pressing exigency. The movement of the right and centre, already begun by Jones and Longstreet, was at once countermanded with the sanction of General Johnston, and we arranged to meet the enemy on the field upon which he had chosen to give us battle. Under these circumstances our reserves, not already in movement, were immediately ordered up to support our left flank, namely—Holmes' two regiments and battery of artillery, under Captain Lindsey Walker, of six guns, and Early's brigade. Two regiments from Bonham's brigade, with Kemper's four 6-pounders, were also called for, and, with the sanction of General Johnston, Generals Ewell, Jones, (D. R.,) Longstreet and Bonham were directed to make a demonstration to their several fronts to retain and engross the enemy's reserves and forces on their flank, and at and around Centreville. Previously, our respective chiefs of staff—Major Rhett and Colonel Jordan—had been left at my headquarters to hasten up and give directions to any troops that might arrive at Manassas. These orders having been duly dispatched by staff officers, at 10 30 A. M. General Johnston and myself set out for the immediate field of action, which we reached in the rear of the Robinson and widow Henry's houses, at about 12 meridian, and just as the commands of Bee, Bartow and Evans had taken shelter in a wooded ravine behind the former, stoutly held at the time by Hampton with his legion, which had made a stand there after having previously been as far forward as the turnpike, where Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston, an officer of brilliant promise, was killed, and other severe losses were sustained. Before our arrival upon the scene General Jackson had moved forward with his brigade of five Virginia regiments from his position in reserve, and had judiciously taken post below the brim of the plateau, nearly east of the Henry house, and to the left of the ravine and woods occupied by the mingled remnants of Bee's, Bartow's and Evans' commands, with Imboden's battery, and two of Stanard's pieces placed so as to play upon the oncoming enemy, supported in the immediate rear by Colonel J. L. Preston's and Lieutenant-Colonel Echoll's regiments, on the right by Harper's, and on the left by Allen's and Cumming's regiments. As soon as General Johnston and myself reached the field, we were occupied with the reorganization of the heroic troops, whose previous stand, with scarce a parallel, has nothing more valiant in all the pages of history, and whose losses fitly tell why, at length, their lines had lost their cohesion. It was now that General Johnston impressively and gallantly charged to the front with the colors of the 4th Alabama regiment by his side, all the field officers of the regiment having been previously disabled. Shortly afterwards I placed S. R. Gist, Adjutant and Inspector-General of South Carolina, a volunteer Aide-de-Camp of General Bee, in command of this regiment, and who led it again to the front as became its previous behavior, and remained with it for the rest of the day. As soon as we had thus rallied and disposed our forces, I urged General Johnston to leave the immediate conduct of the field to me, while he, repairing to Portico—the Lewis House—should urge reinforcements forward. At first he was unwilling, but reminded that one of us must do so, and that properly it was his place, he reluctantly, but fortunately, complied; fortunately, because from that position, by his energy and sagacity, his keen perception and anticipation of my needs, he so directed the reserves as to ensure the success of the day.

"As General Johnston departed for Portico, Colonel Bartow reported to me with the remains of the 7th Georgia Volunteers (Gartrell's), which I ordered him to post on the left of Jackson's line, in the edge of the belt of pines bordering the southeastern rim of the plateau, on which the battle was now to rage so long and so fiercely. Colonel William Smith's battalion of the 49th Virginia Volunteers, having also come up by my orders, I placed it on the left of Gartrell's as my extreme left at the time. Repairing then to the right, I placed Hampton's Legion, which had suffered greatly, on that flank somewhat to the rear of Harper's regiment, and also the seven companies of the 8th (Hinton's) Virginia regiment, which, detached from Cocke's brigade by my orders and those of General Johnston, had opportunely reached the ground. These, with Harper's regiment, constituted a reserve to protect our right flank from an advance of the enemy from the quarter of the Stone Bridge, and served as a support for the line of battle, which was formed on the right by Bee's and Evans' commands, in the centre by four regiments of Jackson's brigade, with Imboden's four 6-pounders, Walton's five guns (two rifled), two guns (one piece rifled) of Stanard's, and two 6-pounders of Rogers' batteries, the latter under Lieutenant Heaton; and on the left by Gartrell's reduced ranks and Colonel Smith's battalion, subsequently reinforced Falkner's 2d Mississippi regiment, and by another regiment of the army of Shenandoah, just arrived upon the field, the 6th (Fisher's) North Carolina. Confronting the enemy at this time, my force numbered, at most, not more than 6,500 infantry and artillerists, with but thirteen pieces of artillery, and two companies (Carter's and Hoge's) of Stuart's cavalry. The enemy's force, now bearing hotly and confidently down on our position, regiment after regiment of the best equipped men that ever took the field—according to their own official history of the day—was formed of Colonels Hunter's and Heintzelman's divisions, Colonels Sherman's and Keyes' brigades of Tyler's division, and of the formidable batteries of Ricketts, Griffin, and Arnold regulars, and 2d Rhode Island, and two Dahlgren howitzers — a force of over 20,000 infantry, seven companies of regular cavalry and twenty-four pieces of improved artillery. At the same time perilous, heavy reserves of infantry and artillery hung in the distance around the Stone Bridge, Mitchell's, Blackburn's and Union Mills Fords, visibly ready to fall upon us at any moment; and I was also assured of the existence of other heavy corps at and around Centreville and elsewhere, within convenient supporting distances. Fully conscious of this portentous disparity of force, as I posted the lines for the encounter, I sought to infuse into the hearts of my officers and men the confidence and determined spirit of resistance to this wicked invasion of the homes of a free people, which I felt. I informed them that reinforcements would rapidly come to their support, and we must at all hazards hold our posts until reinforced. I reminded them that we fought for our homes, our firesides and for the independence of our country. I urged them to the resolution of victory or death on that field. These sentiments were loudly, eagerly cheered wheresoever proclaimed, and I then felt assured of the unconquerable spirit of that army, which would enable us to wrench victory from the host then threatening us with destruction. Oh, my country! I would readily have sacrificed my life and those of all the brave men around me, to save your honor and to maintain your independence from the degrading yoke which those ruthless invaders had come to impose and render perpetual; and the day's issue has assured me that such emotions must also have animated all under my command.

"In the meantime the enemy had seized upon the plateau on which Robinson's and the Henry Houses a situated

—the position first occupied in the morning by General Bee, before advancing to the support of Evans. Ricketts' battery of six rifled guns—the pride of the Federalists, the object of their unstinted expenditure in outfit—and the equally powerful regular light battery of Griffin, were brought forward and placed in immediate action, after having, conjointly with the batteries already mentioned, played from former positions with destructive effect upon our forward battalions.

"The topographical features of the plateau, now become the stage of the contending armies, must be described in outline. A glance at the map will show that it is enclosed on three sides by small water-courses, which empty into Bull Run within a few yards of each other, half a mile to the south of the Stone Bridge. Rising to an elevation of quite one hundred feet above the level of Bull Run at the bridge, it falls off on three sides to the level of the enclosing streams in gentle slopes, but which are furrowed by ravines of irregular direction and length, and studded with clumps and patches of young pines and oaks. The general direction of the crest of the plateau is oblique to the course of Bull Run in that quarter, and on the Brentsville and turnpike roads, which intersect each other at right angles. Completely surrounding the two houses before mentioned, are small open fields, of irregular outline, and exceeding 150 acres in extent. The houses, occupied at the time, the one by Widow Henry and the other by the free negro Robinson, are small wooden buildings, densely embowered in trees and environed by a double row of fences on two sides. Around the eastern and southern brow of the plateau, an almost unbroken fringe of second growth pines gave excellent shelter for our marksmen, who availed themselves of it with the most satisfactory skill. To the west, adjoining the fields, a broad belt of oaks extends directly across the crest on both sides of the Sudley road, in which, during the battle, regiments of both armies met and contended for the mastery. From the open ground of this plateau the view embraces a wide expanse of woods and gently undulating, open country of broad grass and grain fields in all directions, including the scene of Evans' and Bee's recent encounter with the enemy—some twelve hundred yards to the northward.

"In reply to the play of the enemy's batteries, our own artillery had not been idle or unskillful. The ground occupied by our guns, on a level with that held by the batteries of the enemy, was an open space of limited extent, behind a low undulation, just at the eastern verge of the plateau, some 500 or 600 yards from the Henry House. Here, as before said, some thirteen pieces, mostly 6-pounders were maintained in action. The several batteries of Imboden, Stanard, Pendleton (Rockbridge artillery), and Alburtis', of the army of the Shenandoah, and five guns of Walton's, and Heaton's section of Rogers' battery, of the army of the Potomac, alternating to some extent with each other, and taking part as needed; all from the outset displaying that marvellous capacity of our people as artillerists which has made them, it would appear, at once the terror and the admiration of the enemy. As was soon apparent, the Federalists had suffered severely from our artillery and from the fire of our musketry on the right, and especially from the left flank, placed under cover, within whose galling range they had been advanced. And we are told in their official reports how regiment after regiment, thrown forward to dislodge us, was broken, never to recover its entire organization on that field. In the meantime, also, two companies of Stuart's cavalry (Carter's and Hoge's) made a dashing charge down the Brentsville and Sudley road upon the Fire Zouaves—then the enemy's right on the plateau—which added to their disorder, wrought by our musketry on that flank. But still the press of the enemy was heavy in that quarter of the field, as fresh troops were thrown forward there to outflank us, and some three guns of a battery, in an attempt to obtain a position apparently to enfilade our batteries, were thrown so close to the 33d regiment, Jackson's brigade, that that regiment, springing forward, seized them, but with severe loss, and was subsequently driven back by an overpowering force of Federal musketry. Now, full two o'clock P. M., I gave the order for the right of my line, except my reserves, to advance to recover the plateau. It was done with uncommon resolution and vigor, and at the same time Jackson's brigade pierced the enemy's centre with the determination of veterans and the spirit of men who fight for a sacred cause; but it suffered seriously. With equal spirit the other parts of the line made the onset, and the Federal lines were broken and swept back at all points from the open ground of the plateau. Rallying soon, however, as they were strongly reinforced by fresh regiments, the Federalists returned, and by weight of numbers pressed our lines back, recovered their ground and guns, and renewed the offensive. By this time, between half-past two and three o'clock P. M., our reinforcements pushed forward, and directed by General Johnston to the required quarter, were on hand just as I had ordered forward, to a second effort, for the recovery of the disputed plateau, the whole line, including my reserves, which, at this crisis of the battle, I felt called upon to lead in person. This attack was general, and was shared in by every regiment then in the field, including the 6th (Fisher's) North Carolina regiment, which had just come up and taken position on the immediate left of the 49th Virginia regiment. The whole open ground was again swept clear of the enemy, and the plateau around the Henry and Robinson Houses remained finally in our possession, with the greater part of the Ricketts and Griffin batteries, and a flag of the 1st Michigan regiment, captured by the 27th Virginia regiment (Lieutenant-Colonel Echolls), of Jackson's brigade. This part of the day was rich with deeds of individual coolness and dauntless conduct, as well as well-directed, embodied resolution and bravery, but fraught with the loss to the service of the country of lives of inestimable preciousness at this juncture. The brave Bee was mortally wounded at the head of the 4th Alabama and some Mississippians, in an open field near the Henry House, and a few yards distant the promising life of Bartow, while leading the 7th Georgia regiment, was quenched in blood. Colonel F. J. Thomas, Acting Chief of Ordnance, of General Johnston's staff, after gallant conduct and most efficient service, was also slain. Colonel Fisher, 6th North Carolina, likewise fell, after soldierly behavior, at the head of his regiment, with ranks greatly thinned. Withers' 14th regiment of Cocke's brigade had come up in time to follow this charge, and in conjunction with Hampton's Legion, captured several rifle pieces which may have fallen previously in possession of some of our troops; but if so, had been recovered by the enemy. These pieces were immediately turned and effectively served on distant masses of the enemy by the hands of some of our officers. While the enemy had thus been driven back on our right entirely across the turnpike, and beyond Young's Branch on our left, the woods yet swarmed with them, when our reinforcements opportunely arrived in quick succession, and took position in that portion of the field. Kershaw's 2d and Cash's 8th South Carolina regiments, which had arrived soon after Withers', were led through the oaks just east of the Sudley-Brentsville road, brushing some of the enemy before them, and taking an advantageous position along and west of that road, opened with much skill and effect on bodies of the enemy that had been rallied under cover of a strong Federal brigade posted in a plateau in the southwest angle, formed by the intersection of the turnpike with the Sudley-Brentsville road. Among the troops thus engaged were the Federal regular infantry. At the same time Kemper's battery, passing northward by the Sudley-Brentsville road, took position on the open space—under orders of Colonel Kershaw—near where an enemy's battery had been captured, was opened with effective results upon the Federal right; then the mark also of Kershaw and Cash's regiments. Preston's 28th regiment of Cocke's brigade had, by that time, entered the same body of oaks, and encountered some Michigan troops, capturing their commander, Colonel Wilcox.

"Another important accession to our forces had also occurred about the same time, at three o'clock P. M. Brigadier-General E. K. Smith, with some 1,700 infantry of Elsey's brigade, of the army of the Shenandoah, and Beckham's battery, came upon the field from Camp Pickens, Manassas, where they had arrived by railroad at noon. Directed in person by General Johnston to the left, then so much endangered, on reaching a position in rear of the oak woods, south of the Henry House and immediately east of the Sudley road, General Smith was disabled by a severe wound, and his valuable services were lost at that critical juncture. But the command devolved upon a meritorious officer of experience, Colonel Elzey, who led his infantry at once somewhat further to the left, in the direction of the Chinn House, across the road, through the oaks skirting the west side of the road, and around which he sent the battery under Lieutenant Beckham. This officer took up a most favorable position near that house, whence, with a clear view of the Federal right and centre, filling the open fields to the west of the Brentsville-Sudley road, and gently sloping southward, he opened fire with his battery upon them with deadly and damaging effect. Colonel Early, who, by some mischance, did not receive orders until two o'clock, which had been sent him at noon, came on the ground immediately after Elzey, with Kemper's 7th Virginia, Hay's 7th Louisiana and Barksdale's 13th Mississippi regiments. This brigade, by the personal direction of General Johnston, was marched by the Holkham House, across the fields to the left, entirely around the woods through which Elzey had passed, and under a severe fire, into a position in line of battle near Chinn's House, outflanking the enemy's right. At this time, about half-past three P. M., the enemy, driven back on their left and centre, and brushed from the woods bordering the Sudley road, south and west of the Henry House, had formed a line of battle of truly formidable proportions, of crescent outline, reaching on their left from the vicinity of Pittsylvania (the old Carter mansion), by Matthew's and in rear of Dogan's, across the turnpike near to Chinn's house. The woods and fields were filled with their masses of infantry and their carefully preserved cavalry. It was a truly magnificent, though redoubtable spectacle, as they threw forward in fine style, on the broad, gentle slopes of the ridge occupied by their main lines, a cloud of skirmishers, preparatory for another attack. But as Early formed his line, and Beckham's pieces playing upon the right of the enemy, Elzey's brigade, Gibbon's 10th Virginia, Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart's 1st Maryland and Vaughn's 3d Tennessee regiments, and Cash's 8th and Kershaw's 2d South Carolina, Withers' 18th and Preston's 28th Virginia, advanced in an irregular line almost simultaneously, with great spirit, from their several positions upon the front and flanks of the enemy in their quarter of the field. At the same time, too, Early resolutely assailed their right flank and rear. Under the combined attack the enemy was soon forced, first over the narrow plateau in the southern angle made by the two roads, so often mentioned, into a patch of woods on its western slope, thence back over Young's branch and the turnpike into the fields of the Dugan farm, and rearward, in extreme disorder in all available directions, towards Bull Run. The route had now become general and complete."

President Jefferson Davis left Richmond by railway in the morning, and arrived on the field of battle in the afternoon, when the fortune of the day was already decided. He is said to have given but one order on the field: "Forward, my brave columns! Forward!" He sent that night the following dispatch to Richmond, which was read in the Confederate Congress, which had just commenced its first session at Richmond, the following morning:—"Manassas Junction, Sunday night. Night has closed upon a hard-fought field. Our forces were victorious. The enemy was routed and fled precipitately, abandoning a large amount of arms, ammunition, knapsacks and baggage. The ground was strewed for miles with those killed, and the farm houses and the ground around were filled with wounded. Pursuit was continued along several routes towards Leesburg and Centreville, until darkness covered the fugitives. We have captured several field-batteries, stands of arms and Union and State flags. Many prisoners have been taken. Too high praise cannot be bestowed, whether for the skill of the principal officers or for the gallantry of all our troops. The battle was mainly fought on our left. Our force was 15,000; that of the enemy estimated at 35,000."

The voluminous brigade and regimental reports of the battle, accompanying General McDowell's report, present many scenes of interest, deeds of valor gallantly performed, intermingled with fatal effects of lack of experience, and in some cases of the absence of the true soldierly instincts. Colonel Keyes of

General Tyler's Division celebrates the gallantry of the Maine and Connecticut volunteers under his command; their ardor in the attack and their steadiness in the retreat, instancing numerous individual acts of heroism. They did much to ensure the honors and afterward diminish the misfortunes of the day. Colonel Burnside's report is a vigorous, straightforward narrative of the business of war; a story of perils honorably encountered; of fidelity sealed in death. It is uncomfortable to find in the report of Colonel Andrew Porter, the successor of Colonel Hunter in command of the first division, something more than a doubt thrown upon the valor of the much vaunted Zouaves. They were on the right of the Union line in the last conflict. The scene is thus described: "At this juncture there was a temporary lull in the firing from the rebels, who appeared only occasionally on the heights in irregular formations, but to serve as marks for Griffin's guns. The prestige of success had thus far attended the efforts of our inexperienced but gallant troops. The lines of the enemy had been forcibly shifted, nearly a mile to their left and rear. The flags of eight regiments, though borne somewhat wearily, now pointed towards the hill from which disordered masses of rebels had been seen hastily retiring. Griffin's and Rickett's batteries were ordered by the commanding-general to the top of the hill on the right, supporting with the 'Fire Zouaves' and marines, while the 14th entered the skirt of wood on their right to protect that flank, and a column composed of the 27th New York, 11th and 5th Massachusetts, 2d Minnesota, and 69th New York, moved up toward the left flank of the batteries; but so soon as they were in position and before the flanking supports had reached theirs, a murderous fire of musketry and rifles, opened at pistol range, cut down every canonier and a large number of horses. The fire came from some infantry of the enemy, which had been mistaken for our own forces; an officer in the field having stated that it was a regiment sent by Colonel Heintzelman to support the batteries. The evanescent courage of the 'Zouaves' prompted them to fire perhaps a hundred shots, when they broke and fled, leaving the batteries open to a charge of the enemy's cavalry, which took place immediately. The marines also, in spite of the exertions of their gallant officers, gave way in disorder. The 14th on the right, and the column on the left, hesitatingly retired, with the exception of the 69th and 38th New York, who nobly stood and returned the fire of the enemy for fifteen minutes Soon the slopes behind us were swarming with our retreating and disorganized forces, while riderless horses and artillery teams ran furiously through the flying crowd. All further efforts were futile. The words, gestures, and threats of our officers were thrown away upon men who had lost all presence of mind, and only longed for absence of body. Some of our noblest and best officers lost their lives in trying to rally them. Upon our *first position* the 27th was the first to rally, under the command of Major Bartlett, and around it the other regiments engaged soon collected their scattered fragments. The battalion of regulars, in the meantime, moved steadily across the field from the left to the right, and took up a position, where it held the entire forces of the rebels in check until our forces were somewhat rallied. The commanding-general then ordered a retreat upon Centreville, at the same time directing me to cover it with the battalion of regulars, the cavalry, and a section of artillery. The rear-guard thus organized followed our panic-stricken troops to Centreville, resisting the attack of the rebel cavalry and artillery, and saving them from the inevitable destruction which awaited them had not this body been interposed."

Colonel Heintzelman, who commanded the Third Division, gives a more particular account of the part taken by the Zouaves, with other important incidents preceding and attending the retreat. "At a little more than a mile from Sudley's Ford," says he, "we came upon the battle-field. Rickett's battery was posted on a hill to the right of Hunter's division and to the right of the road. After firing some twenty minutes at a battery of the enemy, placed just beyond the crest of a hill, on their entrance left, the distance being considered too great, it was moved forward to within about 1,000 feet of the enemy's battery. Here the battery was exposed to a heavy fire of musketry, which soon disabled it. Franklin's brigade was posted on the right of a wood, near the centre of our line, and on ground rising towards the enemy's position. In the meantime, I sent orders for the Zouaves to move forward to support Rickett's battery on its right. As soon as they came up, I led them forward against an Alabama regiment, partly concealed in a clump of small pines in an old field. At the first fire they broke and the greater portion of them fled to the rear, keeping up a desultory firing over the heads of their comrades in front; at the same moment they were charged by a company of secession cavalry on their rear, who came by a road through two strips of wood on our extreme right. The fire of the Zouaves killed four and wounded one, dispersing them. The discomfiture of this cavalry was completed by a fire from Captain Collum's company of United States cavalry, which killed and wounded several men. Colonel Farnham, with some of his officers and men, behaved gallantly, but the regiment of Zouaves, as a regiment, did not appear again on the field. Many of the men joined other regiments and did good service as skirmishers. I then led up the Minnesota regiment, which was also repulsed, but retired in tolerably good order. It did good service in the woods on our right flank, and was among the last to retire, moving off the field with the 3d United States infantry. Next was led forward the 1st Michigan, which was also repulsed, and retired in considerable confusion. They were rallied, and helped to hold the woods on our right. The Brooklyn 14th then appeared on the ground, coming forward in gallant style. I led them forward to the left, where the Alabama regiment had been posted in the early part of the action, but had now disappeared, but soon came in sight of the line of the enemy drawn up beyond the clump of trees. Soon after the firing commenced the regiment broke and ran. I considered it useless to attempt to rally them. The want of discipline in these regiments was so great that the most of the men would run from fifty to several hundred yards to the rear, and continue to fire—fortunately for the braver ones—very high in the air, and compelling those in front to retreat. During this time Reickell's battery had been taken and retaken three times by us, but was finally lost, most of the horses having been killed — Captain Reickell being wounded, and 1st Lieutenant D. Ramsay killed. Lieutenant Kirby behaved very gallantly, and succeeded in carrying off one caisson. Before this time heavy reinforcements of the enemy were distinctly seen approaching by two roads extending and outflanking us on the right. Colonel Stewart's brigade came on the field at this time, having been detained by the General as a reserve at the point where we left the turnpike. It took post on a hill on our right and rear, and for some time gallantly held the enemy in check. I had one company of cavalry attached to my division, which was joined during the engagement by the cavalry of Colonel Stanton's division. Major Palmer, who cannonaded them, was anxious to engage the enemy. The ground being unfavorable, I ordered them back out of range of fire. Finding it impossible to rally any of the regiments, we commenced our retreat about half-past four P. M. There was a fine position a short distance in the rear, where I hoped to make a stand with a section of Arnold's battery and the United States cavalry, if I could rally a few regiments of infantry. In this I utterly failed, and we continued our retreat on the road we had advanced on in the morning. I sent forward my staff officers to rally some troops beyond the Run, but not a company would form. I stopped back a few moments at the hospital to see what arrangements could be made to save the wounded. The few ambulances that were there were filled and started to the rear. The church, which was used as a hospital, with the wounded and some of the surgeons, soon after fell into the hands of the secession cavalry that followed us closely. A company of cavalry crossed the rear and seized an ambulance full of wounded. Captain Arnold gave them a couple of rounds of 'canister' from his section of artillery, which sent them scampering away, and kept them at a respectful distance during the remainder of our retreat. At this point most of the stragglers were in advance of us. Having every reason to fear a vigorous pursuit from the enemy's fresh troops, I was desirous of forming a strong rear-guard, but neither the efforts of the officers of the regular army, nor the coolness of the regular troops with me, could induce them to form a single company. We relied entirely for our protection on one section of artillery and a few companies of cavalry. Most of the road was favorable for infantry, but unfavorable for cavalry and artillery. About dusk, as we approached the Warrenton turnpike, we heard a firing of rifled cannon on our right, and learned that the enemy had established a battery enfilading the road. Captain Arnold, with his section of artillery, attempted to run the gauntlet and reached the bridge over Cub Run, about two miles from Centreville, but found it obstructed with broken vehicles, and was compelled to abandon his pieces as they were under the fire of these rifled cannon. The cavalry turned to the left, and after passing through a strip of woods and some fields, struck a road which led them to some camps occupied by our troops in the morning, through which we regained the turnpike. At about eight P. M. we reached the camps we had occupied in the morning. Had a brigade from the reserve advanced a short distance beyond Centreville, nearly one-third of the artillery lost might have been saved, as it was abandoned at or near this crossing. Such a rout I never witnessed before. No efforts could induce a single regiment to form after the retreat had commenced. Our artillery was served admirably and did much execution. Some of the volunteer regiments behaved very well, and much excuse can be made for those who fled, as few of the enemy could at any time be seen. Raw troops cannot be expected to stand long against an unseen enemy. I have been unable to obtain any report from the Zouaves, as Colonel Farnham is still at hospital. Since the retreat more than three-fourths of the Zouaves have disappeared." The disorganization of the Zouaves, in fact, was so complete that, ten days after the battle, not a fourth of them could be got together at their camp. Many efforts were made for their reunion, which, after various mishaps, was partially accomplished. The regiment was reorganized and sent to Fortress Monroe, but in the course of the ensuing year was finally disbanded. Colonel Noah L. Farnham, the successor of Ellsworth in command of the regiment, died the month following the battle, at Washington, in his thirty-third year, of wounds received in the engagement—a man of courage, energy and steady resolution.

By the station of the Zouaves Colonel Gorman's 1st Minnesota regiment was brought into action, and sustained the fire of the enemy at the distance of fifty or sixty feet. So close was the contest that prisoners were taken on both sides, the Unionists carrying off Lieutenant-Colonel Boone of Mississippi, of "the highest rank taken in the battle." One fifth of the whole regiment were killed, wounded, or made prisoners before the rest retired. Lieutenant-Colonel Farnsworth also celebrates with pride the heroism of his 38th regiment of New York volunteers, in their dash upon the enemy and recapture of Rickett's battery, from which its defenders had been driven, and other acts of valor. A word too is due to stout Captain Blenker's (in command of the 1st brigade of the reserve) resistance of the enemy, and, what was more, his successful regulation of the retreat at and about Centreville.

These instances might be multiplied, but enough has been indicated to relieve the conduct of the Union troops at Bull Run from the wholesale aspersions so freely thrown upon them by careless or interested assailants both in this country and Europe. The place and time of the engagement, its position at the crisis of the war, determining as it did the prolonged indefinite duration of the national conflict; all gave it an importance which, simply as a contest of armed men, it was hardly entitled to. An undisciplined force of raw recruits less than three months in camp, after a fatiguing march into an enemy's country, and hours of fighting under a midsummer's sun, were, after gaining signal advantages, overcome by new assaults of fresh troops reinforced by constant accessions. This was the fight of Bull Run, in itself far from a decisive victory, since the conquerors gained none of the advantages which, had that been the case, they should have promptly attained. Washington was before them, and by its possession they might, perhaps, have secured to themselves the objects for which they had originally taken up arms; yet, victorious as they were, they were too irresolute or too much exhausted to stretch forth a hand to seize the prize. That, indeed, would have been a triumph. In the opinion of many who witnessed the retreat, and the consequent confusion at the capital, it might have been successfully accomplished. That it was not done, or even attempted, argues even more than the elaborate recapitulation of their deeds of valor in the official report of their commander, the substantial prowess of their foe. So obvious, in fact, is the question, that General Beauregard has felt it incumbent on himself to answer it. He gives as a part of the reasons, proper to be communicated for the neglect, these statements: "An army which had fought like ours on that day against uncommon odds, under a July sun, most of the time without water and without food, except a hastily snatched meal at dawn, was not in condition for the toil of an eager, effective pursuit of an enemy immediately after the battle. On the following day an unusually heavy and unintermitting fall of rain intervened to obstruct our advance with reasonable prospect of fruitful results. Added to this, the want of a cavalry force of sufficient numbers, made an efficient pursuit a military impossibility."

General Johnston, who has also something to say on this matter, frankly admits that he considered an offensive movement against the capital after the battle utterly impracticable. "The apparent firmness," he says, "of the United States troops at Centreville, who had not been engaged, which checked our pursuit, the strong forces occupying the works near Georgetown, Arlington and Alexandria — the certainty, too, that General Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington with his army of 30,000 men sooner than we could, and the condition and inadequate means of the army in ammunition, provisions and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the capital."

It remains to count the immediate loss of this hotly-contested day—the returns of killed and wounded—what Wellington, with more rough truth than elegance, is said to have called "the butcher's bill." It is thus reported by the respective commanders. General McDowell, from the returns of his officers, reports the Union loss at 19 officers and 462 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 64 officers and 947 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. 1,216 were reported missing. General Beauregard tells us, without distinction of rank, that of the Confederate forces, the killed outright numbered 269, the wounded 1,483. He calculates the number of prisoners of the Union army taken, "including the wounded who did not die," as not less than 1,600. An abstract list found at Manassas after the evacuation gives 550 wounded and 871 not wounded, sent to Richmond and the various hospitals. General Johnston, in his report of the day, states the result somewhat differently, making the aggregate of the Confederate loss· 378 killed, 1,489 wounded, and 30 missing. Of these he assigns to the army of the Potomac 108 killed, 510 wounded, and 12 missing; to the army of the Shenandoah 270 killed, 979 wounded, and 18 missing. He claims as the spoils of the day, 28 pieces of artillery, about 5,000 muskets, nearly 500,000 cartridges, a garrison flag, and 10 colors captured in the field or in the pursuit; and besides these, 64 artillery horses with their harness, 26 wagons and much camp equipage, clothing, and other property left behind.

CHAPTER XXVII.

INCIDENTS OF THE ENGAGEMENT.

A NUMBER of gallant officers of the Union army fell in the battle of Bull Run. Among the foremost in rank was Colonel James Cameron, brother of the Secretary of War, who was mortally wounded while leading his regiment, the New York 79th Highlanders, at the height of the engagement. He was a native of Philadelphia, a printer and editor in early life, and had acquired reputation and fortune in his active furtherance of the public improvements and industrial interests of his State. His acquaintance with military affairs as Colonel of the militia, seconded by his public spirit and the eminent position of his brother in the Government, doubtless influenced him in leaving his luxuriant retirement on the banks of the Susquehanna and accepting the command in the discharge of which he nobly perished. He was fifty-two years old at the time of his death. He fell mortally struck by a bullet in his left breast whilst conversing with a lieutenant of the regiment in relation to taking off the wounded, dying on the instant. It was said that he owed his death to the rifle of Colonel Wade Hampton of South Carolina, who took repeated aim at him as he gallantly led on his regiment. One of his biographers compares his fate to that of Colonel Cameron of the British 79th, from which the regiment had taken its designation, an officer who fell at Fuentes de Onoro, killed by a French Colonel vho seized a musket from one of his men.* The body of Colonel Cameron was carried from the battle-ground in an ambulance, and left on the retreat to be buried with others by the rebels in a common grave. Active efforts were made immediately after the engagement by his friends and family at Washington to procure the remains for more honorable interment, but owing to the manner in which the war was conducted, they proved ineffectual. Two gentlemen—Messrs. Arnold Harris and H. S. McGraw, formerly State-Treasurer of Pennsylvania, visited the field the day after the battle in search of the remains, were seized as prisoners of War and sent to Richmond, where they were detained for months, and part of the time close prisoners. Mr. Harris, relying on his acquaintance with the Southern leaders to secure the humane object for which he set out, addressed the following note to General Beauregard: "Sir,—I send this by a friend and trusty servant who is well known to many officers in your army. He is sent for the purpose of obtaining from you a permit for Mr. H. S. McGraw and myself to pass your lines to obtain the body of Colonel Cameron, who fell in the action of yesterday. My solicitude in this matter is an impulse of private character. The rigid rules established at Washington with reference to flags of truce, prevent me from carrying out my wishes without proceeding as I am now doing. I believe General B. will recollect me while a resident of New Orleans; but if President Davis, General Lee, General Johnston General Wigfall, Colonel Miles, Keitt or Withers are present they will not hesitate to vouch for me. General Bonham, and in fact, nearly all your officers know me. In addition to the gratification of performing a sacred duty, I would be highly delighted to meet in your camp many of my most valued friends. It is proper for me to add that I have not been in any manner connected with the action of the Government here, and that I am a neutral." To this appeal the following reply was made by General Beauregard, through his aide-de-camp Manning:—"The General declines giving an informal permit to any one residing beyond his advanced lines for any purpose which may be accomplished by those formal proceedings known to and practiced by civilized belligerent nations. By no act of his will he lower the dignity of the Confederate States as a nation, by permitting that to be done indirectly which the usages of civilized warfare accomplish directly. The arbitrary and unusual course adopted in such cases as you refer to by the United States Government will be the guide of the General's conduct in return. Any one, therefore, coming within his lines without the proper flag, will be sent under an escort to the Confederate Government for examination. The General deems proper for me to add, that humanity should teach an enemy tc care for its wounded, and Christianity to bury its dead."

---

* Shea's Fallen Brave. Art. Colonel James Cameron.

The refusal of General Beauregard, on the ground of the Confederate States not being recognized as an independent belligerent nation, was one of the embarrassments necessarily arising from the theory held by the Federal Government of its attitude, not of making foreign war, but of suppressing an internal rebellion. The Confederates, naturally eager to maintain their independent sovereignty in the eyes of the world, were jealous of the punctilio which, it was found afterwards could, to a certain extent, by subordinate officers and by special acts, be yielded to a state of actual warfare without compromising the principles of government at stake. In fact, a modification of the original course in the transmission of flags of truce, the exchange of prisoners and other matters, became a necessity of the war. Had Colonel Cameron been on the other side, and fallen to the care of the Unionists, his remains would, if we may judge from the tenderness which had then been already bestowed in the case of General Garnett, have been cared for and forwarded with every mark of respect without solicitation or needless anxiety to his family and friends.

A letter was also addressed to General Beauregard shortly after the battle by Mrs. Sarah Z. Evans, the sister of Colonel Cameron at Washington, asking information respecting her brother. "With a grieved and torn heart," she wrote, "I address you. If it is in your power, will you give a word of comfort to a distressed spirit? I allude to the death of the gallant Colonel Cameron, of the Federal army, on last Sunday, the 21st of July. We are all God's creatures, alike in his sight. It is a bereaved sister that petitions. Colonel Cameron received two shots, immediately following each other, that destroyed his life. *The fate of his body is the grief—to know what has become of it.* Think of the distress of a like nature in Southern families, and let us forgive as we hope to be forgiven. All that we have been able to learn is, that Colonel C. was carried to a farmhouse near the scene of battle. He had letters in his pocket declaring his name and station. He was rather a large man, with sandy hair, somewhat gray, dressed in gray clothes. Have mercy on the bowed spirit that laments for the beloved lost—that would be comforted to know he had received decent burial. Notwithstanding the war, we are all brothers. 'God prosper the righteous cause.' In pity, have inquiries made, for the love a sister bears a brother, and may God show you mercy in time of trouble." To this touching epistle, General Beauregard, on the 5th of August. wrote the following reply: "Madam,—Your letter of the 26th ultimo has been received, making some inquiries relative to the body of your late brother, Colonel Cameron, United States Army, killed at Manassas on the 21st ultimo. In answer, I will state that, upon inquiry, I find he was interred with several other bodies in a grave about 200 yards from the house of a Mrs. Dogan, on the battlefield, who attended herself to this sad duty—forgetting in her goodness of heart that these very foes had brought destruction and destitution upon her home and fireside—and that they had crossed into her country for the purpose of subverting its institutions and the form of government it had chosen, as a free people, to establish for itself. Indeed, I fully agree with you. May all the distress of this unholy war be visited upon the heads of those who are responsible for it, and may the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, in His infinite goodness and wisdom, (continue to) prosper the righteous cause! A gentleman of this State, Mr. Kinlaw Fauntleroy, a private in Colonel Stuart's cavalry brigade, has in his possession a miniature portrait of Colonel Cameron and wife, which he intends to return to their friends after the war; for at present no intercourse of the kind is admissible between the two contending parties." The remains of Colonel Cameron were thus left uncoffined in a dishonored grave till the enemy having finally departed from the field before the long deferred approach of the Union army, the burial place was detected through information given by a negro, and the relics, as they could be gathered, were separated from the promiscuous dead and carried by the family of the deceased to a reverent interment.

The brigade of General Sherman, to which Colonel Cameron's regiment was attached, met with another loss in the capture of Colonel Michael Corcoran of the New York 69th, Irish regiment, who was destined to afford, in the varying fortunes of his imprisonment, a prominent illustration of the policy of the war. Long after others were released from confinement, he was held as a hostage, and his life was for a time threatened to save from execution the Southern privateers who were tried in Northern ports as pirates. The birth, soldierly qualities and estimable character of Colonel Corcoran excited much sympathy and anxiety for his fate from his fellow-citizens generally, and especially from his countrymen, the natives of Ireland, who were so largely represented in the war. He was the son of an officer in the British service, had received a limited education, been employed in the Irish Constabulary force, and in 1849, at the age of twenty-two, had emigrated to New York, where he became proprietor of a hotel. Having a turn for military affairs, he entered the ranks of the 69th regiment, of the city militia, soon rose to the rank of Captain, and in 1858 was elected Colonel of the regiment. His refusal, in that capacity, to call out his men in honor of the visit to New York of the Prince of Wales in the fall of 1860, first brought him conspicuously before the public. After his capture at Bull Run he was confined for a time with the other prisoners of war in the tobacco warehouse at Richmond, and then removed to a second prison at Castle Pinckney, in Charleston harbor. His fellow-prisoner at Richmond, the Hon. Mr. Ely, of whose journal we shall presently make mention, thus describes his appearance and bears witness to his equanimity :—"In personal appearance Colonel Corcoran is tall and slender, and has a remarkably fair complexion ; and though apparently of a delicate constitution, he is susceptible of enduring great fatigue. In his deportment he is silent without being indifferent ; reserved, but hospitable ; earnest, firm, laborious and always animated by a feeling of the loftiest integrity. When he was free and at the head of his regiment, there were at least one thousand good substantial men who were ready to follow him into the very jaws of death ; but his recent sufferings as a captive will endear his name to the true patriots throughout the whole land."

The 69th also lost its second officer, Lieutenant-Colonel James Haggerty, a native of Ireland, who emigrated to the United States in 1849. His calling was that of a builder, an occupation in which he is spoken of as "most successful, being a man of energy, determination and watchfulness," qualities which he appears to have brought to his military service, and which were proved in the efficiency of his command. He was the first of his regiment to fall, mortally wounded, in an assault on the enemy, immediately after crossing Bull Run to coöperate with Hunter's advanced column.

The Rhode Island troops of General Burnside's brigade, which led the way at the crossing of the upper ford, suffered greatly, particularly the 2d regiment, which was first in the action. Its loss in officers was especially severe. Colonel John Stanton Slocum, who fell at the very outset of the engagement, was a soldier of mark who, had he lived, would doubtless have become prominent in the war. A native of Richmond, Rhode Island, born in 1824, he had received an excellent education, and had early shown an aptitude for military service and an allegiance to the cause of government, by ranking himself with the armed defenders of his State in the suppression of the Dorr rebellion. When the war with Mexico occurred, he exhibited great alacrity and zeal in the enlistment of a company which he offered to the National Government. On the increase of the army, his services were accepted, and he was appointed 1st Lieutenant in Colonel Ransom's Rhode Island regiment which joined the column of General Scott, and rendered distinguished service at Contreras and the storming of Chapultepec, where Ransom fell facing the fire of the enemy at the head of his men. For his services on that day Lieutenant Slocum was promoted to a Captaincy. After the war he was engaged more or less in military matters, in the command of a militia company, and in furthering the introduction of James's new projectile.

When Rhode Island was called upon, immediately after Sumter, to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion, Colonel Slocum was at once summoned by Governor Sprague, and left for Washington with the earliest detachment of troops with the rank of Major in Colonel Burnside's 1st regiment of volunteers. When a second regiment was called for, Major Slocum was appointed its Colonel. In the flank movement at Bull Run, he was with his command in the front of the advancing column.

Major Sullivan Ballou, also a native of Rhode Island, had just completed his thirty-second year, when he fell in the same movement with Colonel Slocum. He had received no military education, but had been drawn to the service by his influential position in Rhode Island, where he had obtained considerable distinction as a politician and lawyer. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives of his State in 1857, and had since devoted himself to the legal profession in which his powers of reason and eloquence rendered him much thought of. He accepted the rank of Major at the invitation of Colonel Slocum, says his biographer, from a " patriotic sense of duty, knowing full well the danger to which he would be exposed,—feeling, at the same time, that terrible presentiment, that he should be one of the earliest victims. He could not remain at home ; he had urged others to stand up for their common country, and when the call came to him he could not even hesitate, though he almost knew he was rushing to a speedy death."* Colonel Burnside, in his report of the action in which he fell, speaks of him as " deserving of the highest commendation as a brave soldier and a true man."

Captain Levi Tower, who also fell in this engagement, was an Ensign of the Pawtucket Light Guard when he joined the 1st Rhode Island regiment to proceed to Washington. He was subsequently recalled to aid in the formation of the 2d regiment, in which he was appointed Captain. He was twenty-six years old at the time of his death, well educated, earnest in his religious feelings, a devoted patriot. " A young, brave, and promising officer," is the eulogy of Colonel Burnside, " deeply lamented by his comrades and friends."

Captain Smith, of the same regiment, who fell in the same engagement, adds Colonel Burnside, " was known among us for his many good qualities of head and heart. Lieutenant Prescott, of the 1st Rhode Island regiment, was also killed in the early part of the action while gallantly encouraging his company. He was a noble-hearted Christian man, whose memory will be ever fresh in the hearts of his friends. It is a sad duty," concludes this true-hearted officer, in his official report, " to record a defeat accompanied with the loss of so many valuable lives. But defeat should only make us more faithful still to the great cause of humanity and civilization, in order that every disaster should be more than compensated for by an enduring victory.

Nearly a year after, when the battlefield of Bull Run was open to inspection, upon the evacuation of Manassas by the enemy, Governor Sprague of Rhode Island—who had been present on the field and honorably distinguished himself by his bravery, taking an active part in the conflict in directing a battery of light artillery—visited the spot for the purpose of recovering the bodies of the fallen officers of the regiments of his State who had been left in the rear at the hospital station, to receive such burial as was accorded by the rebels. There had been several wounded Confederate officers at the same place who requested the Union soldiers and other attendants to stay with them after the retreat, promising them a safe return if they remained. These men now undertook to guide Governor Sprague to the spot where his officers were interred. "On reaching the place," says the Governor in his testimony before the Committee of Congress on the Conduct of the War, directed to collect the evidence with regard to the barbarous treatment by the rebels at Manassas of the remains of officers and soldiers of the United States killed in battle there, "we commenced digging for the bodies of Colonel Slocum and Major Ballou at the spot pointed out to us by these men who had been in the action. While digging, some negro women came up and asked whom we were looking for, and at the same time said that 'Colonel Slogun' had been dug up by the rebels, by some men of a Georgia regiment, his head cut off, and his body taken to a ravine thirty or forty yards below, and there burned. We stopped digging and went to the spot designated, where we found coals and ashes and bones mingled together. A little distance from there we found a shirt (still buttoned at the neck) and blanket with large quantities of hair upon it, everything indicating the burning of a body there. We returned and dug down at the spot indicated as the grave of Major Ballou, but found no body there; but at the place pointed out as the grave where Colonel Slocum was buried we found a box, which, upon being raised and opened, was found to contain the body of Colonel Slocum. The soldiers who had buried the two bodies were satisfied that the grave had been opened; the body taken out, beheaded, and burned, was that of Major Ballou, because it was not in the spot where Colonel Slocum was buried, but rather to the right of it. They at once said that the rebels had made a mistake, and had taken the body of Major Ballou for that of Colonel Slocum. The shirt found near the place where the body was burned I recognized as one belonging to Major Ballou, as I had been very intimate with him. We gathered up the ashes containing the portion of his remains that were left, and put them in a coffin together with his shirt and the blanket with the hair left upon it. After we had done this we went to that portion of the field where the battle had first commenced, and began to dig for the remains of Captain Tower. We brought a soldier with us to designate the place where he was buried. He had been wounded in the battle, and had seen from the window of the house where the captain was interred. On opening the ditch or trench we found it filled with soldiers, all buried with their faces downward. On taking up some four or five we discovered the remains of Captain Tower, mingled with those of the men. We took them, placed them in a coffin, and brought them home."

---

* Shea's Fallen Brave. Art. Major Ballou.

"In reply to a question of a member of the committee as to whether he was satisfied that they were buried intentionally with their faces downward, Governor Sprague's answer was, 'Undoubtedly! Beyond all controversy!' and that 'it was done as a mark of indignity.' In answer to another question as to what their object could have been, especially in regard to the body of Colonel Slocum, he replied, 'Sheer brutality, and nothing else. They did it on account of his courage and chivalry in forcing his regiment fearlessly and bravely upon them. He destroyed about one-half of that Georgia regiment, which was made up of their best citizens.' When the inquiry was put whether he thought these barbarities were committed by that regiment, he responded, 'by that same regiment, as I was told. While their own dead were buried with marble head and foot-stones, and names upon them, ours were buried, as I have stated, in trenches.' This eminent witness concludes his testimony as follows: 'I have published an order to my second regiment, to which these officers were attached, that I shall not be satisfied with what they shall do unless they give an account of one rebel killed for each one of their own number.'"*

In addition to these apparently well-authenticated narratives of the treatment of the dead, it was currently reported that it had been a favorite occupation of the rebels to unearth the bones of the Union soldiers who had fallen in battle and carve them into various articles, as rings and the like, as trophies of the field, "sometimes as the testimony proves, to be used as personal adornments, and one witness deliberately avers that the head of one of our most gallant officers was cut off by a secessionist to be turned into a drinking cup on the occasion of his marriage. Monstrous as this revelation may appear to be, your committee have been informed that during the last two weeks the skull of a Union soldier has been exhibited in the office of the Sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives, which had been converted to such a purpose, and which had been found on the person of one of the rebel prisoners taken in a recent conflict."*

It is painful to record these mutilations of the remains of the dead, but the fact, seemingly too well established, has been too loudly bruited, as the topic of Government investigation, to be passed over in silence. Nor should a notice of these transactions be neglected in a humanitarian point of view. It is no charity to the living to conceal the horrid atrocities and barbarities of war which are liable to be doubly aggravated in a civil contest. Let us know to what the struggle tends, and who are the combatants who are called forth to the work of slaughter in so fearful a combat. The lesson, if properly learnt, may teach us something of the duties of good government in the improvement of its subjects in times of peace. "It is almost," says Senator Wade, in his report, "beyond belief that the men fighting in such a cause as ours are sustained by a government which in the midst of violence and treachery has given repeated evidences of its indulgence, should have been subjected to treatment never before resorted to by one foreign nation in a conflict with another." Do not such acts as Governor Sprague had witnessed indicate a degree of ignorance and folly as remarkable as the crime itself? Insults to the dead are beneath the poor dignity of anger and revenge. They are the peculiarities and crimes of ignorance and barbarism, and betray in any State where they are found the existence of a class unworthy or incapable of appreciating the lowest grade of civilization. War, in its best estate, with all the limitations which chivalry has imposed upon it, is the saddest evidence the world affords of the corruption and lack of wisdom in it. With all its courtesies and magnanimities, its brave shows and realities of self-sacrifice and valor, the honor which it gains in its devotion to lofty principle, war is still of the essence of barbarism, the greatest blot upon the civilization of the century; yet, to how low a depth of ignominy it descends when not content with mutilating the living, it carries its fury beyond death and dishonors the dead. Yet, such was the degradation of the rebellion, and such the men it brought to assail the capitol of the United States with all that it represents of honor, integrity, and the thousand sources and protections of national prosperity.

---

* Senator Wade's Report to the Senate in behalf of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the present War. April 30, 1862.

* Senator Wade's Report, p. 10. See also letter of a Confederate soldier at Manassas found in a post-office in North Carolina by the United States forces, published in the New York *Times*, July 22, 1862.

Captain Otis H. Tillinghast, of the United States Artillery, who was on the field attached to the staff of the Commanding General with the rank of Assistant Quartermaster, was mortally wounded while voluntarily acting with the artillery in the Second Division. A native of the State of New York, he was a graduate of West Point, and though only thirty-seven, had seen much service in Mexico, and subsequently in the Boundary Commission to that country, and in Florida. He was one of the most efficient officers on the field, his energy and spirit carrying him to the post of danger beyond the line of his duties in the position which he held on the staff. Colonel David Hunter, commanding the Second Division, was wounded early in the action, and compelled to leave the field. Born in the District of Columbia, he was a graduate of West Point of 1822, and commenced his military career as 2d Lieutenant in the 5th Infantry, rose to be 1st Lieutenant, and was in 1833 appointed Captain in the 1st Dragoons. He resigned in 1836, but rejoined the army in 1842 as paymaster. He held this office with the rank of Major when the administration of President Lincoln called him to more active service as Colonel of the 3d Cavalry. He accompanied Mr. Lincoln, it will be remembered, when President elect, in his journey from Springfield, when his collar-bone was dislocated in an effort to repress the crowd at Buffalo. Colonel Heintzelman was wounded in the arm while leading his division into action. Colonel Wilcox, of the Michigan volunteers, was wounded and taken prisoner while on the hill in the hottest of the fight. A native of Detroit, he was a graduate of West Point of 1846, was actively engaged in the Mexican war as Lieutenant of Artillery, subsequently resigned his commission to devote himself to the study of the law, and was pursuing this profession in Michigan when he was recalled to military service to take his place at the head of the first regiment raised in his State for the defence of Washington and the suppression of the rebellion.

On the side of the Confederates the loss of officers was heavier in proportion than in the national army. The victory, says General Beauregard, "was dearly won by the death of many officers and men of inestimable value belonging to all ranks of our society. In the death of General Barnard E. Bee the Confederacy has sustained an irreparable loss, for with great personal bravery and coolness he possessed the qualities of an accomplished soldier and an able, reliable commander. Colonels Bartow and Fisher, and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson of Hampton's Legion, in the fearless command of their men gave earnest of great usefulness to the service, had they been spared to complete a career so brilliantly begun." General Bee, a native of South Carolina, was a graduate of West Point of 1845, and had served with distinction in Mexico, being twice brevetted for his gallant conduct at Cerro Gordo and at Chapultepec. His subsequent achievements in wars among the Indians, says the *Charleston Mercury* in an obituary notice, "were such as to attract towards him the attention of his State, and in his dying hand on the field in which he fell he grasped the sword which South Carolina had taken pride in presenting him." At the time of his resignation from the national service, early in March 1861, he held the rank of Captain of the 10th Infantry. He was immediately after appointed by President Davis Brigadier-General in the Confederate army. Colonel Francis S. Bartow of Georgia was a young man highly spoken of as a politician and lawyer of his native State, which he represented in the Confederate Congress when he was called to the Colonelcy of one of the Georgia regiments. Colonel Charles F. Fisher was from North Carolina. General Edmund Kirby Smith of Florida, Major of the 2d Cavalry when he left the United States service in April, and Major Robert Wheat of the Louisiana Battalion, eminent for his inroads upon Mexican territory as a marauder or filibuster in Texas, were among those wounded on the battle field, but were reported as killed in the first rumors of the day.

The battle of Bull Run was far too important an achievement of the enemy to be passed over without the improvement of a bulletin. Accordingly, a few days after the victory, the expected document appeared, and, as the honors of the field were fairly divided between the two Confederate Generals, Johnston and Beauregard, the bulletin was signed by both in the order of their rank, though we may readily detect, in a certain florid tone and exaggeration, the sensation hand of the younger officer. It was dated at the headquarters of the army of the Potomac, Manassas Junction, July 28th :—"*Soldiers of the Confederate States:* One week ago a countless host of men, organized into an army, with all the appointments which modern art and practical skill could devise, invaded the soil of Virginia. Their people sounded their approach with triumph and displays of anticipated victory. Their generals came in almost regal state. Their Minister, Senators and women came to witness the immolation of this army and the subjugation of our people, and to celebrate these with wild revelry. It is with the profoundest emotions of gratitude to an overruling God, whose hand is manifested in protecting our homes and your liberties, that we, your generals commanding, are enabled in the name of our whole country to thank you for that patriotic courage, that heroic gallantry, that devoted daring, exhibited by you in the action of the 18th and 21st of July, by which the host of the enemy was scattered, and a signal and glorious victory was achieved. The two affairs of the 18th and 21st were but the sustained and continued efforts of your patriotism against the constantly recurring colors of an enemy fully treble our numbers, and this effort was crowned, on the evening of the 21st, with a victory so complete, that the invaders were driven from the field, and made to fly in disorderly ruin back to their intrenchments, a distance of over thirty miles. They left upon the field nearly every piece of their artillery, a large portion of their arms, equipments, baggage, stores, etc., etc., and almost every one of their wounded and dead, amounting, together with the prisoners, to many thousands ; and thus the Northern hosts were driven by you from Virginia.

" Soldiers ! we congratulate you on an event which insures the liberty of our country. We congratulate every man of you whose glorious privilege it was to participate in this triumph of courage and truth, to fight in the battle of Manassas. You have created an epoch in the history of liberty, and unborn nations will rise up and call you blessed. Continue this noble devotion, looking always to the protection of the just God, and, before time grows much older, we will be hailed as the deliverers of a nation of ten millions of people. Comrades ! Our brothers who have fallen have earned undying renown, and their blood, shed in our holy cause, is a precious and acceptable sacrifice to the Father of Truth and Right ; their graves are beside the tomb of Washington, their spirits have joined his in eternal communion. We will hold the soil in which the dust of Washington is mingled with the dust of our brothers. We drop one tear on their laurels, and move forward to avenge them. Soldiers ! We congratulate you on a glorious triumph and complete victory. We thank you for doing your whole duty in the service of your country."

The plan of the battle, as it was ordered, and up to a certain point carried out by General McDowell, has generally met with the approval of military critics who have looked into the circumstances of the day, as they were reported by both sides. A comparison of the reports, says one whose judgment is entitled to particular respect from his scientific reputation and his actual knowledge from participation in the affair, Major Barnard, Chief Engineer of the army on General McDowell's staff, will prove that the plan of battle was well designed, and that nearly successful as it was, it would have fully succeeded had it not been for the loss of precious time in the movement and arrival of the flanking column on the ground in the morning. " It was not," he argues, " till eleven o'clock that the rebel generals became fully conscious of the true character of the attack. Their troops were distributed over a line eight miles in length, and, unexpectedly attacked on their extreme left flank, while their centre and left were fixed by our demonstrations, they had to improvise a new line, and their resources and reinforcements did not get up (in sufficient force at least) until the fate of the day was almost decided against them. Nor could these resources and reinforcements have sufficed had not an additional arrival from the Shenandoah (concerning which General McDowell had stipulated that they should be kept occupied elsewhere) of three or four thousand men turned the day against us. Nor should it, even then, have deprived us of a victory we had really gained, if our raw and wearied troops could have been induced to hold their position a few minutes longer. At the moment of the rout of the centre, the brigade of Colonel Keyes (Tyler's Division) had gained the right and rear of the enemy's position; the way was open for the brigade of Schenck to pass the Stone Bridge and to join Keyes, while the brigade of Howard, of Heintzelman's division—kept for some time in reserve at the point where the main column turned off from the Warrenton turnpike—had just arrived on the ground and was ready to support our exhausted centre and right. Thus the combination of the battle—notwithstanding that all those accidents (incidental to all such combinations) which man cannot control, had gone against us, had been, tactically speaking, successful. Nor is it all clear that at any moment of the battle there was any considerable numerical preponderance in our favor. . . . . Strategically speaking, our movement failed, through the loss of time, so far as it consisted in bringing, at any time, superior numbers upon the decisive point; on the contrary, the enemy, from his more central position, was enabled always to maintain superiority of numbers, and by this means finally deprived us of the victory. It was a success in turning the enemy's strong defensive line, disconcerting all his arrangements, and through the moral influences of this and of our being the attacking party, very nearly gaining a decisive victory. . . I trust that I have shown that the battle of Bull Run has a claim to be considered something more than a 'rout,' and a 'panic,' and that it was really what Jefferson Davis styles it in his dispatch to the Confederate Congress, 'a hard-fought field.'*

Looking at the affair in a strategical point of view, another eminent authority, Major-General Halleck, in an essay on the art of war, written for the instruction of the people, has pointed out the disadvantages of position in the forces of McDowell and Patterson in their inability promptly to coöperate with one another. Illustrating the military principle that troops should never be moved on exterior lines unless the forces on each line are superior to the combined forces of the enemy, after several examples drawn from European history, he instances the campaign on the Potomac: "Patterson's and McDowell's columns," says he, "moved on exterior lines, leaving the armies of Johnston and Beauregard between them; they concentrated their forces at Bull Run and defeated McDowell's army, and might have done the same thing to the army of Patterson. Had the latter crossed the Potomac at Leesburg, he would have threatened Johnston's communications much more effectually than at Martinsburg, and at the same time would have been near enough to McDowell to assist him or to receive assistance from him, as circumstances might have required. Johnston must then have abandoned Harper's Ferry and Winchester and united with Beauregard, or the latter must have moved to the assistance of the former; for, had they remained separate, both Patterson and McDowell could have moved between them. In that case, Beauregard must have fallen back toward Richmond, and Johnston must have been isolated. If Johnston had fallen back upon Manassas Junction, as in fact he did, Patterson would have been able to assist McDowell at the battle of Bull Run; whereas by his exterior line of operations he actually gained nothing." Of course in these remarks, which were penned in California before the writer had entered upon his distinguished field of duties on his return to the army of the United States, no censure was implied of the dispositions actually made—for which there may have been good and sufficient reasons. They are exhibited simply in their practical relation to the battle as it was actually fought. Indeed the obvious policy of stationing Patterson at Leesburg, for purposes of coöperation with McClellan, had been proposed by that officer himself previously to his advance against the enemy toward Winchester.

---

* Major Barnard's C. S. A. and the Battle of Bull Run, p. 105, 106, 109, 110

Another critical review of this engagement has been given to the public in the speech delivered by Mr. Zachariah Chandler of Michigan in the United States Senate on the 16th of July, 1862. As a member of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, having the voluminous testimony taken by that body, hitherto unpublished, placed at his disposal, he had peculiar opportunities, from the facts before him, of presenting a comprehensive view of the whole transaction. Looking at the affair on all sides, he finds five special causes for the disaster, the remedying of any one of which, in his opinion, would have saved the field. The first of these, and undoubtedly the most important, was the failure of General Patterson to hold General Johnston and his forces in check before Winchester, and thereby prevent the reinforcement of the army of General Beauregard in season for the battle. General Scott, though he never expressly ordered an attack to be made by General Patterson, leaving the time and manner of the engagement to that officer's discretion, yet evidently expected, from the orders which he gave, that a battle would be fought, or a sufficient demonstration would be made to keep the Confederate forces in the valley from reaching Manassas. The reason given by General Patterson for not undertaking or accomplishing this, was the impression he derived from various sources of the superiority of Johnston's force at Winchester, an impression, says Mr. Chandler, which proved to be erroneous. Had Patterson pushed the enemy to a general engagement, the troops of Beauregard at Manassas would have been overpowered with little difficulty by the superior forces of McDowell. A second cause of disaster at Bull Run given by Mr. Chandler, was the failure to attack on Friday, before the arrival of the enemy's reinforcements, instead of on the Sunday after they had arrived, an error which appears to be chargeable to the delay in forwarding provisions from Washington and the time taken to gain information of the position of the enemy. The third cause—spoken of by General McDowell in his report as "a great misfortune"—was the stoppage of the army for three hours by the delay of a portion of the first brigade on the Warrenton road to advance beyond the turning off point for the flank movement of the second and third divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman. The loss of these precious hours, between half-past two and half-past five in the morning, brought the men, wearied by delay, into action in the heat of a glowing midsummer day, and gave time for the arrival of a further portion of Johnston's force by the railway, to turn the fortunes of the field. A fourth error assigned by Mr. Chandler was "the advancing of our batteries 1,000 yards without adequate support, and the unfortunate mistaking of a rebel regiment for the battery's support." The latter, also alluded to by General McDowell in his report, occurred in the attack on Captain Griffin's battery. That officer, seeing a regiment of Confederates crossing a fence on his front, had given orders to fire upon them, when he was informed by Major Barry that they were the Union troops ordered to his support. The firing was consequently arrested, and the enemy, advancing in safety to the charge, cut down every cannonier, killed a number of horses, and put what was left of the command to a disastrous flight. The last cause of the disaster enumerated by Mr. Chandler was "the failure to bring the reserves into action at the critical moment—the reason assigned being the insufficient staff and a lack of discipline by brigades."

It is one of the unhappy circumstances of adversity that it generates a thousand vexatious motives and suppositions which would never have been thought of, or putting on another face, been cited as proofs of wisdom or prowess had the issue been prosperous. Of these croakings and criminations after the fact, Bull Run was peculiarly prolific. The keenly-felt demand for action preceding the battle which had found expression in the popular cry of "On to Richmond" was now brought forward as a main cause of the disaster. It was asserted that sound military discretion had been overruled in its judgment by the voice of the newspapers, the influence of politicians, and the demands of Members of Congress and of the Cabinet. Even General Scott, it was publicly said, contrary to his impressions and well-matured policy, had yielded to this pressure from without in sanctioning the order for advance. A conversation which he had held on the subject was reported in the House of Representatives, by Mr. Richardson, a Democratic member from Illinois. In a skirmishing debate on the twenty-fourth of July on the conduct of the war, with Blair of Missouri, who discredited the allegation, he thus told the story. "General Scott has been forced to fight this battle. I will tell what occurred yesterday morning. My colleagues, Logan and Washburne, and myself were present with the President, Secretary of War, and General Scott. In the course of our conversation General Scott remarked, 'Sir, I am the biggest coward in America!' I rose from my seat immediately. 'Stay,' said the General, 'I will prove it. I have fought this battle, Sir, against my judgment; I think the President of the United States ought to remove me to-day for doing it. As God is my Judge, after my superiors had determined to fight it, I did all in my power to make the army efficient. I deserve removal because I did not stand up when my army was not in condition for fighting and resist it to the last.' 'Your conversation seems to imply,' said the President, 'that I forced you to fight this battle,' to which General Scott answered, 'I have never served a President who has been kinder to me than you have been.'* The General may have been strengthened in his convictions by recollection of the famous reply of the Roman Fabius to the jests and suggestions of Minucius, the eager advocate in his army for engaging the enemy. 'I should be more faint-hearted than they make me,' said he, in the narrative of Plutarch, 'if through fear of idle reproaches, I should abandon my own convictions. It is no inglorious thing to have fear for the safety of our country, but to be turned from one's course by men's opinions, by blame, and by misrepresentations, shows a man unfit to hold an office such as this, which, by such conduct, he makes the slave of those whose errors it is his business to control.' "

---

* The Congressional Globe, July 26, 1861.

The lesson, thus admirably conveyed, is so illustrative of a sound general principle that we may be thankful to General Scott for his candid inculcation of its force, though we may be by no means disposed to upbraid him with the misfortune which pointed it. Nor is General Scott to be understood as throwing the responsibility of the military movement upon the President. Nearly seven months after, in a discussion in the House of Representatives, on the 14th of February, 1862, on the Committee on the Conduct of the War, this subject was brought up again. Mr. Blair of Missouri, then stated that General Patterson had telegraphed to Headquarters the departure of General Johnston from Winchester, and that it was thus known at Washington that Beauregard had been reinforced at Manassas. "When this information came to the President," said Mr. Blair, "he went to General Scott to protest against a movement on Manassas, and Bull Run, but General Scott insisted on its being made." The statement of the telegraph from General Patterson being questioned, Mr. Blair, at the next meeting of the House, read this dispatch of General Patterson, furnished by a member of his staff. "Charlestown, July 20, 1861. To Col. E. D. Townsend. Sir: With a portion of his force, General Johnston left Winchester on the afternoon of the 18th, with about 30,000 troops. R. Patterson."

From the statements made by General Patterson in vindication of his course, before the 1st City Troop at Philadelphia, some months after, it would appear that, while he thought the enemy had been too strong for him to hazard an attack upon Winchester, and while he justified his reluctance to enter upon more vigorous movements from prudential motives, he seemed disposed to throw the responsibility of his comparative inaction and failure to coöperate with the army of the Potomac at last, upon the Commander-in-Chief, alleging that the latter had not sent him constant and more explicit instructions. "On the 13th of July," says he, "he telegraphed the General-in-Chief that Johnston was in a position to have his strength doubled just as he could reach him, and that he would rather lose the chance of accomplishing something brilliant than, by hazarding his column, to destroy the fruits of the campaign by defeat, closing his telegram thus: 'If wrong let me be instructed.' But no instructions came. This was eight days before the battle of Manassas. On the 17th General Scott telegraphed: 'McDowell's first day's work has driven the enemy beyond Fairfax Court-House. To-morrow the Junction will probably be carried.' With this information he was happy. Johnston had been detained the appointed time, and the work of General Patterson's column had been done. On the 18th, at half-past one in the morning, he telegraphed General Scott the condition of the enemy's force and his own, and closed the dispatch by asking, 'Shall I attack?' This was plain English and could not be misunderstood, but he received no reply. He expected to be attacked where he was, and if Manassas was not to be attacked on that day, as stated in General Scott's dispatch of the day previous, he ought to have been ordered down forthwith to join in the battle, and the attack delayed until he came. He could have been there on the day that the battle was fought, and his assistance might have produced a different result."* A fuller report of General Scott's telegram of the 19th of July, cited by General Patterson, adds to the portion presented in his speech the important sentence: "Do not let the enemy amuse and delay you with a small force in front while he reinforces the Junction with his main body."† The Next day General Scott sent another telegram to General Patterson: "I have certainly been expecting you to beat the enemy. If not, to hear that you had felt him strongly, or at least had occupied him by threats and demonstrations. You have been at least his equal, and I suppose superior, in number. Has he not stolen a march and sent reinforcements towards Manassas Junction? A week is enough to win a victory." To which General Patterson the same day replied: "The enemy has stolen no march upon me. I have kept him actively employed, and by threats and reconnoissances in force caused him to be reinforced. I have accomplished more in this respect than the General-in-Chief asked, or could well be expected, in face of an enemy far superior in numbers, with no line of communication to protect."‡

Many subordinate reasons were, of course, sought to be established for the disaster. By some the misfortune was thrown upon the officers; by others upon the men. The company officers were pronounced particularly at fault. It was generally conceded that most of them, as might have been supposed, when so large a force was suddenly extemporized from civilians, lacked experience, if they were not deficient in qualities which no routine can supply the want of. The sudden demand had been in excess of the supply, and Colonels and Majors, it had to be confessed, could not be made in an hour. The men, too, it was pronounced, notwithstanding many examples of noble conduct were, in large proportion, deficient in those soldierly instincts which indeed can only be looked for as the result of habit and patient drill. It was alleged, too, with sufficient reason, that the different portions of the army were without practice in coöperating maneuvres. Many of the regiments, their commander admits, went forward without having been together before in a brigade. The subtle bonds of intercourse and sympathy which bind rank and file together, and nerve the company or regiment as one man in battle, were sadly deficient. The hastily supplied teamsters, wagoners and others of the transportation department, were singularly defective in knowledge and feeling of their duties.

The term of service of a number of the regiments, three months' men, was on the eve of expiring — a circumstance which may have roused the heroic to unusual exertions, but which must have had a discouraging influence on the majority. Indeed, the extraordinary spectacle was presented of one of the regiments of volunteers, the 4th Pennsylvania regiment and the battery of volunteer artillery of the New York 8th Militia, whose term of service expired on the eve of the battle, spite of the protestations of the general commanding and the urgent personal application of the Secretary of War, demanding their discharge, and when it was granted, retreating ignominiously from their companions in arms. The next morning, in the brief memorable sentence of the official report of General McDowell, "when the army moved forward into battle, these troops moved to the rear to the sound of the enemy's cannon."

---

* General Patterson's Speech at Philadelphia, November 16, 1861. New York *Times*, November 19, 1861.

† Speech of Mr. Chandler in the United States Senate, July 16, 1862.

‡ Ibid.

The number of civilians in the neighborhood of the action, running about hurried and excited at the first symptoms of danger, probably by their irresponsible conduct and example added to the perils of the retreat; though, as they were for the most part of the more intelligent classes, they may have done something—as indeed we know in some cases they did—to check the irrational panic. General Schenck in his brigade report alludes to the unfavorable influence of their presence, with the quiet remark that they "ought never to have been there." One of the most distinguished of these persons, who became widely known from the circumstances of his subsequent captivity, was the Hon. Alfred Ely, representative in Congress of the 29th New York District in which Rochester is situated. He left Washington early on the morning of the battle, in a carriage hired for the occasion, in company with Senator Foster of Connecticut, Mr. Julius Bing, a gentleman of literary reputation, and two officers of the army. After alighting at Fairfax Court-House, the party proceeded to Centreville, and advanced some distance beyond it toward the battle-field. In consequence of an accident to the carriage which it was necessary to repair, they were separated from one another, and in the retreat and pursuit which speedily followed each was compelled to shift for himself. Mr. Ely, while looking round the field with no intention other than observing the progress of the conflict, was suddenly awakened to the danger of his position by a shot striking near him, when he took refuge behind a tree, and was presently called to face a company of the enemy who advanced from the wood. On making his name and position known to his captors, he was taken before Colonel Cash of South Carolina, the commander of the regiment, when that officer, drawing his pistol and pointing it directly at the head of his prisoner, cried out, "G—d d—n your white-livered soul! I'll blow your brains out on the spot." Adjutant Mallins, however, interposed, and Mr. Ely, duly impressed by the startling address of the rebel officer, as a salutation marking one of the most impressive moments of his career, was passed over alive to the tender mercies of the Southern Confederacy. He was carried to Richmond and there held a captive in close confinement, in the tobacco factory allotted to the prisoners of war, for five months, till he was released at Christmas in exchange for the Hon. Charles James Faulkner, Mr. Buchanan's Minister Plenipotentiary to France, who on his return to Washington had been arrested as a prisoner of state for sympathy or complicity with the rebellion. During the most of this time Mr. Ely kept a journal of what was going on in the prison, which he published after his discharge, and which presents a curious and instructive account of these novel scenes of the rebellion. He was quartered with the officers taken at Bull Run, some forty in number, at the head of whom was Colonel Corcoran, including the surgeons who remained on the field, and several chaplains. There were, as might have been expected, various discomforts, but the officers, though exposed to annoyances from visitors, were not, beyond the deprivation of their liberty in such close quarters, subjected to unusual rigors. It was a hardship undoubtedly to retain a non-combatant like Mr. Ely; but it was politic to keep him for purposes of exchange, as was proved when he came to be released. Singularly enough the candidate who had been opposed to him in his election to Congress, Mr. Calvin Huson of Rochester, was brought to the same prison, having been in like manner captured as an observer on the field of battle. The health of Mr. Huson broke down under his confinement; he was seized with typhoid fever, lingered through the early stages of the disease in prison, his illness alleviated by the assiduous attentions of his political antagonist, till at the last he was taken to the house of a benevolent widow in Richmond, Mrs. Van Lew, where his dying moments were soothed by her family. The story of this disaster throws a deeper melancholy over Mr. Ely's painful narrative—a sad contribution enough, though unhappily there are many darker, to the domestic history of America.

If the privacy of Mr. Ely was sometimes invaded when profane Tennesseans and hard-handed pitch-scrapers from North Carolina, out of curiosity, sought his presence to cast uncomplimentary aspersions upon his person; on the other hand, his tedium was relieved by the visits of various notables of the Southern Confederacy. Robert Tyler, son of the Ex-president, came one day in July and entered into a long conversation on the topic of the war. "He deplored," as well he might, "the unhappy civil conflict, and enlarged upon its destructive consequences to both sections of the Union. He assured me that the North entirely misunderstood the spirit and sentiment of the South; that there was no Union feeling underlying that of secession, as was supposed in the North; and that twenty-two counties in Western Virginia and a small portion of Tennessee, were the only disaffected sections in all the seceded States. Subjugation of the South, he said, was absurd; they might be killed, but not conquered. The troops of the Southern army were composed of planters and their sons, the men of wealth and position in society, and *they had come to die*." This general prospect, opened by the younger Tyler, was by no means consolatory, but it might be in some measure considered theoretical and resting in the opinion of the speaker. There was, however, no consolation of this kind to meet the personal declaration brought by another celebrity—Senator Wigfall, of Sumter memory, who came to look after Mr. Arnold Harris who, as we have stated, was imprisoned, having presenting himself on the ground with the object of procuring the body of Colonel Cameron for burial by his family. The Senator was at this time Colonel in command of a battalion encamped in the neighborhood of Richmond. He assured Mr. Ely, in the course of his conversation, that "it was the intention of the Confederate Government to hang *me* especially, if the Savannah prisoners were convicted." But gentler voices whispered in the ears of the prisoners. Miss Martha Haines Butt, a lady author of

Norfolk, courteously soothed the exiled Congressman, and though he had a harsh jailer in Lieutenant Todd, who bore an ill name with the prisoners, the Confedate General, John H. Winder, one retaining the amenities of his old service of the United States, where he held the rank of Major in the 3d Artillery, made things much more agreeable by his kind-hearted courtesy than might have been expected. On the day after Mr. Ely was released, he was taken by Mr. Faulkner to Governor Letcher's mansion, "enjoyed an excellent dinner, indulged in lively conversation, and parted with a mutual expression of personal good feeling."

Of the companions of Mr. Ely, in his excursion to the battle-field, Senator Foster, after assisting the surgeons in the care of the wounded on the Warrenton road, escaped the pursuit of the enemy, and reached Washington in safety. Mr. Julius Bing was not so fortunate. Like Mr. Ely, he was made a prisoner, and carried to Richmond, but being a foreigner and having made many acquaintances at Washington, in course of his literary occupations, he fell in with some of his former friends now in influential positions about the rebel headquarters, and was enabled readily to avail himself of his plea as a naturalized British subject, and armed with dispatches from the English Consul to make his way toward the frontier on the Potomac, where after some difficulties, he effected his escape to the Union lines. Mr. Bing was a German by birth, though he was mistaken by Mr. Ely for an Italian. He was in favor with the administration at Washington, and not long after his return from Richmond received the appointment of Consul to Smyrna.

Among other civilians whose names are remembered in connection with the battle of Bull Run, there were few more talked of at the period than Mr. Russell, the correspondent of the *London Times*, whose previous letters from the Crimea and India, written during the recent military operations in those countries, had made him familiarly known throughout the world. He came to the United States in the early days of the war, accomplished a rapid Southern tour in the month or two succeeding the attack of Fort Sumter—a journey which he described with animation and spirit in his correspondence with the newspaper on which he was employed, and was now on hand at Washington for the operations on the Potomac. As a writer, he was master of a rare talent for description had the faculty of seizing the strong points of a subject and of presenting his reflections, which were apt to be hastily entertained, with a certain resolute air of authority. His error was, in forming his conclusions frequently from too slender a basis—a fault into which a descriptive writer, accustomed to seize eagerly upon striking details, regardless of their exceptional character, is apt to fall. As one of the corps of the *London Times*, too, he not unnaturally adopted the somewhat censorious or unfriendly view of American affairs habitually indulged in by that journal. There was undoubtedly a great deal of acuteness and sagacity in his remarks and observations which, unpalatable at the moment, conveyed much by which the country might profit. There was no reason why any peculiar sympathies with the difficulties of the situation should be looked for from the writer; he was to be judged by the standard of his own journal, and with this moderate expectation, his entertaining and instructive letters might be read with equanimity. No one could be so popular in England without being, to a considerable extent, a representative of the national character, Mr. Russell certainly appeared a characteristic specimen of the genuine John Bull—vigorous, independent, hasty and dogmatic.

As he had been waiting patiently for some military event of importance to describe, the battle of Bull Run brought out all his powers. Fully alive to the occasion, he set out early on the day of the engagement in a travelling carriage well furnished with provisions, attended by a saddle horse, ridden by a colored boy, an addition to his resources which he was induced to provide by his Indian experiences, which had taught him the value of "a strong led horse in the neighborhood of uncertain fighting." He reached the hill at Centreville in the afternoon in season, "after a feast of sandwiches in the shade of the buggy," to listen to the first reports of victory from the field, which at that distance was only to be noticed by the sound of the guns and the wreaths of smoke from the shells in the air. Presently all this congratulation was changed into the first commotion of the retreat. We give a portion of the correspondent's graphic recital of the scene which ensued. "As I turned down," says he, "into the narrow road or lane leading onward from the hill, there was a forward movement among the large four-wheeled tilt wagons, which raised a good deal of dust. My attention was particularly called to this by the occurrence of a few minutes afterward. I had met my friends on the road, and after a few words rode forward at a long trot as well as I could past the wagons and through the dust, when suddenly there arose a tumult in front of me at a small bridge across the road, and then I perceived the drivers of a set of wagons with the horses turned toward me, who were endeavoring to force their way against the stream of vehicles setting in the other direction. By the side of the new set of wagons there were a number of commissariat men and soldiers, whom at first sight I took to be the baggage guard. They looked excited and alarmed, and were running by the side of the horses—in front the dust quite obscured the view. At the bridge the currents met in wild disorder. 'Turn back! Retreat!' shouted the men from the front. 'We're whipped! we're whipped!' They cursed and tugged at the horses' heads, and struggled with frenzy to get past. Running by me on foot was a man with the shoulder-straps of an officer. 'Pray what is the matter, sir?' 'It means we're pretty badly whipped, and that's a fact,' he blurted out in puffs, and continued his career. I observed that he carried no sword. The teamsters of the advancing wagons now caught up the cry. 'Turn back—turn your horses!' was the shout up the whole line, and, backing, plunging, rearing and kicking, the horses which had been proceeding down the road reversed front and went off toward Centreville. Those behind them went madly rushing on, the drivers being quite indifferent whether glory or disgrace led the way, provided they could find it. In the midst of this extraordinary spectacle, an officer, escorted by some dragoons, rode through the ruck with a light cart in charge. Another officer on foot, with his sword under his arm, ran up against me. 'What is all this about?' 'Why, we're pretty badly whipped. We're all in retreat. There's General Tyler there, badly wounded.' And on he ran. There came yet another, who said, 'We're beaten on all points. The whole army is in retreat.' Still there was no flight of troops, no retreat of an army, no reason for all this precipitation. True there were many men in uniform flying toward the rear, but it did not appear as if they were beyond the proportions of a large baggage escort. I got my horse up into the field out of the road, and went on rapidly towards the front. Soon I met soldiers, who were coming through the corn, mostly without arms; and presently I saw firelocks, cooking tins, knapsacks and greatcoats on the ground, and observed that the confusion and speed of the baggage carts became greater, and that many of them were crowded with men, or were followed by others, who clung to them. The ambulances were crowded with soldiers, but it did not look as if there were many wounded. Negro servants on led horses dashed frantically past; men in uniforms, whom it were a disgrace to the profession of arms to call 'soldiers,' swarmed by on mules, chargers, and even draught horses, which had been cut out of carts or wagons, and went on with harness clinging to their heels, as frightened as their riders. Men literally screamed with rage and fright when their way was blocked up. On I rode, asking all, 'What is all this about?' and now and then, but rarely, receiving the answer, 'We're whipped,' or, 'We're repulsed.' Faces black and dusty, tongues out in the heat, eyes staring—it was a most wonderful sight. On they came, like him—

"Who, having once turned round, goes on.
And turns no more his head,
For he knoweth that a fearful fiend
Doth close behind him tread."

But where was the fiend? I looked in vain. There was, indeed, some cannonading in front of me and in their rear, but still the firing was comparatively distant, and the runaways were far out of range. As I advanced, the number of carts diminished, but the mounted men increased, and the columns of fugitives became denser. A few buggies and light wagons filled with men, whose faces would have made up 'a great Leporello' in the ghost scene, tried to pierce the rear of the mass of carts, which were now solidified and moving on like a glacier. I crossed a small ditch by the roadside, got out on the road to escape some snake fences, and, looking before me, saw there was still a crowd of men in uniforms coming along. The road was strewn with articles of clothing—firelocks, waist-belts, cartouch-boxes, caps, greatcoats, mess-tins, musical instruments, cartridges, bayonets and sheaths, swords and pistols—even biscuits, water-bottles and pieces of meat. Passing a white house by the roadside, I saw for the first time a body of infantry with sloped arms marching regularly and rapidly towards me. Their faces were not blackened by powder, and it was evident they had not been engaged. In reply to a question, a non-commissioned officer told me in broken English, 'We fell back to our lines. The attack did not quite succeed. . . . . On approaching Centreville, a body of German infantry of the reserve came marching down, and stemmed the current in some degree; they were followed by a brigade of guns and another battalion of fresh troops. I turned up on the hill half a mile beyond. The vehicles had all left but two—my buggy was gone. A battery of field-guns was in position where we had been standing. The men looked well. As yet there was nothing to indicate more than a retreat, and some ill-behavior among the wagoners and the riff-raff of different regiments. Centreville was not a bad position properly occupied, and I saw no reason why it should not be held if it was meant to renew the attack, nor any reason why the attack should not be renewed if there had been any why it should have been made. I swept the field once more. The clouds of dust were denser and nearer. That was all. There was no firing—no musketry. I turned my horse's head and rode away through the village, and after I got out upon the road the same confusion seemed to prevail. Suddenly the gun on the hill opened, and at the same time the thuds of artillery from the wood on the right rear. The stampede then became general. What occurred at the hill I cannot say, but all the road from Centreville for miles presented such a sight as can only be witnessed in the track of the runaways of an utterly demoralized army. Drivers flogged, lashed, spurred and beat their horses, or leaped down and abandoned their teams, and ran by the side of the road ; mounted men, servants, and men in uniform, vehicles of all sorts, commissariat wagons, thronged the narrow ways. At every shot a convulsion, as it were, seized upon the morbid mass of bones, sinew, wood and iron, and thrilled through it, giving new energy and action to its desperate efforts to get free from itself. Again the cry of 'cavalry' arose. 'What are you afraid of?' said I to a man who was running beside me. 'I'm not afraid of you!' replied the ruffian, leveling his piece at me and pulling the trigger. It was not loaded, or the cap was not on, for the gun did not go off. I was unarmed, and I did go off as fast as I could, resolved to keep my own counsel for the second time that day. And so the flight went on. At one time a whole mass of infantry, with fixed bayonets, ran down the bank of the road, and some falling as they ran, must have killed and wounded those among whom they fell. As I knew the road would soon become impassable or blocked up, I put my horse to a gallop and passed on toward the front. But mounted men still rode faster, shouting out, 'Cavalry are coming!' Again I ventured to speak to some officers whom I overtook, and said, 'If these runaways are not stopped, the whole of the posts and pickets in Washington will fly also!' One of them, without saying a word, spurred his horse and dashed on in front. I do not know whether he ordered the movement or not, but the van of the fugitives was now suddenly checked, and, pressing on through the wood at the roadside, I saw a regiment of infantry blocking up the way, with their front towards Centreville. A musket was leveled at my head as I pushed to the front—"Stop or I'll fire!" At the same time the officers were shouting out, "Don't let a soul pass." I addressed one of them, and said, 'Sir, I am a British subject. I am not, I assure you, running away. I have done my best to stop this disgraceful rout, (as I had,) and have been telling them there are no cavalry within miles of them.' 'I can't let you pass, sir.' I thought me of General Scott's pass. The adjutant read it, and the word was given along the line, 'Let that man pass!' and so I rode through, uncertain if I could now gain the Long Bridge in time to pass over without the countersign."

Such was the account by Mr. Russell of the flight at Bull Run. Some exception was taken to a portion of his narrative by eye-witnesses* who saw more of the success of the efforts made to check the rout, but the picture as drawn by the English traveller, was but too fully sustained by the accounts of others, and the evidence of the wretched, utterly exhausted, travel-worn fugitives who the next day straggled into the streets of Washington—the sorriest of all spectacles, a band of dishonored, miserable, helpless refugees, in place of that embodiment of force, strength, pride and security, an organized army. This was by no means the condition of the whole, but the exceptions were too many to escape the reproach due to this disgraceful scene.

Mitigating circumstances, relieving in some measure the dishonor of the retreat at Bull Run, were found in the poor condition of the men, at the time of their entrance upon the battle-field. They were, through their own inexperience or negligence, ill-supplied with water and provisions, and unused to fatigue, they were overcome by the hardships of the last few days, and in some instances a hurried march on the field to which they were inadequate. These complaints were shortly afterward made the subject of scientific medical examination under directions of the Sanitary Commission sitting at Washington, a voluntary organization, acting under authority of the Government, and auxiliary to the medical bureau of the War Department. As early as practicable, after the battle, a series of carefully-devised interrogations were prepared, intended, among other objects, to call forth information "as to the condition of the troops before, during and after the engagement." The questions were placed in the hands of the seven regularly appointed inspectors of the Commission, Doctor Lewis H. Steiner, and others who, in their visits to the camps about Washington, made it their business to procure returns "representing, as nearly as possible, the knowledge and judgment of the most intelligent officers and surgeons of the regiments with whom they were able to confer." About two thousand items of evidence, relating in various ways to the battle, were thus collected, chiefly by physicians and examiners of life insurance companies accustomed to an exact and searching method of inquiry. The returns, as they are represented in the appendix to the admirable report of the General Secretary of the Association, Frederick Lane Olmstead, of December 9, 1861, exhibit many curious statistics of the engagement, the results of which are summed up in this general deduction. "From these investigations (of the inspection) combined with information derived from official reports of the generals commanding; from published statements in rebel as well as loyal journals; from previous investigations of the inspectors of the Sanitary Commission as to the condition of the troops, and from other sources, it is manifest that our army, previous to and at the time of the engagement, was suffering from want of sufficient, regularly-provided, and suitable food, from thirst, from want (in certain cases) of refreshing sleep, and from the exhausting effects of a long, hot, and rapid march, the more exhausting because of the diminution of vital force of the troops due to the causes above enumerated. They entered the field of battle with no pretence of any but the most elementary and imperfect military organization, and, in respect of discipline, little better than a mob, which does not know its leaders. The majority of the officers had, three months before, known nothing more of their duties than the privates whom they should have been able to lead, instruct, and protect. Nor had they, in many cases, in the mean time, been gaining materially, for they had been generally permitted, and many had been disposed, to spend much time away from their men, in indolence or frivolous amusement, or dissipation. It appears that many were much exhausted on reaching the field of battle, but that, supported by the excitement of the occasion, they rallied fairly, and gradually drove the opposing forces from Sudley Spring to the lower ford, and from the lower ford to beyond the Stone bridge and the Warrenton road; that, at this time, (half-past three,) when congratulated by superior officers, and congratulating themselves on having achieved a victory, and when having repulsed reinforcements sent from the extreme right of the enemy to support their retreating columns, they were just relaxing their severely-tried energies, there appeared in the distance "the residue" of the forces of General Johnston (see McDowell's report, Dr. Nott's letter to a Mobile paper, and correspondence of *Charleston Mercury*,) a single brigade (Elsey's) coming from the Manassas Gap Junction Railroad, marching at double-quick to engage our troops at the right who had been hotly fighting unrelieved by reserves during the day. This brigade, joined with the two regiments of Kershaw and Cash, "turned the tide of battle. (See in *Richmond Dispatch*, July 29, statement "of a distinguished officer who bore a conspicuous part on the field of battle on the 31st of July.")

---

* See an article "Before and After the Battle," by Mr. George P. Putnam, in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* for September, 1861; and a pamphlet, "Mr. Russell on Bull Run; with Notes from the *Rebellion Record*."

"Our troops, ignorant of the fact that they had been contending against and repulsing the combined forces of Beauregard and Johnston; and believing that this inconsiderable remnant of Johnston's forces which they now saw approaching to be his entire column; and feeling their inability, without rest or refreshment, to engage an additional force of fresh troops nearly equal in number to those with whom they had been contending during the day,—commenced a retreat, not very orderly, but quite as much so, at first, as had been the advance in which they had driven back the force of the enemy. Their (nominal) leaders, who too often had followed them in battle, were, in many cases, not behind them on retreat. As they retired, however, a sense of disintegration began to pervade their ranks; each ceased to rely on his comrade for support, and this tendency was augmented by the upturned wagons blocking the road, which served to completely break the imperfect columns. The reports of the inspectors give no evidence that the panic infected the extreme left, or the reserves, to any sensible degree. It was uncontrollable only with a part of the troops on the extreme right, among whom it originated. Many at the centre and the left were surprised when the order came to retreat, and for a time considered it as merely an order to change position in view of a still further general advance. Some officers state that they "warmly remonstrated"—"too warmly, perhaps"—when they received the order to retire. The returns of the inspectors are not conclusive on this point; but from the result of subsequent specific inquiries by Mr. Elliott and the Secretary, it can be stated with confidence that indications of terror or great fear were seen in but a comparatively very small part of the retreating force. Most trudged along, blindly following (as men do in any mob) those before them, but with reluctance, and earnest and constant expressions of dissatisfaction and indignation, while no inconsiderable number retained, through all the length of the privation and discomfort of their dreary return to Washington, astonishing cheerfulness and good humor, and were often heard joking at their own misfortunes, and ridiculing the inefficiency of their officers. The Germans of the reserve were frequently singing. None of the reserves were in the slightest degree affected by the panic, and their general expression with reference to the retreat was one of wonder and curiosity. The reserve, nevertheless, suffered much from fatigue, and subsequently exhibited most decided demoralization.

"The history of the 2d Rhode Island Volunteers may be cited as an example of those to whom Bull Run was no disgrace. They were near the extreme *right* in the engagement. Their previous march had been as fatiguing as that of others; they were as badly off for food as others, having nothing but a few crackers to eat for more than thirty-six hours. They were the first to engage; were severely engaged, and as long as, or longer than, any others; they were badly cut up, losing their colonel and other officers, and sixteen per cent of the ranks in killed. They stood firm under fire while the panic-stricken crowd swept by and through them, and until they received the order to retreat. They then wheeled steadily into column, and marched in good order, until the road was obstructed by overturned wagons. Here they were badly broken up by a cannonade, scattered and disorganized, but afterwards, having mainly collected at Centreville, reformed and marched the same night, under such of their officers as remained alive, to and through Washington to a position several miles to the northward—a post of danger—where they at once resumed regular camp duties. When visited by the inspector, a few days afterwards, he was told and was led to believe that, the men had only wanted a day's rest to be ready and willing to advance again upon the enemy. He reported the regiment not demoralized."

The nature of the ground and the peculiar character of the conflict were calculated to dismay the inexperienced recruits. "Much excuse," says one who witnessed the most of their shortcomings, Colonel Heintzelman, "can be made for those who fled, as few of the enemy could at any time be seen. Raw troops cannot be expected to stand long against an unseen enemy." As a military affair there was nothing, after all, extraordinary in the defeat. The struggle was fierce, and protracted with severe losses on both sides; in such a contest the honor is not all with the successful party; while the ugly accident of the day, the panic, was confined to a few of the regiments, and discreditable as it was, was by no means unprecedented in regular armies on battle-fields of historic fame. The truth is, that the battle of Bull Run has been judged not by itself, but has been greatly magnified by its relations and consequences. It has suffered by being held accountable for events which might equally have occurred had the fortune of the day been altogether different. It by no means follows that if the North had gained that battle it would have been spared the cost of fighting others, or that it would have secured, at once, the confidence of Europe and the reconstruction of the Union. A defeat at that time might have earlier roused the South with yet unwasted strength to still greater demonstrations of ability than were afterwards made. The short struggle, so eagerly desired at home and abroad by the mercantile classes, would probably have been not a whit the less prolonged; for in such unhappy contests of civil war it is not one battle, but the slow and entire exhaustion of spirits and resources which renders a people averse from and incapable of further great efforts, which renders them submissive to sound reason and judgment. It may have been that just such a defeat as that of Bull Run was required to tame the false confidence of the North, and exhibit the necessity of building its work on surer foundations. It probably saved some heavier disasters. However this may have been, its first and continued effect was to secure greater efficiency, and infuse a true military spirit into the details of the army. The negligence and license of the military camps around Washington was immediately restrained; the men were kept to their quarters and to drill; the Provost Marshal cleared the streets and taverns of the Capital of vagrants of all ranks; the volunteer officers, compelled to submit to a Board of Examination, were driven to resign or acquaint themselves speedily with their duties; new sanitary regulations improved the physical condition and invigorated the entire discipline of the troops. An effective military organization and control kept pace with the rapid and hitherto unprecedented concentration of a vast national army.

Months after, when the consequences of this battle were not matters of speculation but verified by experience, General Buckner is reported to have said, after his capture at Fort Donelson, to a gentleman of Albany, when he was passing through that city, on his way to Fort Warren, "the battle of Bull Run was a most unfortunate thing for the South, and a most fortunate thing for the North. Nothing has more vexed me than the apathy of the Southern people. The effect of the battle was to inspire the Southerners with a blind confidence and lull them into a false security. The effect upon the Northerners, on the other hand, was to arouse, madden and exasperate."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

One of the first and most important duties of President Lincoln on his accession to his high office was to provide, by a judicious appointment of foreign ministers, for a proper representation of the interests of the nation and of the principles of the new administration on which he was entering, at the different courts of Europe. There it was felt that the contest of the Government with the rebellion was to be fought out hardly less than on American soil. The weapons were different; the tongue and the pen were in place of sword and cannon; the force of right and truth, the adroitness of diplomacy, and the arts of persuasion and reason were the substitutes of the strategic movements in the field; the contest was to be bloodless—but it might prove not the less decisive in shaping the destinies of the struggle. The South early sent its wily and well-informed agents abroad—Yancey, Rost, Mann and Butler King, and indeed already possessed a great advantage in the tone of opinion, which had been generated in advance by the persistent efforts of her wealthy and influential citizens abroad, who enjoyed the favor, under the late administration, of the American legations. The notion that a rupture of the American Union was at hand, and that, if attempted by the South, nothing could withstand the sovereign will and pleasure of that portion of the country in effecting the separation, was a doctrine which had been assiduously disseminated in European circles. A great number of important people of the Old World, accustomed always to speak of the American Government as a political experiment, were therefore but little surprised when the shock came; they had generally regarded the permanence of the Union as an unsettled problem; nor were they disposed to entertain any more hopeful view of its continued existence when the Message of President Buchanan informed them of the Constitutional difficulties in the way of its preservation, should the necessity, as it was evident it would, demand the interposition of active warfare. The sovereign authority of the United States, in fact, dwindled in the public estimation as the nullifying powers of the States were asserted, and they began to embody their doctrines in armed rebellion. An undefined jealousy of the growing strength of the rapidly rising American nation had unquestionably, with certain suggestions of self-interest, and various prejudices, predisposed the public opinion of Europe in favor of the theory, and, at the very first moment of revolt, of the recognition of what was considered the fact of the disintegration, or falling to pieces, of the Union. To counteract this unfriendly feeling and hostile judgment of affairs, if it should exhibit itself in diplomacy, and prevent, if possible, its adoption and incorporation in the public policy of leading European nations, was the arduous work before the new Secretary of State at Washington. How Mr. Seward devoted himself to the task; with what indefatigable zeal and pertinacity of argument; with what laborious industry he at one time anticipated, at another combated, the suggestions and declarations of foreign ministers; with what art he unraveled the tangled web of affairs; how he tempered the claims of self-respect with courtesy, and, appealing to generous sympathy, never forgot what was due to the honor and the rights of the nation for which he spoke,—the published volume of his diplomatic correspondence during those early anxious months of the rise and progress of the Rebellion, has abundantly exhibited to the world.

Among the new ministers sent to represent the United States in Europe were several gentlemen of distinguished political reputation. Foremost in importance of these appointments, in consequence of the peculiar relations between the two countries bearing upon the Rebellion, and the natural influence of the foreign government in guiding the policy of Europe in any questions which might arise as to American affairs, was the mission to England. This delicate and highly responsible situation was assigned to an eminent member of the Republican party, who, beside his devotion to the cause, had many claims to consideration peculiarly fitting him for a residence near the Court of St. James. Possessed of wealth, of reputation as an author, identified with the political history of the country, the representative, in the third generation, of a race of statesmen who had enjoyed its highest honors, the son and grandson of Presidents of the United States, Charles Francis Adams was admirably qualified to impress the imagination and command the respect of Englishmen, when he left the Congress of the United States to present himself before that throne to which his grandfather had been the first ambassador on the recognition of the independence of his nation. The Farewell Address to the People of the Third Congressional District of Massachusetts, in which he announced his resignation of his seat in the House of Representatives, is one of the most manly and dignified state papers of the times, calmly reviewing the grounds upon which the Government had taken its stand, and supporting its action by the loftiest appeals to duty and self-sacrifice in the cause of national honor and existence. "If I am right," he said, after contrasting the assumptions and pretensions of the rebel government at Montgomery--its declarations of force and tyranny—with the beneficent principles of self-government of the Union, "if I am right, then, in my views, the conclusion inevitably must be that the political revolution of the last year marks a great era in American history, second only to that of our independence. It saved us from the impending domination of slaveholding absolutism. I did hope that it might have been effected without a convulsion. I did believe that it might have been followed by a policy which, while it wronged no one, would in the end save even the slaveholding States from the perils of their situation. In these expectations it would seem, from present appearances, that I was much too sanguine. The desperate agitators have precipitated the more moderate and patriotic classes of their fellow-citizens into a revolution. They have staked their all upon the maintenance of their political supremacy as a slaveholding oligarchy. We cannot refuse the issue tendered to us if we would. Their whole action since the sixth of November has been aggressive, insulting, treacherous and violent, a very natural corollary from the principles on which their organization is now based. We have no choice but to sacrifice our independence, if we consent to their demands. The question is between our cherished law of 1776, resting upon the rights of man, and the old notion of Alaric, the Goth, revived in 1860, that force may be preceded by fraud, and that might makes right. We are now the champions of law and republican liberty. Retreat is impossible, even if it were to be desired. We must stand firmly by the old faith, or be disgraced forever. Deeply as I regret the causes which have conspired to give the impending struggle unnecessary elements of bitterness, I cannot, on looking back, discover how it could have been avoided, excepting by the utter emasculation of a free people.

I must repeat that it is with great regret I leave you in this emergency for another field of duty. I do so only under the belief that I may be of more service there than here. Whether that be so or not, however, will after all depend much more upon the people of the United States than upon their agents abroad. Foreign nations will very naturally look with more attention to the action of the principals than to that of their representatives. If they see union in council and energy in action; if they find wisdom in deliberation and heroism in the field—above all, if they discover a calm determination to carry the Government firmly through all its trials, in steady consistency with the purposes and policy of its founders, then will follow, as the day follows the night, their brightening sympathy, their admiration, their confidence, and, perhaps, even their coöperation. So it was in 1778. So it will be ever when honest men courageously uphold the right."

William Lewis Dayton, who was appointed to succeed Mr. Faulkner of Virginia at Paris, a native of New Jersey, born in the year 1807, was a lawyer by profession, early created a Judge of the Supreme Court in his State, and on the death of Mr. Southard, in 1842, appointed to fill the vacant seat in the United States Senate. Mr. Dayton held this position through the succeeding term till 1851. To the principles of the old Whig party he united a support of the free-soil doctrines which were prominent in the settlement of the territorial questions arising out of the conquests from Mexico. He voted for the various limitations of slavery brought forward at the time, and his services to the cause were remembered in his nomination as Vice-President on the Fremont Presidential ticket in the election of 1856. He subsequently held the position of Attorney-General of New Jersey.

Cassius M. Clay, the Minister to Russia, a native of Kentucky and a relative of the eminent Henry Clay, brought to the service of the new Republican administration a reputation acquired in the advocacy of its principles when their maintenance required courage and self-sacrifice. He had advocated the claims of liberty, and successfully asserted the rights of freedom of the press in the face of a vindictive mob which had destroyed his property and threatened his life in his native State; and had acquired a claim to notice in military affairs by his service as captain of a company of mounted men in the Mexican war. Pushed forward in advance of the column of General Taylor, he had been taken prisoner and carried to Mexico. On the way thither, a part of the captives escaped, when the rest, it is said, would have been massacred but for the influence he brought to bear in his gallant bearing and presence of mind for their safety. He was afterward anti-slavery candidate for Governor in Kentucky.

Mr. George P. Marsh, the Minister to Sardinia, carried to the new kingdom of Italy the prestige of an eminent career in literature and diplomacy. A native of Vermont, born at the beginning of the century, he had devoted his youth and manhood to law, politics, and thorough and varied scholarship. As a member of his State Legislature, of the national Congress, as resident minister to Turkey under the appointment of President Taylor, and in other capacities at home, he had filled a round of public duties, and by his recent critical works on the English language, had extended his influence to a wider sphere. His appointment to Italy was every way honorable to the administration. The Hon. Anson Burlingame, a Republican member of Congress from Massachusetts, was nominated minister to Austria, but the appointment being objected to by that government, in consequence of the part he had taken in the affairs of Italy, he was withdrawn, and J. Lothrop Motley, the eminent historian of the Dutch Republic, received the mission in his stead. Carl Schurz of Wisconsin, distinguished for the part he had borne as an asserter of liberty in his native Germany in the Revolution of 1848, a man alike of thought and action, was appointed minister to Spain, Norman P. Judd of Illinois to Prussia, and Henry S. Sanford of Connecticut to Belgium.

Previously to noticing the diplomatic relations of the United States with the Old World, it may be well to look for a moment at the state of public opinion in Europe, and especially in Great Britain, in regard to the new phenomena exhibited in the great revolt in America. The accession of President Lincoln to office found the people of England in a peculiar state of mind. They had watched with interest the first movements of the Rebellion, and though they may have looked upon it with suspicion and incredulity in the beginning, were seemingly not reluctant to recognize in its imposing pretensions the reality of the long-threatened dissolution of the Union. This idea not unnaturally found favor in the minds of the dominant aristocratic class, which had always been inclined to look with jealousy or distrust upon the working of a system of government and society in many respects antagonistic to their own. The rising difficulties of America were confidently pointed to as the necessary consequence of the license of democratic institutions, and the example was held up as a salutary warning to the old world to resist similar tendencies. These impressions were greatly strengthened by the fact that none of those measures of repression or restraint were taken by the Government at Washington, which the first decided symptoms of rebellion would certainly have called forth in any state of Europe. President Buchanan's Message, carefully demonstrating the imbecility and the powerlessness of the Government in face of the existing danger, had, indeed, been generally condemned as an illogical production ; but its doctrine, so disheartening to American nationality, began to be freely admitted. When to this was added the passage of the Morrill Tariff, imposing greatly increased taxation on British products and fabrics, magnified to the trading classes by the specious promises of free-trade from the South, a powerful appeal of self-interest came to warp a judgment already biased. The magnitude and importance of the rebellion were at the outset presented in an exaggerated form in England. The subject of the powers of the Federal and State Governments, but little understood at any time, was also greatly misconceived and confused. While previously it had been difficult to convince an Englishman that the general Government was not responsible for all the acts of the individual States, a position which he was prone to take when the repudiation of debts by some of the States induced him to look to Washington for redress, it now required a still greater effort to drive from his mind the assumption that the States were sovereign and independent, and quite at liberty to withdraw themselves at will from the national Union. It was not a little amusing to notice the complacency with which the Government of the United States, when it at length began to assert its cause and put forth its strength, was represented as entering upon an ambitious struggle for empire, and advised to yield to the first demand of the Confederates for independence, though at the expense of a third of its territory, and the labors of a century, which had been devoted to the formation and development of a great Nation.

Not so, when the question was brought home to this people so prodigal of advice, thought the eloquent orator and historian, Macaulay, when, in the British House of Commons, in 1845, in his speech on the Church of Ireland, while seeking to remedy the wrongs of which that portion of the nation then complained, he indignantly rejected as utterly inadmissible any theory of its secession from the kingdom. "The Repeal of the Union," said he, "we regard as fatal to the empire: and we never will consent to it; never, though the country should be surrounded by dangers as great as those which threatened her when her American Colonies, and France and Spain and Holland, were leagued against her, and when the armed neutrality of the Baltic disputed her maritime rights; never, though another Bonaparte should pitch his tent in sight of Dover Castle; never, till all has been staked and lost; never, till the four quarters of the world have been convulsed by the last struggle of the great English people for their place among the nations."*

This, too, was the resolution expressed in the discussion of the same question by that master of common sense, whose authority, in a matter of this kind, backed by the sanction of his sacred order, may be taken as the quintessence of the British judgment — the Rev. Sydney Smith. That practical divine, in his admirable fragment on the Irish Roman Catholic Church, left as a legacy to his countrymen, says, in his facetious, but not the less earnest way, in reference to this very topic, of the Repeal of the Union, by the peaceful secession of Ireland: — "Much as I hate wounds, dangers, privations and explosions — much as I love regular hours of dinner, foolish as I think men, covered with the feathers of the male *Pullus domesticus*, and covered with lace in the course of the ischiatic nerve—much as I detest all these follies and ferocities, I would rather turn soldier myself than acquiesce quietly in such a separation of the Empire. It is *such* a piece of nonsense, that no man can have any reverence for himself who would stop to discuss such a question. It is such a piece of anti-British villany, that none but the bitterest enemy of our blood and people could entertain such a project! It is to be met only with round and grape—to be answered by shrapnel and congreve; to be discussed in hollow squares, and refuted by battalions four deep; to be put down by the *ultima ratio* of that armed Aristotle, the Duke of Wellington."

This was the language of Englishmen to the world, spoken by two of their most honored and accomplished representatives, in relation to the separation of Ireland from the British empire, and such, no doubt, would have been the voice of these men had they been citizens of the American Republic, and addressed their countrymen at the beginning of the year of the great rebellion, 1861, from Washington. The stand taken by the North at that time was in the noblest spirit of devotion to order and good government, which it inherited from its British ancestry and traditions, in vindication and preservation of the rights of law and freedom, most valued by Englishmen. Indeed, they were the very laws and institutions which England founded, upon which a superstructure had been built worthy the honest pride of her citizens. If there was one principle more than another assailed by the rebellion, it was that which declared the virgin soil of America sacred to freedom, and which sought, in every constitutional way, to ameliorate, and, if possible, remove the burden of slavery which England herself, more than any other nation, had taught the world to loathe.

---

* Macaulay's Speeches. London. 1854. p. 399.

Fortunately, voices were not wanting in England to represent, in its true light, the cause of America, correct prevailing misapprehensions, and rebuke unworthy prejudices and distrust. Several eminent citizens of the United States, who happened to be in London, came forward and rendered important service by their timely remonstrances; and as the popular opinion of the Old World became agitated on the political events of the question, Englishmen of high character and ability, raised their voices in sympathy with the trials and exertions of the Government at Washington, and its patriotic supporters.

In a spirited letter to the London *Times*, on the 17th May, Mr. Cassius M. Clay, then on his route to his embassy at St. Petersburg, discussed several of the points which were put forward to justify the depreciating tone in which American affairs were beginning to be regarded in English circles. One of these was expressed in the oft-recurring question: "*What are we fighting for?*" This Mr. Clay answered as follows:

"'We, the people of the United States of America' (to use the language of our Constitution), are fighting to maintain our *nationality* and the *principles of liberty* upon which it was founded; that nationality which Great Britain has pledged herself, both by past comity and the sacred obligations of treaty, to respect; those great principles of liberty, that all power is derived from the consent of the governed; trial by jury, freedom of speech, and the press; that, 'without *law* there is no liberty'—which we inherited from Great Britain herself, and which, having been found to lie at the base of all progress and civilization, we desire to perpetuate for ourselves and the future of all nations. The so-called 'Confederate States of America' *rebel* against *us*—against our nationality, and against all the principles of its structure. Citizens of the United States—of the one Government (not of Confederate States, as they would have the world believe—but of 'us, the people'), they propose, not by common legal consent, but by arms, to sever our nation into separate independencies. Claiming to 'be let alone,' they conspire against us; seize by force our forts, stores, and arms; appropriate to themselves our mints, moneys, and vessels at sea; capture our armies, and threaten even the capital at Washington!"

To a second query, "*But can you*

subdue the revolted States?" he replied: "Of course we can. The whole of the revolted States (2,173,000) have not as much white population as the single State of New York (3,851,563) by 1,500,000 people. If all the slave States were to make common cause, they have only 8,907,894 whites, with 4,000,000 slaves, while the Union has about 20,000,000 of homogeneous people, as powerful in peace and war as the world has seen. Intelligent, hardy, and 'many-sided,' their late apparent lethargy and weakness was the self-possession of conscious strength. When they had made up their minds that *force* was necessary, they moved upon Washington with such speed, numbers and steadiness as is not surpassed in history. We have the money (at a lower rate of interest than ever before), the men, and the command of the seas, and the internal waters. We can blockade them by sea, and invade them by land, and close up the rebellion in a single year, if we are '*let alone!*' For the population of the slave States is divided, perhaps equally, for and against the Union—the loyal citizens being for the time overawed by the organized conspiracy of the traitors, while the North is united to a man, the late allies of the South—the democratic party—being now more earnest for the subjugation of the rebels than the republicans."

To a third remonstrance, "*But can you govern a 'subjugated' people and reconstruct the Union?*" he pointedly replied, discriminating the true nature of the contest: "We do not propose to 'subjugate' the revolted States—we propose to put down simply the *rebel* citizens. We go to the rescue of the loyal Unionists of all the States. We carry safety, and peace, and liberty to the Union-loving people of the South, who will, of themselves (the tyranny overthrown), send back their representatives to Congress, and the Union will be '*reconstructed*' without the change of a letter in the Constitution of the United States. Did England subjugate Ireland and Scotland? Are the United Kingdoms less homogeneous than of old, before the wars against rebellion? So will the United States rise from the smoke of battle with renewed stability and power."

Having thus disposed of several of the most frequently entertained grounds of misapprehension in English society, he turned to ask the British public three questions in return. They were as follows: "*Where should British honor place her in this contest?*" "We overthrow that political element in America which has all through our history been the studied denouncer and real hater of the British nation, while we have been always, from the beginning, the friends of England. Because, though under different *forms of government*, we had common sympathies, and a common cause, and, therefore, a common interest. England was the conservator of liberty in Europe—the old world; we, in the new. If the 'Confederate States' are right, then is England wrong. If slavery must be extended in America, then must England restore it in the West Indies, blot out the most glorious page of her history, and call back her freedmen into chains! Let her say to the martyrs of freedom from all the nations who have sought refuge and a magnanimous defence on her shores, return to your scaffold and your prison house; England is no more England. Let the *Times* cease to appeal longer to the enlightened opinion of the world: nay, let the statues of the great dead, through which I passed in great reverence yesterday to the Houses of her political intelligence, be thrown from their pedestals, when England shall forget the utterances of her Chathams, her Wilberforces, and her Broughams—that natural justice is the only safe diplomacy and lasting foundation of the independence of nations."—"*What is the interest of England now?*" "If we may descend to such inferior appeals, it is clearly the interest of England to stand by the Union of the States. We are her best consumer; no tariff will materially affect that fact. We are the best customer of England; not because we are cotton-growers or cotton-spinners, agriculturists or manufacturers, but because we are *producers and manufacturers*, and have *money to spend*. It is not the South, as it is urged, but the North, who are the best consumers of English commerce. The free white laborer and capitalist does now, and always will, consume more than the white master and the slave. The Union and the expansion of the States, and the republican policy, make us the best market for England and Europe. What has the world to gain—England, France, or any of the powers to gain—by reducing the United States to a Mexican civilization."—"*Can England afford to offend the great nation which will still be 'The United States of America,' even should we lose part of the South?*" "Twenty millions of people to-day, with or without the slave States, in twenty years we will be 40,000,000! In another half century we will be *one hundred millions.* We will rest upon the Potomac, and on the west banks of the Mississippi River, upon the Gulf of Mexico. Our railroads will run four thousand miles upon a single parallel, binding our empire, which must master the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. Is England so secure in the future against home revolt or foreign ambition as to venture now, in our need, to plant the seeds of revenge in all our future? If Ireland, or Scotland, or Wales shall attempt to secede from that beneficent government of the United Kingdom which now lightens their taxation, and gives them security and respect at home and abroad, shall we enter into a piratical war with our race and ally, and capture and sell in our ports the property, and endanger the lives of peaceable citizens of the British empire all over the world? I enter not into the discussion of details. England, then, is our *natural ally.* Will she ignore our aspirations? If she is just, she ought not. If she is honorable and magnanimous, she cannot. *If she is wise, she will not.*"

The following week Mr. Motley also published in the *Times* an able pamphlet on the causes of the civil war, in which he exhibited at length the political and historical argument for the integrity of the Union, and vindicated the course of the new government in the stand which it had made for its preservation. From his demonstration of the national life, sedulously and abundantly guarded in the Constitution, the heresy of secession fell to the ground by its own weakness. If it was absurd in theory, its endurance in practice was simply intolerable to a nation which was just beginning to enjoy the fruits of its early toils and sacrifices in the cause of good government. "Is it strange," asked Mr. Motley, "that the

Union should make a vigorous, just and lawful effort to save itself from the chaos from which the Constitution of 1787 rescued the country? Who that has read and pondered the history of that dark period, does not shudder at the prospect of its return? But yesterday we were a State—the Great Republic—prosperous and powerful, with a flag known and honored all over the world. Seventy years ago we were a helpless league of bankrupt and lawless petty sovereignties. We had a currency so degraded that a leg of mutton was cheap at a thousand dollars. The national debt, incurred in the War of Independence, had hardly a nominal value, and was considered worthless. The absence of law, order and security for life and property was as absolute as could be well conceived in a civilized land. Debts could not be collected, courts could enforce no decrees, insurrections could not be suppressed. The army of the Confederacy numbered *eighty men*. From this condition the Constitution rescued us."

In regard to alleged grounds of hostility between the North and the South, and the position of parties in the country, he wrote:—"It is conceded by the North that it has received from the Union innumerable blessings. But it would seem that the Union has also conferred benefit on the South. It has carried its mails at a large expense. It has recaptured its fugitive slaves. It has purchased vast tracts of foreign territory, out of which a whole tier of slave States has been constructed. It has annexed Texas. It has made war with Mexico. It has made an offer—not likely to be repeated, however—to purchase Cuba, with its multitude of slaves, at a price, according to report, as large as the sum paid by England for the emancipation of her slaves. Individuals in the free States have expressed themselves freely on slavery, as upon every topic of human thought, and this must ever be the case where there is freedom of the press and of speech. The number of professed abolitionists has hitherto been very small, while the great body of the two principal political parties in the free States have been strongly opposed to them. The Republican party was determined to set bounds to the extension of slavery, while the Democratic party favored that system, but neither had designs, secret or avowed, against slavery within the States. They knew that the question could only be legally and rationally dealt with by the States themselves. But both the parties, as present events are so signally demonstrating, were imbued with a passionate attachment to the Constitution—to the established authority of Government by which alone our laws and our liberty are secured. All parties in the free States are now united as one man inspired by a noble and generous emotion to vindicate the sullied honor of their flag, and to save their country from the abyss of perdition into which it seemed descending."

Nothing is of more value as an indication of the true nature of the struggle, in its development and progress, than the opinions expressed from time to time, by eminent persons, of the prospects and probable termination of the war. Mr. Motley had studied history too deeply, to be confident or sanguine of the event. His own admirable record of the contest for independence, so long maintained by the Netherlands against the vast power of Spain, though the circumstances, especially in the morality of the conflict.

widely differed from the question in America, may have taught him not, as many did, to undervalue the resources of a people, however in the wrong, who were yet, in their own idea, fighting for independence. President Lincoln, indeed, was no cool and malignant Philip, imposing an alien religion and remorseless tyranny upon a people of another race; General Scott, amiable and benevolent, trusting to subdue the rebellion without severity, was certainly no bloody Alva; nor could the South, contending for a new government to secure the perpetuation and extension of human slavery, claim the sympathy challenged by the devotion to high principles of the followers of William of Orange. Yet, apart from the merits of the question in the two cases, looking simply at the powers of endurance generated in the struggle, the historian of the wars of Holland might well hesitate before he promised to the North an easy victory over the Southern Confederacy. "Of the ultimate result," said he, "we have no hesitation of speaking. Only the presumptuous will venture to lift the veil and affect to read with accuracy coming events, the most momentous, perhaps, of our times. One result is, however, secured. The Montgomery Constitution, with slavery for its corner-stone, is not likely to be accepted, as but lately seemed possible, not only by all the slave States, but even by the border free States; nor to be proclaimed from Washington as the new national law, in the name of the United States. Compromises will no longer be offered by peace conventions, in which slavery is to be made national, negroes declared property over all the land, and slavery extended over all Territories now possessed or hereafter to be acquired. Nor is the United States Government yet driven from Washington. Events are rapidly unrolling themselves, and it will be proved, in course of time, whether the North will remain united in its inflexible purpose, whether the South is as firmly united, or whether a counter revolution will be effected in either section, which must necessarily give the victory to its opponents. We know nothing of the schemes or plans of either Government. The original design of the Republican party was to put an end to the perpetual policy of slavery extension, and acquisition of foreign territory for that purpose, and at the same time to maintain the Constitution and the integrity of the Republic. This at the South seemed an outrage which justified civil war; for events have amply proved what sagacious statesmen prophesied thirty years ago—that secession is civil war. If all is to end in negotiation and separation, notwithstanding the almost interminable disputes concerning frontiers, the strongholds in the Gulf, and the unshackled navigation of the great rivers throughout their whole length, which, it is probable, will never be abandoned by the North, except as the result of total defeat in the field, it is at any rate certain that both parties will negotiate more equitably with arms in their hands than if the unarmed of either section were to deal with the armed. If it comes to permanent separation, too, it is certain that in the Commonwealth which will still glory in the name of the United States, and whose people will doubtless reëstablish the old Constitution, with some important amendments, the word secession will be a sound of woe not to be lightly uttered. It will have been proved to designate, not a peaceful and natural function of political life, but to be only another expression for revolution, bloodshed, and all the horrors of civil war. It is probable that a long course of years will be run, and many inconveniences endured, before any one of the free States secede from the reconstructed Union."

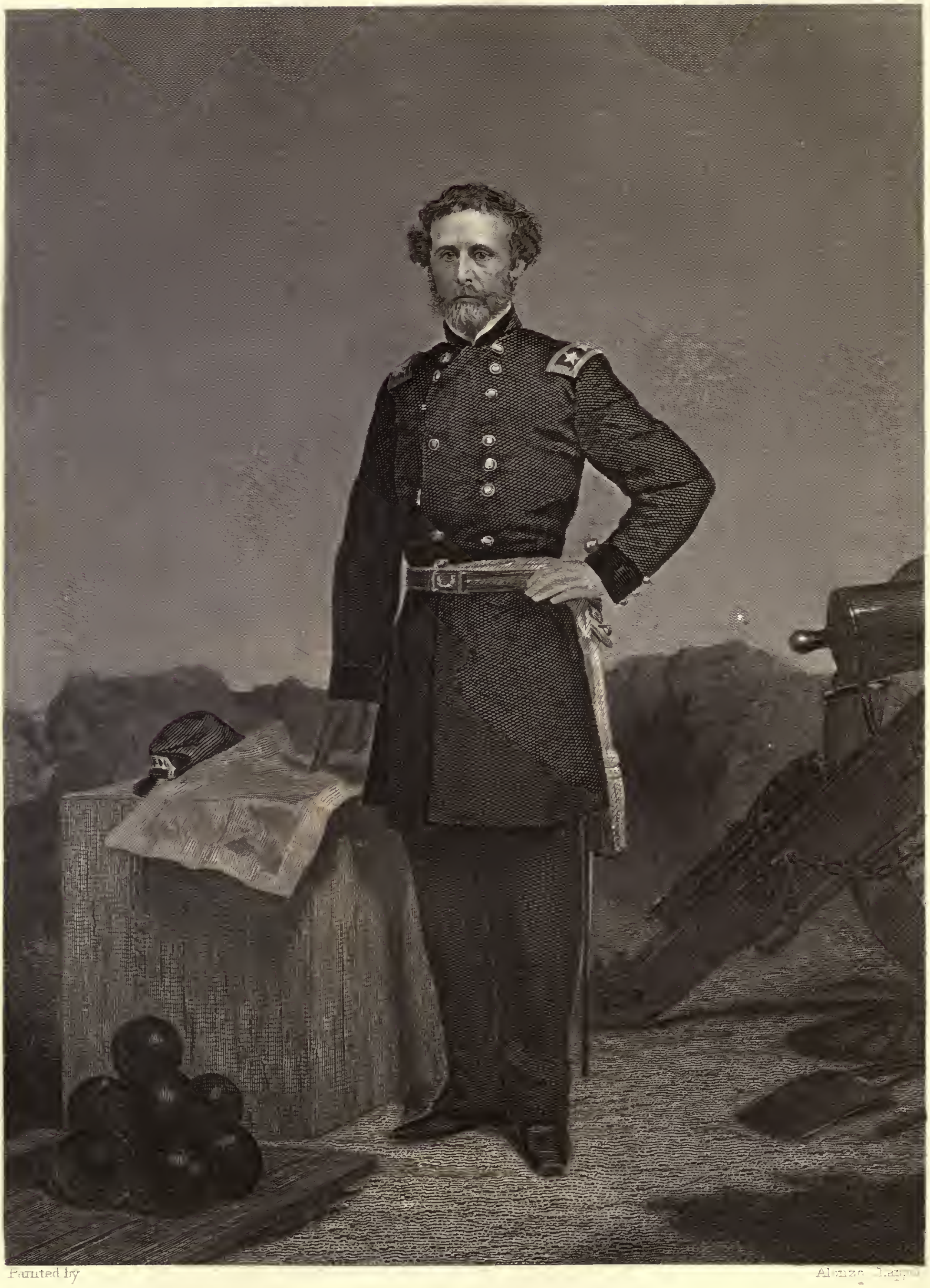
Among other voices heard at this time in London was that of the Rev. Dr. McClintock, an eminent Methodist divine of New York, who, at a meeting of the Wesleyan Mission Society at Exeter Hall, called the *Times* to account for its representations of the fall or extinction of the American Government. That journal had said, "The Great Republic is no more," and had asked, "Are the Americans going to cut each others' throats about a miserable question of the liberty of blackamoors?" In reply to these taunts, Dr. McClintock instanced as a parallel case the absurdity, when India was recently in revolt, of printing statements "that Great Britain was no more, and the diadem was about to fall from the head of Victoria;" while in reference to the ungracious remark on the slavery element involved in the question, which, so far as the action of the Government was concerned, in opposing an iniquitous rebellion hostile to national existence, had nothing whatever to do with the matter, he reminded his hearers of the time when very different language was heard from England. "We used to think," he said, "years ago we heard voices coming across the great Atlantic telling us to be brave for the slaves; and three or four years ago, when I was here, I was abused in newspapers printed in the city of London, because I was a pro-slavery man, it was said—not enough of an abolitionist; and we thought that Britain was in earnest in this. And yet, if we were to believe these newspapers, all these professions have been a sham and a humbug, and all your anti-slavery feeling has been simply fanaticism." Such were the inconsistencies into which the public opinion of England was led, and such the spirit of depreciation and hostility adopted by the leading journal in its treatment of American affairs.

At a subsequent meeting of Americans in London on the 4th of July, held to commemorate the Declaration of Independence, Dr. McClintock was again called upon to give expression to the sentiments of his countrymen in this crisis of their affairs, and again combated the hostile influences of the press of the metropolis. Looking beyond the immediate present, he saw the elements of peace and unity arising from the very trials and difficulties of the struggle. "One thing," he said, "would come out of this disastrous and devilish war, and that was, that, hereafter and forever, the people of the North and the South would understand each other; and, let it cost what it might in blood and treasure, the result would be well purchased when the people of the North and the South, all the way from the snowy Aroostook down to the sunny shores of the Gulf, should be able to say, what they had never said before, 'We are brethren.' There would also be another lesson—namely, that their grand old mother England would understand her offspring. The last lesson in that direction was given four years ago, when they used to hear in America terrible stories of the Sepoy mutiny in India; when in every home in all their country, men, women and children read the daily journals with tears, and asked when Delhi would be taken. How true that was, the Chairman and many who heard him well knew; yet a fortnight ago he read in the *Times* that America did not sympathize with England. They all knew how false was that taunt; they all recollected that when it was known that Havelock had fallen there was not a harbor in the United States in which the ships did not put their flags at half-mast in honor of a hero and a man in whom they recognized the great elements of British power—pluck and polity. And if the lesson was not sufficiently taught then, they had thought it was complete when but the other day a young Prince, destined at some future day to be king of England—far distant might it be—visited their country; and when, from the rudest hamlet on the shores of those grand lakes on which he first touched American soil, up to the grandest avenue they had to show in their metropolitan city, men, women and children came forth and bade him welcome. After all, the misapprehension between England and America during the last four months was, to a large extent, due to the sea that separated them. If, on the first of May, Lord John Russell could have had in the space of five hours an interview, so to speak, with the Secretary of the United States, we should not have any of that crimination and recrimination which had since filled the newspapers, with few exceptions, both on this side of the water and the other. Only yesterday he read in a London newspaper—*The Morning Herald*:—'Breaking the blockade has occurred only to the traducers of England in America—never to Englishmen.' Yet that same paper said six weeks ago: 'If cotton is not to be had by fair means, we must use foul means, or the daily bread of four or five millions of the working population will be at once stopped.' Another daily journal, alluding to privateering, said: 'The North has ships on every sea, and is a victim that will pay a plunderer.' The same paper said: 'The Americans are fighting for a shadow; their Republic is ended.' Three days after, the *Times* said: 'If the ships that close your Southern ports close also the workshops of Manchester and Sheffield, the law of blockade will be discussed in a very different spirit.' If the *Times* could have been answered the next day by its counterpart, the *New York Herald*, and if the *Morning Herald* could have been answered by the *Tribune*, no misunderstanding between the countries could have existed. If Americans could read such statements in the *Times* without vexation, they would be unworthy of their origin. The *Times* made just as much 'row' when anything was said in New York offensive to national feeling in England as the New York journals did when the views and feelings of Americans were misrepresented in the mother country. It was because they were bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, that Americans cared so much about what John Bull said of them. It was because they loved England that they were anxious to hear kind words from England. Again, the Government, early in the month of May, came to the conclusion, as stated by Lord John Russell in his place in Parliament, that the Southern Confederacy must be treated as belligerent. The *Times*, the day after, declared that that was a grave decision, and one that must have great influence upon the conflict. A man with whom he was talking the other day, the greatest of British statesmen, as he (Dr. McClintock) thought, said: 'Well, what else could we do?' He replied, they ought not to have been in such a hurry to do it; they might have waited, at all events, until Mr. Adams arrived in this country. Sorrowful as were the circumstances attending their national anniversary on this occasion, still, he said, and thanked God that he was able to say it, that never on any happy, sunny '4th of July' at home—never in those halcyon days of peace, had he been prouder of his countrymen than he was on this occasion; for they had shown a fidelity to great principles, to the memory of Washington, to the theory of their Constitution, and to the grand heritage of freedom which God had given them. They were fighting because they had a flag which had been dishonored, a Constitution that had been trampled upon, and a history that had been thrown to the winds. They had grand memories, which the great bulk of the community had never forgotten, and a nationality which they meant to maintain. They were fighting now to show how they had a Government which all the world should recognize in the end. They had 20,000,000 of people on one side and 8,000,000 on the other. A great man has said: 'A single man, with God on his side, was a majority against the world.' They were 20,000,000 with God on their side, fighting for the Constitution, for Freedom, and for Justice, against 8,000,000 fighting — for what should he say? Had they ever said for what? All that they had said was, that they were afraid that some day—it might be ten, fifty, or a hundred years—Northern principles would liberate the slaves; so that they, the Southerners, were now fighting for slavery, or for nothing. In that conflict, he had no doubt on which side the victory would lie, and he was now prouder and more hopeful of his country than ever, and he was sure, too, that, in her heart of hearts, England was prouder of it than she had ever been."

Several of the new ministers, arriving in Paris about the same time, were present at a meeting of American citizens held at the Hotel du Louvre on the 29th of May, to counteract the prevalent representations from Southern sympathizers, by giving expression to sentiments of loyalty to the cause of the Union Resolutions, declaring their adherence to the Government, and their sense of its beneficent action, and the duty of all good citizens abroad and at home to sustain it in its effort to maintain its authority, were passed, and various speeches delivered by the distinguished guests on the occasion. Mr. Dayton, in a few remarks, reached the heart of the question. "It is needless, my friends," said he, "to deny that our country has fallen upon evil times; that much of its prestige abroad is for the present gone; that our self-love is rebuked and our pride is humiliated—not by the actions of others, but by the misconduct of portions of our own countrymen. Nations, like individuals, are sometimes spoiled by prosperity. It does not follow as a logical sequence that wherever there is dissension in a country it results from the wrongs and oppressions of government. In our case, it results from its very opposite. It seems to come from the plethora of its abundance and prosperity. It is the wanton outbreak of a restless and excitable people, who complain substantially of nothing. We, who know the condition of our country and the value of its institutions, though chastened in pride and rebuked in feeling, cannot forget these truths. You have come together on this occasion to give expression to your feelings of attachment and respect for the laws and Constitution of your country. It is in good time. Your friends there are now testing the question if you have a *country;* for a country without a government is no country. It is a habitation without a name—a *locus in quo* for a miserable existence. The world cannot expect, and least of all can England expect, that we shall disgrace our Saxon lineage by permitting a Government which has accomplished so much for humanity within so brief a space, to go out without a struggle, and, if need be, such a struggle as the world has not seen. Our Union cost much, and it is worth all, and more than it cost."

Mr. Clay took occasion to speak of France and England in their relations to the Rebellion, proclaiming their interests to be on the side of the preservation of the Union. "I am accused," said he, in reference to his communication to the *London Times*, "of threatening England. I am not in the habit of casting about me to see how I may make truth most palatable. Let those who stand in the way of truth look out. If England, after all she has said against slavery, shall draw her sword in its defence, then I say, great as she is, she shall 'perish by the sword.' For then not only France, but all the world shall cry, 'Perfide Albion!' When she mingles the red crosses of the Union Jack with the piratical black flag of the 'Confederate States of America,' will not just as certainly the Tricolor and the Stars and Stripes float once more in fraternal folds? Can France forget who has doggedly hedged in all the fields of her glory? Can Napoleon forget St. Helena? Will he, at her bidding, turn his back upon the East? Shall 'Partant pour la Syrie' be heard no more in France forever? Russia strengthens herself by giving up slave labor for the omnipotent powers of nature, which, by steam, and electricity, and water, and the mechanical forces, share with man the creative omnipotence. Shall England cross half the globe to check the eastern march of her new-born civilization? I have spoken to England, not as an enemy, but a friend. For her own sake, I would have her be true to herself. If England would preserve cotton for her millions of operatives, let her join in putting down the rebellion. Her interference in defence of the rebels of the South will force us to do that which would be a calamity to us as well as to them—at a blow to destroy slavery forever. The interests of England and France lie in the same direction—in the preservation of the Union, and the making of successful rebellion impossible."

Probably the speaker whose remarks were regarded with the most interest on this occasion, was Colonel Fremont. The faces of the others were turned away from home to a protracted residence abroad; he was eagerly looked for to return and take an active part in the field in the preservation of the honor and liberty of his country. In far-off America his words were read with anticipations of the new patriotic career before him. He was introduced by Mr. Burlingame at the close of an earnest speech in these words: "I would that our struggling brothers at home could hear this day our words of lofty cheer



Painted by Alonzo Chappel

J. C. Fremont

Likeness from the latest Photograph from life

Johnson Fry & Co. Publishers N. Y.

[illegible]

and know how the American heart in this far land throbs true to them and the cause for which they struggle. We send them with our blessings over the sea; but, what is better, we send with them one known to them, known to us, known to two hemispheres, and one who, in this warlike land of his ancestors, heard the call of his mother (for he is, indeed, a child of the Republic), and casting from him the urgent claims of his private affairs, almost without warning and notice, determined to fly to the defence of the flag he has done so much to exalt. We say to him that he will be welcomed on the western shore by fourteen hundred thousand men, who, but yesterday, hailed his name as a symbol of their faith, and by a countless host who then defeated our hopes, with, if possible, a still warmer enthusiasm—welcomed on the Atlantic slope, and on the Pacific slope, which his valor won for us, and in the Rocky Mountains, from whose loftiest summit he was the first to unfurl the beautiful banner of his country in the beams of the setting sun. We breathe our benison upon him. We know what will follow where he goes before, for 'born and nursed in danger's path, he's tried her worst.' We know his future will be as bright as his past, and that he will enjoy a soldier's triumph, or the sweet tranquillity of an honored soldier's grave. And now, all hail, Fremont, and farewell!"

Upon this Colonel Fremont rose and said: "I am deeply sensible to the warm and flattering expressions of confidence and regard with which I have just been honored, and still more deeply sensible to your kind approval of them. They are very grateful to me, and I thank you very sincerely. But you will be very sure that I do not receive them as due to myself; I am conscious that I owe them to the partiality of friendship, and to that sort of attachment which a soldier always feels for the banner under which he has fought. To him (Mr. Burlingame) and the other friends around me who have spoken to-day, I represent the standard on which old watchwords were inscribed. It is themselves who were the leaders, themselves who bore with you the heat of the day, and who have won their battle gloriously. And they have come among us here, with their habitual eloquence, to convey to our true-hearted countrymen at home the assurance of our unalterable devotedness to the country, and our unbounded admiration of the generous loyalty with which they rallied to its calls. A few days back our honored flag was trailing in the dust at the foot of an insolent foe; at present its stars are refulgent from a thousand heights, swarming with brave hearts and strong arms in its defence. We drink to them to-day, our brave and loyal countrymen. Faithfully, too, have our scattered people responded to them. from Italy, from England, and from France. Well have they shown they, too, can cross the seas and change their skies, and never change their hearts. I am glad that a happy chance has brought me to participate with you here on this occasion. Here, in this splendid capital of a great nation, where near by us the same tombstone records the blended names of Washington and Lafayette, I feel that I breathe a sympathetic air."

Mr. Adams, the new minister to England, arrived at Liverpool on the 13th of May, and was met by the intelligence that the affairs of America had a few days before engaged the attention of

Parliament, and that the Government had already decided on a policy to be pursued towards the Confederates. In a debate in the House of Commons on the 6th instant, in answer to questions proposed by Mr. Gregory, member from Galway, in reference to the blockade proclaimed by President Lincoln, and the position of her Majesty's Government toward the Southern Confederate States, which he declared "had become to the United States a separate and independent and foreign power," Lord John Russell, then at the head of the Foreign Office, in the course of his reply said:—"With respect to belligerent rights in the case of certain portions of a State being in insurrection, there was a precedent which seems applicable to this purpose in the year 1825. The British Government at that time allowed the belligerent rights of the Provisional Government of Greece, and in consequence of that allowance, the Turkish Government made a remonstrance. I may state the nature of that remonstrance and the reply of Mr. Canning. The Turkish Government complained that the British Government allowed to the Greeks a belligerent character, and observed that it appeared to forget that to subjects in rebellion no national character could properly belong. But the British Government informed Mr. Stratford Canning that the character of belligerency was not so much a principle as a fact; that a certain degree of force and consistency, acquired by any mass of population engaged in war, entitled that population to be treated as belligerent, and, even if their title were questionable, rendered it the interest, well understood, of all civilized nations so to treat them'; for what was the alternative? A Power or a community, call it which you will, which was at war with another and which covered the sea with its cruisers, must either be acknowledged as a belligerent or dealt with as a pirate; which latter character, as to the Greeks, was loudly disclaimed." To this he added that the law officers of the Crown had been consulted, and that the Attorney and Solicitor-General, the Queen's Advocate and the Government had come to the opinion that "the Southern Confederacy of America, according to those principles which seem to them to be just principles, must be treated as a belligerent."

In accordance with this resolution, the following Royal Proclamation was agreed upon in Privy Council, and issued, on the 15th of May: "Victoria R.—Whereas, we are happily at peace with all Sovereigns, Powers, and States; and whereas, hostilities have unhappily commenced between the Government of the United States of America and certain States styling themselves the Confederate States of America; and whereas, we, being at peace with the Government of the United States, have declared our Royal determination to maintain a strict and impartial neutrality in the contest between the said contending parties; we, therefore, have thought fit, by and with the advice of our Privy Counsel, to issue this, our royal proclamation. [The provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act are then quoted, and the Proclamation continues as follows:] And we do hereby warn all our loving subjects, and all persons whatsoever entitled to our protection, that if any of them shall presume, in contempt of this our Royal proclamation, and of our high displeasure, to do any acts in derogation of their duty, as subjects of a neutral sovereign, in the said contest, or in violation or contravention of the law of nations in that behalf, as, for example, and more especially, by entering into the military service of either of the said contending parties, as commissioned or non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, or by serving as officers, sailors, or marines on board any ship or vessel of war, or transport, of or in the service of either of the said contending parties, or by engaging to go or going to any place beyond the seas, with intent to enlist or engage in any such service, or by procuring, or attempting to procure, within her Majesty's dominions, at home or abroad, others to do so; or by fitting out, arming, or equipping any ship or vessel, to be employed as a ship of war, or privateer, or transport, by either of the said contending parties; or by breaking, or endeavoring to break, any blockade lawfully and actually established by or on behalf of either of the said contending parties, or by carrying officers, soldiers, dispatches, arms, military stores, or materials, or any article or articles, considered and deemed to be contraband of war, according to the law or modern usage of nations, for the use or service of either of the said contending parties—all persons so offending will incur, and be liable to the several penalties and penal consequences by the said state, or by the law of nations in that behalf imposed or denounced. And we do hereby declare, that all our subjects and persons entitled to our protection, who may misconduct themselves in the premises, will do it at their peril, and of their own wrong, and that they will, in nowise, obtain any protection from us against any liabilities or penal consequences, but will, on the contrary, incur our displeasure by such misconduct. Given at our Court, at the White Lodge, Richmond Park, this 13th day of May, 1861."

The Proclamation thus set forth the royal determination to maintain a strict neutrality between the contending parties, and forbade British subjects taking any part in the contest. Its intention was to avoid possible embarrassments in the future; its immediate tendency was to encourage the rebellion. It was thought in the United States, at least, to be somewhat hasty; for the rebel government, not likely at any time to be very formidable on the high seas, had, when the Proclamation was issued, shown but feeble evidence of its powers in that direction; it was felt to be, in a certain degree, beneficial to the insurgents, and was generally regarded with suspicion as a preliminary step toward the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. How far, it was asked, would the belligerent rights which had been granted extend? Would they, according to English precedents, permit the privateers of the conspiracy to prey in security upon Northern commerce by enjoying the privilege of carrying their prizes into British harbors? This question was fully answered on the first of June by a royal order interdicting the armed vessels and privateers of both parties from carrying prizes made by them to ports, harbors, roadsteads or waters of the United Kingdom or any of her Majesty's colonies or possessions abroad. In a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, announcing this decision, read in Parliament, Lord John Russell reiterated the desire of the Government to "observe the strictest neutrality in the contest, which appears to be imminent between the United States and the so-styled Confederate States of South America." The natural effect of this limitation of the much questioned "belligerents'" rights, taken in connection with the postponement of a motion in Parliament, made by the pertinacious agitator on behalf of the South, Mr. Gregory, for the recognition of the Confederate government, was to calm the fears of the people of the North, in reference to any injurious interference with the sovereignty of the United States. One great hope of the Southern rebellion seemed thus to be taken away from its supporters.

An eminent French Protestant writer, the Count de Gasparin, distinguished during the reign of Louis Philippe, by his ardent political services in behalf of religious liberty and human freedom, a Reformer and yet a Conservative, has devoted his fine reasoning powers during the period of this great American conflict to the candid consideration of the elements of the struggle ; the principles involved in it at home, and their recognition abroad. In his work, entitled, "The Uprising of a Great People," published early in 1861, he presents the causes, motives, and probable results of the war, with acuteness, sympathy and eloquence. It was a good word to utter for the North, and did much to animate the hearts of the American people. At the end of the year he sent forth a sequel—a larger volume this time—reviewing the question, especially with relation to the conduct of governments and public opinion abroad. His "America before Europe" places the old world on trial, and on various counts of the indictment finds her guilty of desertion of principles of government, society and morality. He would have had a frank, generous policy pursued at the outset, in place of the doubts, difficulties, and denials which were brought forward to beset the path of American diplomacy. He would have given the warm hand of support to the National government, instead of the cold shoulder of neutrality. "How," he asks, in reference to the point before us, "would Europe have offended against international laws, if her governments had expressed themselves in the following manner? 'We know no President but the one regularly elected. There is, to us, but a single rightful government in America, that which has its seat at Washington. As to the South, we await the final issue of its armed struggle, and the consolidation of its government *de facto.*' Certainly, by holding such language the insurrection would have been weakened, and many misfortunes prevented, without in any wise lessening the significance of the internal impulse of the United States. To meet important questions face to face is at once loyal, sympathetic. and generous, and best fitted to resolve them. What would Jefferson Davis and his friends have done, had they known, beyond the possibility of mistake, that they could not count on Europe? Would they not have renounced their designs? Would they have long pursued them? No war at all, or a very short one—such is the result that would have been at once obtained by simply abstaining from granting the South an exceptional favor which seemed to promise it many others. At the same time the North would have been strengthened in the noble cause on which it had just entered ; a current of warm sympathy would have been established between it and us ; the combat against slavery would have pursued the character of a pacific and Christian struggle, instead of assuming perhaps, in the end, that of a warlike act and violent proceeding; slowly, doubtless, but surely, the progress marked by the election of Mr. Lincoln, would have been completed by legal ways; to day, the non-extension of slavery; to-morrow, its abolition, with indemnity, in those States best prepared for freedom; by-and-by, complete measures, rendered constitutionally possible by the increasing majority of the admirers of the institution.' "

The Commissioners from the Confederate States, Messrs. Yancy, Mann and Rost, previously to the arrival of Mr. Adams, in an informal interview on the 4th of May, urged upon Lord John Russell the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, ingeniously setting forth the advantages which would result to England from commercial intercourse with the seceding States, which had already adopted the policy of free trade, and whose products they represented as furnishing more than two-thirds of the whole exports of the United States. The attention of the British minister was also called to the fact, that the Confederate government had, by an article in its Constitution, prohibited the slave trade. Whatever impression these representations may have made, the action of the Government in the Neutrality Proclamation, fell far short of the wishes of the Confederate Commissioners. In a letter, addressed to Lord John Russell, on the 14th of August, when that policy, with its limitation, had been carried into effect, they complained of the decision by which neither of the contending parties would be permitted to enter the British ports with their prizes. It was an unusual rule, they maintained, and calculated to work unequally in favor of the United States, and deprive the Confederacy of an undoubted public right. In fact it operated exclusively as they represented, "to prevent the exercise of this legitimate mode of warfare by the Confederate States, while it is, to a great degree, a practical protection to the commerce and ships of the United States." At the same time the Commissioners renewed their representations of the commercial resources of the Southern States, and took occasion to combat the settled principle of hostility to the institution of slavery of the people of England, as it affected the Confederacy, by a crafty effort to neutralize this feeling of opposition. They could not deny that slavery was amply recognized by the Government which they were there to represent; but, throwing the burden upon the English colonists, and the Fathers of the Republic, who handed it down to the present generation, they boldly represented that the administration of President Lincoln, upon which war had been declared, in advance for its alleged anti-slavery tendencies, was really pledged to the perpetual maintenance of the institution if only the South would remain in the Union. Mr. Lincoln's message, said they, proposed no freedom to the slave; Congress, in its extra session, had pledged itself to the maintenance of "the pro-slavery Constitution," and the commanding general had issued an order, when the army commenced its march, that no slaves should be received into, or follow the camp. "The great object of the war, therefore, as now officially announced," they urged, "is not to free the slave, but to keep him in subjection to his owner, and to control his labor through the legislative channels." They therefore submitted, that "so far as the anti-slavery sentiment of England is concerned, it can have no sympathy with the North; nay, it will probably become disgusted with a canting hypocrisy which would enlist those sympathies on false pretences." Such was the return made for the anxiety of the North to preserve the rights of the South! Lest, however, this view of the matter might be set aside by the consideration of an opposite tendency in the progress of events, the Commissioners, leaving no stone unturned, cunningly exhibited the effects of the sudden destruction of the slave system upon the laboring classes of Europe; ten millions of whom, as they alleged, would thus be deprived of the means of living. "Resort to servile war, has, it is true," they admitted, "not been proclaimed, but officially abandoned. It has been, however, recommended by persons in influence in the United States; and when all other means shall fail, as we assure your Lordship, they will, to bring the Confederate States into subjection to the power of Mr. Lincoln's Government, it is by no means impossible that it may be inaugurated." To all this, and other arguments of a similar object, Lord John Russell, on the 24th August, replied that the British Government did not pretend to enter into the merits of the question "between the United States and their adversaries in North America;" but that, regarding the contest as constituting a civil war, the policy of neutrality would be strictly adhered to. "Her Majesty cannot undertake to determine, by anticipation, what may be the issue of the contest, nor can she acknowledge the independence of the nine States which are now conbined against the President and Congress of the United States, until the fortune of arms, or the more peaceful mode of negotiation shall have more clearly determined the respective positions of the two belligerents. Her Majesty can, in the meantime, only express a hope that some adjustment, satisfactory to both parties, may be come to, without the calamities which must ensue in the event of an embittered and protracted conflict." With this unsatisfactory response, with hope deferred, the Commissioners were compelled to rest content. Their mission, thus far, was unsuccessful.

The example of the British Government was speedily followed by France. Indeed, the policy of the two countries was based on a mutual understanding of agreement and coöperation. A decree, published in the *Moniteur*, June 11th, proclaimed that "His Majesty the Emperor of the French, taking into consideration the state of peace which now exists between France and the United States of America, has resolved to maintain a strict neutrality in the struggle between the Government of the Union and the States which propose to form a separate confederation"—a preamble, which was followed by directions in regard to the reception of privateers, and restrictions upon the citizens of the country in respect to enlistments and other violations of neutrality similar to those imposed by the British orders and Proclamation of the Queen. Spain also issued her royal decree, dated the 17th of June, prohibiting all Spaniards from taking service on either side, the entrance of privateers or armed ships with their prizes into any of her ports, the acceptance by her subjects of letters of marque, the fitting out of vessels with a hostile purpose in her harbors, and generally enjoining complete neutrality.

The intercourse of Mr. Dayton with the French Government, represented by the able Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Thouvenel, was marked by consideration, and even cordiality. The Emperor himself, on receiving the American minister, expressed his concern for the welfare of the United States, his desire for the perpetuation of the Union, and that he had been and was ready "to offer his kind offices, if such offer would be mutually agreeable to the contending parties." In acknowledging the report of this reception, Mr. Seward, in a despatch to Mr. Dayton, paid his tribute to "the frank, generous and cordial tone of M. Thouvenel's conversation," and warmly reciprocated the expressions of good will of his Majesty as "just what have been expected from the Emperor of France." In reference to the suggestion of mediation, he made a reply similar to that which he shortly afterwards addressed to England, pronouncing the measure both unnecessary and inexpedient. "This Government," he wrote, "desires that his Majesty may be informed that it indulges not the least apprehension of a dissolution of the Union in this painful controversy. A favorable issue is deemed certain. What is wanted is that the war may be as short and attended by as few calamities at home, and as few injuries to friendly nations as possible. No mediation could modify in the least degree the convictions of policy and duty under which this Government is acting; while foreign intervention, even in the friendly form of mediation, would produce new and injurious complications. We are free to confess that so cordial is our regard for the Emperor, and our confidence in his wisdom and justice, that his mediation would be accepted, if all intervention of that kind were not deemed altogether inadmissible. This Government perceives, as it thinks, that the French Government is indulging in an exaggerated estimate of the moral power and natural forces of the insurrection. . . . . . The measures we have adopted and are now vigorously pursuing, will terminate the unhappy contest at an early day, and be followed by benefits to ourselves and to all nations, greater and better assured than those which have hitherto attended our national progress."

Previously to the arrival of Mr. Dayton in France, Mr. Faulkner, the American minister, had expressed the opinion that force would not be employed toward the seceding States, not that the Government did not possess "all the ordinary powers necessary for its preservation," but that he was satisfied that the sentiment of the people was opposed to their exercise in the present instance. "So sincere was the deference felt in that country for the great principles of self-government, and so great the respect for the action of the people, when adopted under the imposing form of State organization and State sovereignty, that I did not think the employment of force would be tolerated for a moment, and I thought the only solution of our difficulties would be found in such modifications of our constitutional compact as would invite the seceding States back into the Union or a peaceable acquiescence in the assertion of their claims to a separate sovereignty."*

To this Mr. Seward replied in a despatch to Mr. Dayton, in terms which he caused to be published at the time, and which were evidently intended as a declaration to the world of the position of the American Government in regard to the rebellion. "The time," he wrote, in allusion to the opinions of Mr. Faulkner, "when these questions had any pertinency or plausibility has passed away. The United States waited patiently while their authority was defied in turbulent assemblies and in seditious preparations, willing to hope that mediation, offered on all sides, would conciliate and induce the disaffected parties to return to a better mind. But the case is now altogether changed. The insurgents have instituted revolution with open, flagrant, deadly war to compel the United States to acquiesce in the dismemberment of the Union. The United States have accepted this civil war as an inevitable necessity. The constitutional remedies for all the complaints of the insurgents are still open to them, and will remain so. But, on the other hand, the land and naval forces of the Union have been put into activity to restore the Federal authority and to save the Union from danger. You cannot be too decided or too explicit in making known to the French Government that there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be any the least idea existing in this government of suffering a dissolution of the Union to take place in any way whatever. There will be here only one nation and one government, and there will be the same republic, and the same constitutional Union that have already survived a dozen national changes, and changes of government in almost every other country. These will stand hereafter, as they are now, objects of human wonder and human affection. You have seen, on the eve of your departure, the elasticity of the national spirit, the vigor of the national government, and the lavish devotion of the national treasures to this great cause. Tell Mr. Thouvenel, then, with the highest consideration and good feeling, that the thought of a dissolution of this Union, peaceably or by force, has never entered into the mind of any candid statesman here, and it is high time that it be dismissed by statesmen in Europe."*

There was little difficulty in impressing the views of the American Government upon Spain, and thwarting in that direction the efforts at "recognition" of the Confederate agents. Mr. Horatio J. Perry, the United States Secretary of Legation at Madrid, previously to the arrival of the new minister, Mr. Schurz, readily disposed of the secession cause in his representations to the Spanish Government, particularly in a notable interview with the Minister of State, Mr. Calderon, in the course of which, in a single short phrase which, in the citation which follows, we have marked in italics, he summed up the natural history of the rebellion with a proverbial felicity peculiarly suited to the ear of a Spaniard. "Yesterday," he writes to Mr. Seward, under date of June 13, 1861, "in a long and very satisfactory interview with Mr. Calderon, I explained to him the connection of Mr. Jefferson Davis and other leaders in the Southern rebellion with the attempt made in 1854–'55 by the same parties to provoke a war with Spain for the conquest of Cuba. He was made to see that the former filibustering against Cuba had its origin, like the present rebellion at the South, in the political ambition of our slave owners. They then wished to reinforce the slave power in the Union by the annexation of new slave States, but having failed in Cuba, in Nicaragua, in Kansas, and lastly in the recent Presidential election, they had at length to turn their arms against the Government of the United States, now passed out of their control. *Secession was filibustering struck in.* I explained that, unhappily, a class at the South, called by the slave-owners 'mean whites,' were quite ready to follow their lead, and were a terrible instrument in their hands. Their own ignorance, their dependence upon the richer class, and their contact with the blacks had gradually reduced them, intellectually and morally, to a point of which, perhaps, there were few examples in the Anglo-Saxon race. They were as reckless of danger as they were of right, as ready to embark for the fever lakes of Central America as for the sugar-fields of Cuba, or the wilds of Kansas, or a campaign against the government of their country. This was good material for a rebel soldiery; and under the more intelligent lead of the slave-owners, this revolt was undoubtedly serious and would cost blood. But the result was not doubtful. The disparity of force and resources on the part of the government was too overbalancing to leave the rebels a chance of long prolonging the struggle."

---

* Mr. Faulkner to Mr. Seward. Paris, April 15, 1861.

* Mr. Seward to Mr. Dayton. Washington, May 4, 1861.

The condition of public opinion in England at this time was not without its contradictions. Apparently inclined to non-interference, the people of that country yet seemed to regard the affairs of America as under their especial supervision, management and direction. At one moment the United States were charged with weakness in not asserting their authority; when they began to act they were accused of harshness, and the very authority itself was disputed The rebellion was at one moment pronounced the ruin of America, and at the next was supposed to threaten the power of England. The country, it was said, was divided forever, and in the same breath a united nation was defying the world. It is singular to note, recorded in the diplomatic correspondence of Mr. Adams, the existence of an impression which certainly had no warrant in the policy or sentiments of the people of the United States. "The idea," he writes to Mr. Seward on the 21st of June, "still remains quite general that there will never be any actual conflict," alluding of course to the delay of active hostilities on the Potomac, "and it is connected in many cases with an apprehension that the reunion may be cemented upon the basis of hostile measures against Great Britain. Indeed, such has been the motive hinted at by more than one person of influence as guiding the policy of the President himself." Nothing could well be more absurd than such a notion, yet Mr. Adams felt himself called upon "to discountenance it altogether, and to affirm that the struggle was carried on in good faith and from motives not subject to be affected by mere considerations of policy, or by temporary emotions. More especially have I endeavored to disavow any 'arrière pensée' which has the effect to confirm the suspicion of our sincerity, I regret to say, by far too much disseminated." It was not surprising that, with such ideas of the struggle on the part of England, there should be an imperfect sympathy between the two countries. The United States was engaged in one of the loftiest and purest undertakings which can employ the energies of a nation, a contest not for supremacy or power, but for the preservation of a system of government friendly to the best interests of civilization, which had proved itself of the utmost advantage to countless members of the human family. The conflict had been brought on by a hostile faction in opposition to the will of the nation to preserve a large portion of the virgin soil of the continent from the injurious influence of slavery. The principles of the new administration especially challenged the respect and admiration of England. It was pledged to the maintenance of ideas of which that country claimed to be the great exemplar; it was supported, as we have remarked, by principles of constitutional liberty inherited from that land. The nation, in a spirit of solemn duty, calmly, soberly, accepted the certain sacrifice of peace and property to contend for the preservation of a Government in which was wrapped up the hopes of happiness for vast numbers of the oppressed and destitute throughout the world. How could England thus misread a policy so clear and explicit, which, not without great advantage to herself, had been illustrated on so splendid a stage in what one of her distinguished authors had pronounced "a magnificent picture of human happiness"?

Something of this could not but be seen and admitted. Mr. Adams remarks, in the same despatch from which we have just cited: "Neither party would be so bold as to declare its sympathy with a cause based upon the extension of slavery, for that would at once draw upon itself the indignation of the great body of the people." He adds, however, to this, in a politic vein, a significant remark which subsequent events will recall to mind: "But the development of a positive spirit in the opposite direction will depend far more upon the degree in which the arm of the Government enforces obedience than upon any absolute affinity in sentiments. Our brethren in this country, after all, are much disposed to fall in with the opinion of Voltaire, that *Dieu est toujours sur le coté des gros canons*. General Scott and an effective blockading squadron will be the true agents to keep the peace abroad, as well as to conquer one at home." It is the old story of diplomacy, and not at all complimentary to human nature. One might think that, as the affairs of men are regarded from these sublime elevations of state, they would lose somewhat of that pettiness of self-interest which adheres to them on a lower scale among individuals in private life. The force of the smaller passions, however, does not seem at all abated in the cabinets of princes. There is, perhaps, greater jealousy, more eager desire to take advantage of weakness, and a more profound deference to strength and power. The hard divinity of state policy is certainly on the side of the largest cannons. Man is kinder, more tractable, more generous, by himself than in Senates.

While Mr. Adams was writing at London the sentences which we have quoted, a dispatch from the Secretary of State, at Washington, was on its way to him, fully reciprocating the peaceful sentiments which he had conveyed. "We are anxious," wrote Mr. Seward, "to avoid all causes of misunderstanding with Great Britain; to draw closer, instead of breaking, the existing bonds of amity and friendship. There is nothing good or great which both nations may not expect to attain or effect if they remain friends. It would be a hazardous day for both the branches of the British race when they should determine to try how much harm each could do the other."

To an intimation from the British government, about the same time, of their willingness to act the part of mediator, if it should be desired, the Secretary of State replied, in the name of the President, that the United States could neither solicit nor accept mediation from any, even the most friendly quarter. "The conditions of society here," was his language, "the character of our government, the exigencies of the country, forbid that any dispute arising among us should ever be referred to foreign arbitration. We are a Republican and American people. The Constitution of our government furnishes all needful means for the correction or removal of any possible political evil. Adhering strictly, as we do, to its directions, we shall surmount all our present complications, and preserve the Government complete, perfect and sound, for the benefit of future generations. But the integrity of any nation is lost, and its fate becomes doubtful, whenever strange hands and instruments, unknown to the Constitution, are employed to perform the proper functions of the people, established by the organic laws of the State."*

It may be regarded as a commentary, a thoughtful aside to this declaration, that a prophetic intimation was added, "by way of satisfying the British Government, that it will do wisely by leaving us to manage and settle this domestic controversy in our own way." The somewhat enigmatic utterance—the Secretary was thought by some to affect the oracular—was this: "The fountains of discontent in any society are many, and some lie much deeper than others. Thus far this unhappy controversy has disturbed only those which are nearest the surface. There are others which lie still deeper, that may yet remain, as, we hope, long undisturbed. If they should be reached, no one can tell how or when they could be closed. It was foreign intervention that opened, and that alone could open, similar fountains in the remarkable French revolution."*

A month later, Secretary Seward writes again, after Congress had recommended the closing of the insurrectionary ports, accepting the position of England, in its practical recognition of American sovereignty, theoretically questioned in the Queen's Proclamation, but adding, at the same time, in the spirit of his former communication, this passage: "I cannot leave the subject without endeavoring once more, as I have so often done before, to induce the British government to realize the conviction that the policy of the government is one that is based on interests of the greatest importance, and sentiments of the highest value, and, therefore, is in no case likely to be changed, whatever may be the varying features of the war at home, or the actions of foreign nations on this subject, while the policy of foreign States rests on ephemeral interests of commerce or of ambition merely. The policy of these United States is not a creature of the Government, but an inspiration of the people, while the policies of foreign States are at the choice mainly of the governments presiding over them. If through error, on whatever side this civil contention shall transcend the national bounds, and involve foreign States, the energies of all commercial nations, including our own, will necessarily be turned to war, and a general carnival of the adventurous and reckless of all countries, at the cost of the existing commerce of the world, must ensue. Beyond that painful scene, upon the seas there lie, but dimly concealed from our vision, scenes of devastation and desolation which will leave no roots remaining, out of which trade with the United States and Great Britain, as it has heretofore flourished, can ever again spring up." *

---

* Mr. Seward to Mr Adams, June 19, 1861. Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs, p. 92.

* Ibid.

By the side of these representations and explanations, there was an important negotiation in hand between the two governments, in reference to the acceptance or adherence to by America of certain articles of the Treaty of Paris in the year 1836, involving a question of great humanity, relating to the practice of war on the high seas. It was then mutually agreed, between the contracting parties, Great Britain, Austria, France, Russia, Prussia, Sardinia and Turkey: 1st, that privateering is abolished; 2d, that the neutral flag cover enemy's goods, except contraband of war; 3d, that neutral goods, with the same exception, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag; 4th, that blockades, to be binding, must be effective. Other States, not a party to the treaty, were invited to accede to these propositions. The subject came before the United States in the administration of President Pierce, when Mr. Marcy, the Secretary of State, expressed the willingness of the Government to accept the propositions provided a fifth was added, exempting the private property of belligerents from seizure on the high seas. Thus amended, the propositions were laid before the governments of England and France. Before any action was had Mr. Buchanan succeeded to the Presidency, and discontinued the negotiation. Nothing further was done till Mr. Seward, in the month following the inauguration of President Lincoln, reopened the matter, by addressing a circular to the new minister of the United States, sent to the States of Europe, requiring them to bring the subject before the States to which they were accredited, and offer the acceptance by the United States of the propositions, as originally proposed to them.* The amendment of Mr. Marcy would, of course, be desirable, but as there was little probability of gaining that at present, it might be omitted. Under this direction Mr. Adams at Paris, and Mr. Dayton at London, began negotiations with the respective governments. Lord John Russell, the English minister, at once expressed a desire to entertain the matter, but threw the arrangement upon the legation at Washington, which, not being empowered, sent it back to London. In Paris Mr. Dayton hoped to obtain the Marcy addition, but this M. Thouvenel the minister, refused, when, having been bandied about for two months between London and Washington, between England and France, the propositions, "pure and simple," as originally offered by the Treaty of Paris, seemed, at the end of July, on the point of adjustment. At the last moment Lord John Russell interposed the modest looking provision: "I need scarcely add that, on the part of Great Britain, the engagement will be prospective, and will not invalidate anything already done."* The whole was now finally submitted to Mr. Seward, who at once saw the significance of the Russell proviso. Subjecting the latter to an acute examination, he required that an explanation should be asked from its author. Before this request reached London, Lord John Russell had answered the question in the draft of a declaration to be appended to the treaty. It was that, "in affixing his signature to the Convention, Earl Russell declares, by order of her Majesty, that her Majesty does not intend thereby to undertake any engagement which shall have any bearing, direct or indirect, on the internal differences now prevailing in the United States." In other words, the treaty was to be made subject to the already conceded "belligerent rights" — whatever they might be — of the Southern rebellion. The treaty, "pure and simple," was evidently in conflict with the view which Great Britain thought proper to entertain of the sovereignty of the United States. There were various diplomatic objections to this mutilated form of a convention, beside the covert blow at the integrity of the Union. Mr. Adams needed no consultation with Washington on a qualification which he could not fail to remind Lord Russell "would scarcely fail to be regarded by many unfavorably disposed persons as more or less directly an insult to the nation in its present distress." He rejected it at once. The Government at Washington, of course, acquiesced in the decision. "To admit such a new article," wrote Mr. Seward, "would, for the first time in the history of the United States, be to permit a foreign power to take cognizance of, and adjust its relations upon assumed internal and purely domestic differences existing within our own country. I forbear purposely," he added, "from a review of the past correspondence, to ascertain the relative responsibilities of the parties for this failure of negotiation, from which I had hoped results would flow beneficial, not only to the two nations, but to the whole world—beneficial not in the present age only, but in future ages. It is my desire that we may withdraw from the subject, carrying away no feelings of passion, prejudice or jealousy, so that in some happier time it may be resumed, and the important objects of the proposed convention may be fully secured. I believe that that propitious time is even now not distant; and I will hope that when it comes, Great Britain will not only willingly and unconditionally accept the adhesion of the United States to all the benignant articles of the declaration of the Congress of Paris, but will even go further, and, relinquishing her present objections, consent, as the United States have so constantly invited, that the private property, not contraband, of citizens and subjects of nations in collision, shall be exempted from confiscation equally in warfare waged on the land and in warfare waged upon the seas, which are the common highways of all nations."*

---

* Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams, July 21, 1861.

* Circular, April 24, 1861.

Whilst these discussions and negotiations were going on with the various powers of Europe, one among them, in particular, separated by her position and the interests of her vast empire from any political or industrial rivalry with the United States, Russia, allied to the new world by her parallel territorial greatness and ambition of future grandeur, stood prepared to sympathize with the difficulties and embarrassments of the Government at Washington. In his first instructions to the new minister, Mr. Clay, Mr. Seward had eloquently dwelt upon the position of the two countries. "Nations," said he, "like individuals, have three prominent wants: first, freedom; secondly, prosperity; thirdly, friends. The United States early secured the two first objects by the exercise of courage and enterprise. But although they have always practiced singular moderation, they nevertheless have been slow in winning friends. Russia presents an exceptional case. That power was an early, and it has always been a constant friend. This relationship between two nations, so remote and so unlike, has excited much surprise, but the explanation is obvious. Russia, like the United States, is an improving and expanding empire. Its track is eastward, while that of the United States is westward. The two nations, therefore, never come into rivalry or conflict. Each carries civilization to the new regions it enters, and each finds itself occasionally resisted by states jealous of its prosperity, or alarmed by its aggrandisement. Russia and the United States may remain good friends until, each having made a circuit of half the globe in opposite directions, they shall meet and greet each other in the region where civilization first began, and where, after so many ages, it has become now lethargic and helpless. It will be your pleasing duty to confirm and strengthen these traditional relations of amity and friendship." *

---

* Lord John Russell to Mr. Adams. July 31, 1861. Papers on Foreign Affairs, p. 110.

* Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams. Sept. 7, 1861.

The reception of Mr. Clay on the part of the Emperor was marked by its cordiality. The American minister stated that the people whom he represented "looked with profound sympathy upon the great reforms which his Majesty was attempting in his empire, which, without considering the philanthropic view of the movement, by building up a middle class, he would add more to the physical power of his country than did Peter the Great by consolidation and extension; and that the success of his enterprise would, in the estimation of the western nations, place him even above that great ruler."

To this the Emperor responded through his minister, Prince Gortchacow, when the formalities of the interview were relaxed by a little unceremonious conversation with regard to that recent foe of Russia, Great Britain. "The Emperor," writes Mr. Clay in his report of the reception, "wanted to know if I thought England would interfere. I told him we did not care what she did; that her interference would tend to unite us the more; that we fought the South with reluctance; we were much intermarried, and of a common history; but that the course of England had aroused our sensibilities towards her in no very pleasant manner. The Emperor seemed to like my seeming defiance of old 'John Bull' very much."†

The "liberal, friendly and magnanimous sentiments" of the Emperor, as they were acknowledged by Mr. Seward,

---

* Mr. Seward to Mr. Clay. Washington, May 6, 1861.

† Mr. Clay to Mr. Seward. St. Petersburg, June 21, 1861

were presently shown in the earnest words of sympathy and counsel which he caused to be addressed to the President of the United States and to the American people, through his Ministers at St. Petersburg and Washington. This document, which will always be regarded as one of the most interesting State papers which this crisis brought forth, addressed by Prince Gortchacow to Mr. De Stœckl, was dated July 10, 1861, and read as follows :—" Sir : From the beginning of the conflict which divides the United States of America, you have been desired to make known to the Federal Government the deep interest with which our august master was observing the development of a crisis which puts in question the prosperity and even the existence of the Union. The Emperor profoundly regrets to see that the hope of a peaceful solution is not realized, and that American citizens, already in arms against each other, are ready to let loose upon their country the most formidable of the scourges of political society—a civil war. For the more than eighty years that it has existed, the American Union owes its independence, its towering rise, and its progress to the concord of its members, consecrated, under the auspices of its illustrious founder, by institutions which have been able to reconcile union with liberty. This union has been fruitful. It has exhibited to the world the spectacle of a prosperity without example in the annals of history. It would be deplorable that, after so conclusive an experience, the United States should be hurried into a breach of the solemn compact which, up to this time, has made their power. In spite of the diversity of their constitutions and of their interests, and perhaps, even, *because* of this diversity, Providence seems to urge them to draw closer the traditional bond which is the basis and the very condition of their political existence. In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it are beyond comparison with those which dissolution would bring after it. United, they perfect themselves ; isolated, they are paralyzed. The struggle which unhappily has just arisen can neither be indefinitely prolonged, nor lead to the total destruction of one of the parties. Sooner or later it will be necessary to come to some settlement, whatsoever it may be, which may cause the divergent interests now actually in conflict to coexist. The American nation would then give a proof of high political wisdom in seeking in common such a settlement before a useless effusion of blood, a barren squandering of strength and of public riches, and acts of violence and reciprocal reprisals shall have come to deepen an abyss between the two parties to the Confederation, to end definitively in their mutual exhaustion, and in the ruin, perhaps irreparable, of their commercial and political power.

" Our august master cannot resign himself to admit such deplorable anticipations. His Imperial Majesty still places his confidence in that practical good sense of the citizens of the Union who appreciate so judiciously their true interests. His Majesty is happy to believe that the members of the Federal Government, and the influential men of the two parties, will seize all occasions and will unite all their efforts to calm the effervescence of the passions. There are no interests so divergent that it may not be possible to reconcile them by laboring to that end with zeal and perseverance, in a spirit of justice and moderation. If, within the limits of your friendly relations, your language and your councils may contribute to this result, you will respond, sir, to the intentions of his Majesty the Emperor in devoting to this the personal influence which you may have been able to acquire during your long residence at Washington, and the consideration which belongs to your character, as the representative of a sovereign animated by the most friendly sentiments towards the American Union. This Union is not simply, in our eyes, an element essential to the universal *political* equilibrium. It constitutes, besides, a nation to which our august master, and all Russia, have pledged the most friendly interest; for the two countries, placed at the extremities of the two worlds, both in the ascending period of their development, appear called to a natural community of interests and of sympathies, of which they have already given mutual proofs to each other. I do not wish here to approach any of the questions which divide the United States. We are not called upon to express ourselves in this contest. The preceding considerations have no other object than to attest the lively solicitude of the Emperor in presence of the dangers which menace the American Union, and the sincere wishes which his Majesty entertains for the maintenance of that great work, so laboriously raised, which appeared so rich in its future. It is in this sense, sir, that I desire you to express yourself, as well to the members of the general Government as to influential persons whom you may meet, giving them the assurance that, in every event, the American nation may count upon the most cordial sympathy on the part of our august master during the important crisis which it is passing through at present."

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT AT RICHMOND.

The Confederate Congress met in its first session at Richmond, in the hall of the Virginia House of Delegates on the 20th of July, the day preceding the battle of Bull Run. About seventy members were present. The Message delivered by President Davis on the occasion of the opening was brief, and was chiefly occupied with an angry criticism of the recent Message of President Lincoln on the opening of the national Congress, with various harsh comments on the conduct of the war by the United States. After congratulating the members on the accession of the new States, "our loved and honored brethren of North Carolina and Tennessee," and Arkansas and Virginia which had consummated the action uniting them to "our Confederation of free and equally sovereign States," and announcing the removal of the archives to the new seat of government, President Davis proceeded: "Immediately after your adjournment, the aggressive movements of the enemy required prompt, energetic action. The accumulation of his forces on the Potomac sufficiently demonstrated that his efforts were to be directed against Virginia, and from no point could necessary measures for her defence and protection be so effectively decided as from her own capital. The rapid progress of events, for the last few weeks, has fully sufficed to lift the veil behind which the true policy and purposes of the Government of the United States had been previously concealed. Their odious features now stand fully revealed. The Message of their President, and the action of their Congress during the present month, confess their intention of the subjugation of these States by a war, by which it is impossible to attain the proposed result, while its dire calamities, not to be avoided by us, will fall with double severity on themselves. Commencing in March last with the affectation of ignoring the secession of seven States, which first organized the Government; persevering in April in the idle and absurd assumption of the existence of a riot, which was to be dispersed by a *posse comitatus;* continuing in successive months the false representation that these States intended an offensive war, in spite of conclusive evidence to the contrary, furnished as well by official action as by the very basis on which this Government is constituted, the President of the United States and his advisers succeeded in deceiving the people of these States into the belief that the purpose of this government was not peace at home, but conquest abroad; not defence of its own liberties, but subversion of those of the people of the United States. The series of manœuvres by which this impression was created; the art with which they were devised, and the perfidy with which they were executed, were already known to you; but you could scarcely have supposed that they would be openly avowed, and their success made the subject of boast and self-laudation in an executive message. Fortunately for truth and history, however, the President of the United States details, with minuteness, the attempt to reinforce Fort Pickens, in violation of an armistice of which he confessed to have been informed, but only by rumors, too vague and uncertain to fix the attention of the hostile expedition despatched to supply Fort Sumter, admitted to have been undertaken with the knowledge that its success was impossible. The sending of a notice to the Governor of South Carolina of his intention to use force to accomplish his object, and then quoting from his inaugural address the assurance that "there could be no conflict unless these States were the aggressors," he proceeds to declare his conduct, as just related by himself, was the performance of a promise, so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it; and in defiance of his own statement that he gave notice of the approach of a hostile fleet, he charges these States with becoming the assailants of the United States, without a gun in sight, or in expectancy, to return their fire, save only a few in the fort. He is, indeed, fully justified in saying that the case is so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world will not be able to misunderstand it. Under cover of this unfounded pretence, that the Confederate States are the assailants, that high functionary, after expressing his concern that some foreign nations had so shaped their action as if they supposed the early destruction of the national

Union probable, abandons all further disguise, and proposes to make this contest a short and decisive one, by placing at the control of the Government for the work at least four hundred thousand men, and four hundred millions of dollars. The Congress, concurring in the doubt thus intimated as to the sufficiency of the force demanded, has increased it to half a million of men. These enormous preparations in men and money, for the conduct of the war, on a scale more grand than any which the new world ever witnessed, is a distinct avowal, in the eyes of civilized man, that the United States are engaged in a conflict with a great and powerful nation. They are at last compelled to abandon the pretence of being engaged in dispersing rioters and suppressing insurrections, and are driven to the acknowledgment that the ancient Union has been dissolved. They recognize the separate existence of these Confederate States, by an interdictive embargo and blockade of all commerce between them and the United States, not only by sea, but by land; not only in ships, but in cars; not only with those who bear arms, but with the entire population of the Confederate States. Finally, they have repudiated the foolish conceit that the inhabitants of this Confederacy are still citizens of the United States; for they are waging an indiscriminate war upon them all, with savage ferocity, unknown in modern civilization."

"In this war," he continued, with a strange denial of the humane policy universally adopted by the national Government, and abundantly set forth in the proclamations of the commanding officers, "rapine is the rule; private houses, in beautiful rural retreats, are bombarded and burnt; grain crops in the field are consumed by the torch, and, when the torch is not convenient, careful labor is bestowed to render complete the destruction of every article of use or ornament remaining in private dwellings after their inhabitants have fled from the outrages of brute soldiery. In 1781, Great Britain, when invading the revolted colonies, took possession of every district and county near Fortress Monroe, now occupied by the troops of the United States. The houses then inhabited by the people, after being respected and protected by avowed invaders, are now pillaged and destroyed by men who pretend that Virginians are their fellow-citizens. Mankind will shudder at the tales of the outrages committed on defenceless families by soldiers of the United States now invading our homes; yet these outrages are prompted by inflamed passions and the madness of intoxication. But who shall depict the horror they entertain for the cool and deliberate malignancy which, under the pretext of suppressing insurrection (said by themselves to be upheld by a minority only of our people), makes special war on the sick, including children and women, by carefully-devised measures to prevent them from obtaining the medicines necessary for their cure. The sacred claims of humanity, respected even during the fury of actual battle, by careful diversion of attack from hospitals containing wounded enemies, are outraged in cold blood by a Government and people that pretend to desire a continuance of fraternal connections. All these outrages must remain unavenged by the universal reprehension of mankind. In all cases where the actual perpetrators of the wrongs escape capture, they admit of no retaliation. The humanity of our people would shrink instinctively from the bare idea of urging a like war upon the sick, the women, and the children of an enemy."

He then spoke in particular of the course pursued by the Government at Washington in the treatment of the privateersmen of the Confederacy as pirates, and of the measures which he had adopted in return. "There are other savage practices," said he, "which have been resorted to by the Government of the United States, which do admit of repression by retaliation, and I have been driven to the necessity of enforcing the repression. The prisoners of war taken by the enemy on board the armed schooner Savannah, sailing under our commission, were, as I was credibly advised, treated like common felons, put in irons, confined in a jail usually appropriated to criminals of the worst dye, and threatened with punishment as such. I had made application for the exchange of these prisoners to the commanding officer of the enemy's squadron off Charleston, but that officer had already sent the prisoners to New York when application was made. I therefore deemed it my duty to renew the proposal for the exchange to the constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, the only officer having control of the prisoners. To this end, I despatched an officer to him under a flag of truce, and in making the proposal, I informed President Lincoln of my resolute purpose to check all barbarities on prisoners of war by such severity of retaliation on prisoners held by us as should secure the abandonment of the practice. This communication was received and read by an officer in command of the United States forces, and a message was brought from him by the bearer of my communication, that a reply would be returned by President Lincoln as soon as possible. I earnestly hope this promised reply (which has not yet been received) will convey the assurance that prisoners of war will be treated, in this unhappy contest, with that regard for humanity which has made such conspicuous progress in the conduct of modern warfare. As measures of precaution, however, and until this promised reply is received, I still retain in close custody some officers captured from the enemy, whom it had been my pleasure previously to set at large on parole, and whose fate must necessarily depend on that of prisoners held by the enemy."

Returning again to President Lincoln's Message, he says: "There are some other passages in the remarkable paper to which I have directed your attention, having reference to the peculiar relations which exist between this government and the States usually termed the Border Slave States, which cannot properly be withheld from notice. The hearts of our people are animated by sentiments toward the inhabitants of these States, which found expression in your enactment refusing to consider them enemies, or authorize hostilities against them. That a very large portion of the people of these States regard us as brethren; that, if unrestrained by the actual presence of large armies, subversion of civil authority, and declaration of martial law, some of them, at least, would joyfully unite with us; that they are, with almost entire unanimity, opposed to the prosecution of the war waged against us, are facts of which daily-recurring events fully warrant the assertion that the President of the United States refuses to recognize in these, our late sister States, the right of refraining from attack upon us, and justifies his refusal by the assertion that the States have no other power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution. Now, one of them having ever been a State of the Union, this view of the Constitutional relations between the States and the General Government is a fitting introduction to another assertion of the Message, that the executive possesses power of suspending the writ of *habeas corpus*, and of delegating that power to military commanders at their discretion. And both these propositions claim a respect equal to that which is felt for the additional statement of opinion in the same paper—that it is proper, in order to execute the laws, that some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of citizens' liberty that practically it relieves more of the guilty than the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated. We may well rejoice that we have forever severed our connection with a Government that thus trampled on all principles of constitutional liberty, and with a people in whose presence such avowals could be hazarded."

After this earnest congratulation on the felicity of the Confederate States, the Message alludes to the measures rendered necessary for the increase of the army, exhibits the prosperous condition of the crops, takes a favorable view of the finances, and closes with the promise of an obstinate and protracted war. "The operations in the field will be greatly extended by reason of the policy which heretofore has been secretly entertained, and is now *avowed* and acted on by us. The forces hitherto raised provide amply for the defence of seven States, which originally organized in the Confederacy, and is evidently the fact, since, with the exception of three fortified islands, whose defence is efficiently aided by a preponderating naval force, the enemy has been driven completely out of those stations; and now, at the expiration of five months from the formation of the government, not a single hostile foot presses their soil. These forces, however, must necessarily prove inadequate to repel invasion by the half million of men now proposed by the enemy, and a corresponding increase of our forces will become necessary. In my message, delivered in April last, I referred to the promise of the abundant crops with which we were cheered. The grain crops, generally, have since been harvested, and the yield has proven to be the most abundant ever known in our history. Many believe the supply adequate to two years' consumption of our population. Cotton, sugar, tobacco, forming a surplus of the production of our agriculture, and furnishing the basis of our commercial interchange, present the most cheering promises ever known. Providence has smiled on the labor which extracts the teeming wealth of our soil in all parts of our Confederacy. It is the more gratifying to be able to give you this, because, in need of large and increased expenditure, in support of our army, elevated and purified by a sacred cause, they maintain that our fellow-citizens, of every condition of life, exhibit most self-sacrificing devotion. They manifest a laudable pride of upholding their independence, unaided by any resources other than their own, and the immense wealth which a fertilized and genial climate has accumulated in this Confederacy of agriculturists, could not be more strongly displayed than in the large revenues which, with eagerness, they have contributed to the call of their country. In the single article of cotton, the subscriptions to the loan proposed by the Government, cannot fall short of fifty millions of dollars, and will probably exceed that sum; and scarcely an article required for the consumption of our army is provided otherwise than by subscription to the produce loan, so happily devised by your wisdom. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report submitted to you, will give you the amplest details connected with that branch of the public service; but it is not alone in their prompt pecuniary contributions that the noble race of freemen who inhabit these States evidence how worthy they are of those liberties which they so well know how to defend. In numbers far exceeding those authorized by your laws, they have pressed the tender of their services against the enemy. Their attitude of calm and sublime devotion to their country, the cool and confident courage with which they are already preparing to meet the invasion, in whatever proportions it may assume; the assurance that their sacrifices and their services will be renewed from year to year with unfailing purpose, until they have made good to the uttermost their rights of self-government; the generous and almost unequivocal confidence which they display in their government during the pending struggle, all combine to present a spectacle, such as the world has rarely, if ever, seen. To speak of subjugating such a people, so united and determined, is to speak in a language incomprehensible to them; to resist attack on their rights or their liberties is with them an instinct. Whether this war shall last one, or three, or five years, is a problem they leave to be solved by the enemy alone. It will last till the enemy have withdrawn from their borders; till their political rights, their altars, and their homes are freed from invasion. Then, and then only, will they rest from this struggle, and enjoy, in peace, the blessings which, with the favor of Providence, they have secured by the aid of their own strong hearts and steady arms."

The victory achieved at Bull Run, following so close upon the opening of the session, was of course received with enthusiasm by the Congress. Immediately after the reading of the letter of President Davis from the battle field, given on a previous page,* Mr. Memminger, of South Carolina, offered the following stirring resolutions, which were unanimously adopted: "Resolved, that we recognize the hand of the Most High God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, in the glorious victory with which He hath crowned our army at Manassas; and that the people of the Confederate States are invited, by appropriate services, on the ensuing Sabbath, to offer up their united thanksgiving and praise for this mighty deliverance. Resolved, that, deeply deploring the necessity which has washed the soil of our country with the blood of so many of her noblest sons, we offer to their respective families and friends our warmest and most cordial sympathy, assuring them that the sacrifice made will be consecrated in the hearts of our people, and will there enshrine the names of the gallant dead, as the champions of free and constitutional liberty." In respect for the event, Congress, after the passage of the Resolutions, immediately adjourned. Sunday, the 28th of July, was in accordance with this recommendation, observed in the Confederate States as a day of thanksgiving; thus giving a new religious sanction and energy to the war, or at least enlisting the aid of the clergy in the cause, and promoting a public opinion in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the conflict.

---

* Ante, p. 402.

At a meeting at New Orleans the day following the "Thanksgiving," in aid of the soldiers wounded at Manassas, presided over by Gen. W. A. Elmore, the Rev. Dr. Palmer again addressed the assembly. He did not believe, he said, this would be a protracted war. "Protracted wars did not prevail among the civilized nations of the earth, but only among barbarians. Such a war would bankrupt any nation in one year. Even England, in the war with the Crimea, found herself pressed and worried to the extreme in furnishing her army with supplies. For what duration of time could the North hope to sustain 400,000 men? As to the issue, the enemy might as well throw their millions into the river as to expect to subjugate us. Our cotton gave us immense power. The millions in Europe depended on it for their bread. As to the blockade, we laughed it to scorn. The war must soon terminate or the civilized nations of Europe must become engaged in it; and he predicted our independence would be acknowledged before the first day of next year. But we would carry on this war until that end was accomplished." A resolution of the meeting expressed the conviction, "that we recognise in these victories, on the side of liberty, against tyranny and oppression, the hand of the same just and righteous God who guided the armies of the country when led by Washington in defence of its liberty; that our hearts are filled with gratitude to the Most High and Mighty Ruler of the universe, for that signal interposition in our behalf, manifested in the strength and courage given to our soldiers, and the terror which seized upon our enemies."

The spirit and resolve of the Government at Washington, in regard to the conduct of the war, representing a correspondent determination and energy on the part of the people, could not fail to make its impression upon the councils of the Confederate leaders. Conducted, as the administration of the government at Richmond was, with an extraordinary degree of secrecy and reserve, in communicating its intentions to the public, we have few opportunities of getting a clear insight into its policy and calculations. There was one occasion, however, on which it became necessary to speak. Military preparations might be made at various quarters, and little be disclosed of the general plan of action; the machinery of political agitation might be made to work noiselessly in influencing and coercing the opinions of the people; a subtle intangible species of authority over men's minds might be exerted without its influence being suspected; but, for one important and indispensable proceeding, a certain degree of publicity was absolutely inevitable. A general system of credit could not be established without the public being made a party to the affair. When money was wanted by the hundred millions to carry on the war, it had to be drawn from the pockets of a great many people to whom the least possible return which could be offered was to present them a sufficient explanation of the transaction. Conscious of the importance of this duty, the Confederate government assigned its performance to one of the most skillful and persuasive orators of the Southern States—no less a person than Vice-President Stephens—who was charged with the task of preparing the minds of the planters for the reception of the scheme of the Secretary of the Treasury, for the establishment of a basis of credit. On the 11th of July, accordingly, Mr. Stephens addressed his fellow-citizens at Augusta, Georgia, in a bold and artfully-planned speech, in which he certainly succeeded in making an unpleasant subject as palatable as possible, by investing it with complimentary political statements and earnest patriotic appeals. Arousing now the self-love of his audience, and now their pride, and even their fears, no charity preacher from the pulpit, blending persuasion with authority, ever more adroitly sheathed a financial appeal. The speech, in fact, covered a wide range, and as we have few such exhibitions of the plans and expectations of the Confederates, it is well worth while for us here to note its chief topics, and the manner in which they were presented. Throughout the whole of this contest we find no more candid and instructive commentator than Mr. Stephens.

"My business to-day," said he, stating the object of his mission, "is to unfold to you the exigencies of this war and its requirements. The Congress, it is known to you, provided for raising one hundred thousand men. Nobly, gallantly, and patriotically has that call been responded to, and is now being responded to. Thousands and tens of thousands (the exact number I am not able to state to you) have gone to the battle field. These men, however, must be clothed; they must be fed; they must be armed; they must be equipped. Wars can be sustained, not by men alone; it requires men and money. The gallant volunteers have responded on their part. The questions upon which I am to address you to-day relate to the importance of raising the necessary amounts of money to meet these requisitions. Upon the adjournment of the Congress from Montgomery to Richmond, the estimate was for one hundred thousand men for the first fiscal year. The amount estimated by the Secretary of the Treasury to meet the requirements to support an army of this number was fifty millions of dollars—a large amount. This amount must be raised. How to do it is the question. But, since that adjournment, since that estimate, this war has assumed a wider and broader range. It has taken on larger and more gigantic proportions, and instead of one hundred thousand men, we may have to send two hundred thousand to meet the enemy; instead of fifty millions of dollars, we may have, and the probability is, that we shall have to raise one hundred millions; and it may be, if it goes on and increases, that we shall have to raise more. The estimate, however, of the Secretary of the Treasury was fifty millions of dollars, and whatever number of men, and whatever amount of money, shall be necessary must be raised. We do not intend to be subjugated. Mr. Lincoln has increased his call from seventy-five thousand to four hundred thousand men. He has increased his demand for money from the five millions first asked for (the amount I do not exactly recollect), and asks his Congress, now in session, for four hundred millions of dollars. Whether he will raise his men or his money, I know not. All I have to say about it is, that if he raises his four hundred thousand men, we must raise enough to meet him, and if he raises his four hundred millions of money, we must raise enough to meet it."

Before entering upon the financial part of this proposition, Mr. Stephens roused the minds of his hearers by a glance at the military conditions of the position. "It is a war," said he, "of political and social existence, and unless we intend to be overridden and beaten down and subjugated, and to become the vassals of his mercenaries and myrmidons, we must every one of us—every man, every boy, and every woman—be prepared to do our duty. Our means in men and money are ample to sustain our independence. We have, upon a reasonable estimate, at least seven hundred thousand fighting men. Whether all these will be required to drive back his armed myrmidons I know not; but if they are, every man must go to the battle-field. He may think, and doubtless does, that four hundred thousand men will intimidate, subjugate, and overrun us. He should recollect, however, as we should, and reverently, too, that the 'race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,' but it is God that gives the victory. Four hundred thousand may be a formidable army against us, but it is not as formidable as the six hundred thousand led by Darius against the Grecian States; and we there have the example of much fewer numbers than we are, fighting a battle for right, for justice, for independence and for liberty. We have an example worthy of our imitation. Six hundred thousand Persians invaded Greece. These small States could bring against them but eleven thousand all told. The eleven thousand met the hosts of Persia, not the six hundred thousand, but all that could be brought against them, on the common plain. The eleven thousand, with valorous hearts, fighting for home, fighting for country, fighting for everything dear to freemen, put to flight the hosts of Persia, leaving sixty thousand slain upon the field. Men of the South, therefore, let this war assume its gigantic proportions, its most threatening prospects (nerving our hearts with the spirit of our Revolutionary fathers, when they were but three millions, and coped with Great Britain, the most powerful nation in the world)—animated by these sentiments, fighting for everything dear to us, fear not the result, recollecting that 'thrice armed is he who hath his quarrel just:' and as our fathers, in the bloody conflict of the Revolutionary War, appealed to the God of Battles for success in their cause, so may we, since we have the consciousness, in any event, that this is no war of our seeking."

From this somewhat stern view of the necessities of battle, the orator pleasantly passed to a political disquisition on the origin of the Constitution of the United States, which, he claimed as the work of Southern hands. Madison, he said, was its father, and "not a single pillar in the temple, not a single arch in this great building, was laid or reared, or constructed by Northern men;" and to this extraordinary assertion was added a declaration equally flattering to his auditors—that "during the time of our political existence, the administration of the Government was mostly under Southern hands and Southern policy." The rise of a new party, however, had changed all that; seven States, "in open, palpable violation" of their obligation to return fugitive slaves, had openly disregarded the Constitution, and it was then that the South, thinking it necessary to look out for new safeguards of security, had "resumed her sovereign power." They were now in the position of their Revolutionary fathers, asking to govern themselves as they pleased—a principle which the orator, for one, "would never surrender, though every valley from here to the Potomac should run with Southern blood, and every hilltop be bleached with Southern bones. Home, firesides, life, friends, and luxuries are dear, but there is something dearer to a true man than life, and home, and all. It is honor and independence. Let the enemy, therefore, make his calculation as wide and broad as he pleases. I say every true Southern heart is impressed with the magnitude of the responsibility that now rests upon us; and let every man be nerved to meet that responsibility at any and every cost. Our fathers pledged life, honor, and fortune for this principle, and I know we are not the degenerate sons, nor are we the degenerate daughters of the noble matrons of that day, that would sacrifice, lose, or surrender these principles at a less cost."

Having thus travelled round to the point with which he set out—a proper provision of the sinews of war—Mr. Stephens applied himself directly to his main intention—the attack upon the cotton crop of the planters, which he thus strategetically conducted:—"The men," said he, "are ample; the means to support them is the subject upon which I am to address to you, and how is the money to be raised? War, I tell you, costs treasure as well as blood. Have we the means? Can we cope with the North?—that is the question. We have not less than four thousand millions of taxable property within the Confederate States, upon the last minimum estimate. At last year's rates, we therefore could raise from one hundred millions to two hundred millions for years to come, and yet survive. The wealth of nations, the ability of nations to sustain war, depends not so much upon its taxable property as its productive capital. It is to the latter we must look for the means and ability to sustain war, for in times of war generally all business is interrupted. In this particular of productive capital, perhaps there is no people in the world more favored under heaven, and for which we ought to be grateful, not boastful, and it is one of those blessings for which we should return thanks. No nation in the world, with the same population, has such a continuous annual productive capital. I have not stated the wealth of the North; but it is not my purpose to detract from it. They were a people of wealth. Most of it, however, came from their connection and trade with us. They were an ingenious and manufacturing people. We are an agricultural people. Their interests and ours were all blended together. Our prosperity enabled them to become prosperous, and their States grew up by our trade and commerce. Most of their wealth, when you come to estimate it and look at it, was nothing but profits derived from our trade. Cut off that trade. Most of the wealth of the State of New York—and that State alone is estimated to be worth four hundred millions of dollars (that is, the taxable property of the State of New York)—and in what does it consist? Close up the harbor; cut off manufactures. What does it consist in? Bricks and mortar, and nothing else. And if the war last as long as the siege of Troy, in what will their wealth consist? It will disappear, for the bricks and mortar will be worth no more, unless there are tenants and the profits derived from labor, than the bricks and mortar in the arid plains of Babylon. Sixty-one millions of New England capital consist alone in cotton manufactures and cotton spindles. These factories look to us for our raw materials. This capital is now literally paralyzed; it is dead capital, and will be as long as this war lasts. Of their nominal products I do not now speak. Woolens, hats, shoes or silk, of every variety of dress I see before me, from the crowns of the heads of the fair ladies to the soles of their feet, all, nearly all, are supplied by the North, and there are eleven millions of annual produce from the sales of cotton goods alone. All this will be cut off, and other things will be equally cut off.

"The great difference between the North and the South to carry on the war—and this I say to you in prospect of a long war, for I wish our people to see the full magnitude, and to feel the full responsibility that rests upon us in it, and to see our responsibility to meet it—is this: The North sold us some two hundred and fifty millions annually. This was their riches; hence came their wealth; hence grew their cities. Their wealth was but the accumulation deposited from our commerce, just as the delta of the Nile was enriched above the lands of any other portion of Egypt by the deposit of the rich alluvial soil brought down from the mountains and deposited in it. The riches, money, and power of the North came in the same way. Our cotton was the source of it, and how Mr. Lincoln is to get his four hundred millions of dollars I do not know. That is a matter for him to determine, though I may say more about it before I get through; but at present it is sufficient to say that Lincoln has dammed up the water that turns the mill of Northern prosperity. How long the mill will run, time alone will determine. But it is not so with us. We grow breadstuffs enough to supply all our wants. We live in a heaven-favored land, for all the cereals grow here equally as well as in any other portion of the world—wheat, rye, oats, and corn in a great abundance. We could compete with the world in the production of these. We grow also the tobacco plant and rice. We live in the land of the fig-tree, the pomegranate and the vine. Hardly anything used as food but is grown in the Southern Confederacy, and we could, if need be, grow an abundance of everything except coffee. We therefore have the means, under the blessings of Heaven, to support ourselves, and keep upon the field every variety of cattle suitable for food or draft. We, therefore, can grow bread enough to support our people and keep from one to two hundred thousand men in the field. Let the blockade last, let the Western people be cut off from trade with us, and within the eleven Southern States we could for years carry on the war, support ourselves and our armies, and, rather than be subjugated and become vassals of Lincoln's power, fight it out beleaguered by blockade all around.

"But this is not our only capacity. We grow supplies that the nations of the earth must have—that is, the cotton. How the North is to do without it, as I have said, I cannot say. Hundreds of thousands are dependent upon it for their daily bread, and these people are now turned out of employment. Perhaps they are the men who, for want of bread, have joined in this unnatural and suicidal war, which will be to them as disastrous as to us. In England, perhaps no less than five millions of people depend upon cotton for their daily bread; in France, several hundred thousands, if not millions (I am not particular in my statistics). And when you come to take into consideration the amount of capital, the number of sailors, and the amount of tonnage employed in this trade, you will be still more surprised. Why, in the United States there are forty thousand seamen engaged in the transportation of cotton alone. And if you take into account the numbers in England, France, Germany, Holland and Bremen engaged in it, you will find that it will amount to not less than ten millions of money capital engaged in it. This, therefore, is an element of great power, the great motor of the commerce of the world. We grow it. There is no part of the world that grows it as we do. We supply the markets of the world. They must have it. I meet many asking about the blockade. I cannot to-day tell you how the blockade is to be raised. But there is one thing certain—in some way or other it will be obliged to be raised, or there will be revolution in Europe—there will be starvation there. Our cotton is the element that will do it. Steam is powerful, but steam is far short in its power to the tremendous power of cotton. If you look out upon the ocean to-day, and inquire into the secret agency of commerce, you will find that it is cotton that drives it, and the spindles and looms, from those in your own State to the remotest quarter of the world—it is this element of cotton that drives them; and it is this great staple which is the tremendous lever by which we can work our destiny, under Providence, I trust, against four hundred thousand, or against four times four hundred thousand. Upon a reasonable and ordinary estimate, we may grow four million bales of cotton. I am here to-day to discuss before you the fifty million loan, but I am frank to tell you it may be one hundred millions, and I think it probably will be. The proposition that the government makes is not to tax the people. The object of a wise and good government is to make the burdens fall as light upon the people as possible to meet every exigency. The proposition the government makes, therefore, is to take a loan in produce. In the grain-growing sections, the members of Congress solicit the loan in grain, army subsistence, meat, corn, wheat and flour We are not a grain-growing country. Our supply is cotton. I address you, therefore, solely on the subject of cotton.

"The object is to get along with as little tax as possible; but, my countrymen, do not suppose the government will not tax you if necessary; for I tell you the government does not intend to be subjugated; and if we do not raise the money by loans, if the people do not contribute, I tell you we intend to have the money, and taxation will be resorted to, if nothing else will raise it. Every life and dollar in the country will be demanded rather than you and every one of us shall be overrun by the enemy. On that you may count. The government, while it desires to carry on the war, establish your independence, and maintain the government, at the same time wishes to do it in such a way as not to cripple industry ; and while our men are in the field fighting the battles of their country, their brethren at home are discharging an equal duty, so that no serious detriment to public property will be sustained ; and we have the element to do this that no other people in the world have. Now then, if four millions of bales of cotton are made, upon an average price they will bring two hundred millions of dollars. If the cotton-planter will but lend, not give—lend to the government the proceeds of but one-half, that will be one hundred millions of dollars, double what the government wants, or did want when we adjourned—quite enough to keep two hundred thousand men in the field—the balance you can use as you please. I now will read to you, just at this part of my address, the proposition, upon which I will make some comments, for I wish every gentleman to understand it. It is not asking a donation ; the government simply wishes to control the proceeds of your cotton. The government proposes to give you a bond bearing eight per cent. interest, paying the interest semi-annually. It is not a gift or donation, but simply your surplus cotton, as much as you can spare. This is the proposition :

" ' We, the subscribers, agree to contribute to the defence of the Confederate States that portion of our crop set down to our respective names ; the same to be placed in warehouse or in the hands of our factors, and sold on or before the —— next.'

"Fix the day of sale as soon as you please ; the first of January, the first of February, or the first of March, if you please ; though I am aware the government wishes you to sell it as soon as convenient ; but let each planter consult his interest, and in the meanwhile consult the market. But to proceed :

" 'And our net proceeds of sale we direct to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Confederate States for bonds for the same amount, bearing eight per cent. interest.'

"There is the whole of it. The cotton planter directs his cotton to be sent into the hands of his factor, or his commission merchant. He only tells the government in the subscription the portion he can lend. He directs it to be sold, and the proceeds to be invested in Confederate bonds. I understand that a committee will be appointed before this meeting adjourns to canvass this county. Every planter, therefore, of Richmond county will be waited upon and afforded an opportunity to subscribe. I wish, therefore, to say to that committee and everybody, subscribe. I prefer your putting down first, your name ; second, the number of bales ; and I prefer you putting down the proportion of your crop. I want especially the number of bales, but would like also to know the proportion it bears to your crop. Let everybody, therefore, put down a portion of their crop, if it be two bales, or fifty bales, or one hundred bales, or five hundred bales. Inquiries have been made of me, and I take this opportunity to answer them : ' Whether these bonds will circulate as money—will they pay debts ?' On this point I wish no mistake. They are not intended as currency ; they are unfitted to answer the purpose of circulation. The bonds are larger than this paper. (A letter-sheet.) The obligation is on the upper part of it, and the whole of the lower part is divided into forty squares or checks. In each one of these checks the interest is counted for each six months for twenty years. The checks are called coupons, and all the party holding them has to do is every six months to clip off the lower coupon, send it to the Treasury and get his interest. The bond is not suitable to carry in your pocket-book and use. It would wear out. It is intended to represent a fixed capital or permanent investment—just so much as you can spare from your cotton crop. That is all. Instead of putting your surplus in lands, negroes, houses, furniture, useless extravagance or luxuries, just put it in Confederate bonds. But while I said it was not intended to circulate or to pay debts, I have not the least doubt that anybody who will sell his crop entire for bonds, will find no difficulty in getting the money for them, for they draw interest, and are better than money; and any man holding a note will give it up and take a bond, for a note draws but seven per cent., and this draws eight. I have no doubt that all minors and trust property will soon be invested in it. The entire amount of private funds in the State of Georgia, on private loans, I suppose is ten or twenty millions of dollars at seven per cent. All that amount will immediately find its way into these bonds, and hence a planter who sells his entire crop, and needs money, can get it from the money-lenders on these bonds. I have been frequently asked if these bonds were good. Well, I want to be equally frank upon that point. If we succeed, if we establish our independence, if we are not overridden, if we are not subjugated, I feel no hesitancy in telling you that it is the best government stock in the world that I know of. It is eight per cent. interest; and if we succeed in a short time—in a few years, if not more than one hundred millions or two hundred millions are issued, I have but little doubt they will command a considerable premium. The old United States stock (six per cent. bonds) five years ago commanded fifteen and sixteen per cent., and went as high as twenty per cent. Take the Central Railroad. The stock of that company commands fifteen per cent. premium now. These bonds pay eight per cent. semi-annually; therefore, if there is a short war, these bonds very soon will command fifteen or twenty per cent. But candor also compels me to state that if Lincoln overruns us—if we are subjugated, these bonds will not be worth a single dime, and nothing else you have will be worth anything. If we are overrun, they will be worth just as much as anything else you have, and nothing else you have will be worth anything. (Laughter.) So that is the whole of it."

Having thus fully unfolded his proposition, the orator offered some speculations on the probable duration of the war, not of a very hopeful character, for its short continuance. With these were interspersed reflections on alleged infringements of the Constitution by President Lincoln, such as his calling for an army and suspension of the Habeas Corpus privilege, without the special authority of Congress—a criticism which certainly lost much of its force from the position of the critic—an enemy in arms against the Government, whose powers, under the circumstances, he might naturally be disposed to depreciate. In fact, as a genuine secessionist, he considered it wholly "unconstitutional" to attempt forcibly to put down the rebellion.

It is curious to note the calculations of so well-read and thoughtful a man as the Confederate Vice-President at this time, and, "I tell you," said he, "the revolution is at the North. There is where constitutional liberty has been destroyed; and if you wish to know my judgment about the history of this war, you may read it in the history of the French Jacobins. They have become a licentious and lawless mob, and I shall not at all be surprised if in less than three years the leaders in this war, Lincoln and his Cabinet, its head, come to the gallows or guillotine, just as those who led the French war (applause); for human passions, when once aroused, are as uncontrollable as the elements about us. The only hope of mankind rests in the restraints of constitutional law, and the day they framed and ratified these lawless measures of Lincoln, they dug their own graves. They may talk of freedom and liberty, but I tell you no people without rulers sustained by constitutional law can be free. They may be nominally free, but they are vassals and slaves, and this unbridled mob, when they attempt to check it, Lincoln and the rest will be dealt with just as I tell you it was in France. Why, the conservative sentiment of the North is against this war. When I tell you it is fanatical, I do not mean that all men are fanatics. Just as the sturdiest trees of the forest yield to the blast of the storm, so have the friends of the Constitution yielded at the North. How is Lincoln to get those four hundred millions of dollars? I told you I might say something more about it. They have not the money. That is true. I suppose the North now might raise one hundred millions in gold and silver. I have not seen the returns of the banks. But their money-lenders are not going to lend it. Some say that the war is going to be a short one. No, my friends, do not lay the flattering unction to your souls. How did the Jacobins raise their money? Why, they laid their hands upon it; and this is the way they will do at the North. First they will issue scrip; but the Secretary of the Treasury cannot come up and tell them that it is wrong. He has not the nerve; and he might lose his head if he were to do it. They may issue four hundred millions of Treasury notes, and thus get along for twelve months, or perhaps for two years, before they are too much depreciated. They will then issue scrip against the rich man's property. What is to be the result of this war? I am not a prophet, but I look upon it as fraught with the most momentous consequences, not only to us, but to the people of the North. I have always believed that if the Union were destroyed the North would run into anarchy and despotism. We are the salt of the concern, and it is only questionable whether or not we have quit too soon. That is the only doubt I have. Where it will end I do not know, but never again will they enjoy constitutional government at the North. They never understood it. Constitutional liberty is a plant of Southern growth, watered by Southern hands, nurtured by Southern hands, and, if it is to be maintained, to live to light the world, it is to be done in the Southern Confederacy. At the North there is anarchy. Property will migrate just as it did in France. That is the end."

In conclusion, the orator, not without an eye to the object in hand, introduced that indispensable part of a well-regulated popular discourse, to an audience of both sexes, a compliment to the ladies, whose active participation in the support and encouragement of the rebellion, it must be admitted, well entitled them to the attention. "The patriotism of the women, I believe, throughout the country where I have been—the mothers and daughters—has not been behind the men, but even ahead of them. In Montgomery, when the order came from General Bragg for ten thousand sand bags, the women turned out on the Sabbath, as well as the week days, and completed the order in a very short time. In other places, where volunteer companies had been called out, the ladies have made the uniforms in a remarkably short space of time. In my own county, which has raised three hundred and fifty men, the ladies made the uniforms for the last company in two days, and it was ready to go with the rest. The ladies have done their duty as well as the men have. Richmond county has sent ten companies to the field. Nobly have you done your duty, and just as nobly have the women done theirs. And I wish you to understand, while I do not speak much to you, for the tented field is not your place, women exercise more influence even in war, perhaps, than anything else; and it is a problem whether they do not govern the world at last. It is their spirit which animates the soldier to fight. Some recollect the pious admonitions of their mothers, and others recollect the smiles and beaming countenances of some fair one at home. These are the sentiments which actuate our soldiers. The attractions of the women are a power like that which holds the orbs of the universe in their proper places. Now then, in this work you have much to do, and if the men are in doubt how much to subscribe, I am perfectly willing that they shall go home and ask their wives."

In addition to the "produce loan," for which the planters received the bonds of the Confederacy, the Congress at Richmond authorized the issue of one hundred millions of treasury notes, drawn payable to bearer at the expiration of six monthsafter the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States, and exchangeable for eight per cent. bonds, and imposed a direct tax, which was assumed by the States, of fifteen millions of dollars. A war tax was also imposed of fifty cents upon each one hundred dollars in value of real and personal estate, including slaves, horses, gold watches, gold and silver plate, pianos, and pleasure carriages. Property of the value of less than five hundred dollars, in the hands of a head of a family, was exempted. The States also borrowed large sums on their own credit, to place their quotas of troops in the field. Specie, naturally, was withdrawn from circulation on the first appearance of civil commotion, and the Confederate paper money depreciated rapidly in proportion as it was multiplied, and the trade and resources of the country were cut off. The usual phenomena of a vitiated currency were exhibited. Prices of commodities rose rapidly, and prudent dealers were accused of extortion when the value of their goods was enhanced by the blockade and interruption of traffic, and the return offered for them was comparatively worthless. Patriotism was appealed to, to give a fictitious value to the promises to pay of the government, and force, when necessary, to provide for the wants of the army, supplied the absence of patriotic confidence. Every principle of equity and the law of trade was set at nought, to give effect to the irredeemable paper thrown upon the country by the government, states, cities and corporations. It was the object of the government, of course, to keep the issue of treasury notes at the lowest point, and in accordance with this well-understood policy, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Memminger, was compelled to refuse an application from the planters for the purchase of their crops. Without the opportunity of selling their products, they were actually in want. The Secretary referred the planters to the local banks for aid, and advised a change of labor, from cotton to other commodities and pursuits more available for immediate subsistence. "Let them immediately take measures for winter crops, to relieve the demand for grain and provisions. Let them make their own clothing and supplies."*

The Confederate army was reported at this session of the Congress to number one hundred and ninety four regiments, and thirty-two battalions, besides other detachments, making, in all, over two hundred thousand men in the field. The President was authorized to increase this force by the addition of 400,000 volunteers, to serve for not less than twelve months, nor more than three years. It was resolved also to increase the naval force.

The post of Secretary of War, previously held by L. Pope Walker, of Alabama, was now taken by J. P. Benjamin, of Louisiana, when the latter was succeeded in his office of Attorney-General by Thomas Bragg, formerly Governor of North Carolina. Robert Toombs, of Georgia, also resigned the Secretaryship of State, and was succeeded by R. M. T. Hunter, recently United States senator from Virginia.

An act respecting alien enemies, passed at this session of the Congress, decreed that all citizens or subjects of any foreign nation or government, with which the Confederate States should be at war, should be liable to arrest, restraint or removal, and the President was especially directed, by proclamation, to require every male citizen of the United States, of fourteen years and upward, within the Confederate States, and adhering to the Government of the United States, and acknowledging the authority of the same, and not being a citizen of the Confederate States, to depart from the said States within forty days of the date of such proclamation. A proclamation was accordingly issued to this effect by Jefferson Davis, on the 14th of August. Another act sequestrated the property owned by, or for any alien enemy since the 21st of May, 1861, to be held for the indemnity of "any true and loyal citizen," who might be a sufferer by the Act of Confiscation passed by the United States Congress on the 6th of August. After a short session the Congress adjourned, to meet again in Richmond in November.

---

* C. G. Memminger to the Commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions to the Produce Loan, Oct. 17, 1861.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SOUTHERN PRIVATEERS.

THE communication to which President Davis, in his Message of July 20th referred as sent to President Lincoln, in relation to the captured privateersmen of the Savannah, was carried by Captain Thomas H. Taylor, of the Confederate cavalry, accompanied by an escort, to the lines of the Union army before Washington. The messenger was courteously received, and conducted to General Scott's headquarters at the capital. The letter which he bore read as follows: "RICHMOND, July 6, 1861. To Abraham Lincoln, President, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States:—Sir,—Having learned that the schooner Savannah, a private armed vessel in the service, and sailing under a commission issued by authority of the Confederate States of America, had been captured by one of the vessels forming the blockading squadron off Charleston harbor, I directed a proposition to be made to the officer commanding that squadron for an exchange of the officers and crew of the Savannah for prisoners of war held by this government 'according to number and rank.' To this proposition, made on the 19th ult., Captain Mercer, the officer in command of the blockading squadron, made answer on the same day that 'the prisoners (referred to) are not on board of any of the vessels under my command.' It now appears, by statements made without contradiction in newspapers published in New York, that the prisoners above mentioned were conveyed to that city, and have there been treated, not as prisoners of war, but as criminals; that they have been put in irons, confined in jail, brought before the Courts of Justice on charges of piracy and treason, and it is even rumored that they have been actually convicted of the offences charged, for no other reason than that they bore arms in defence of the rights of this government and under the authority of its commission. I could not, without grave discourtesy, have made the newspaper statements above referred to the subject of this communication, if the threat of treating as pirates the citizens of this Confederacy, armed for service on the high seas, had not been contained in your proclamation of the —— April last. That proclamation, however, seems to afford a sufficient justification for considering these published statements as not devoid of probability. It is the desire of this government so to conduct the war now existing as to mitigate its horrors as far as may be possible; and, with this intent, its treatment of the prisoners captured by its forces has been marked by the greatest humanity and leniency consistent with public obligation; some have been permitted to return home on parole, others to remain at large under similar condition within this Confederacy, and all have been furnished with rations for their subsistence, such as are allowed to our own troops. It is only since the news has been received of the treatment of the prisoners taken on the Savannah, that I have been compelled to withdraw these indulgencies, and to hold the prisoners taken by us in strict confinement. A just regard to humanity and to the honor of this government now requires me to state explicitly that, painful as will be the necessity, this government will deal out to the prisoners held by it the same treatment and the same fate as shall be experienced by those captured on the Savannah, and if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of any of the officers or the crew of the Savannah, that retaliation will be extended as far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man; and so barbarous as to disgrace the nation which shall be guilty of inaugurating it. With this view, and because it may not have reached you, I now renew the proposition made to the commander of the blockading squadron, to exchange for the prisoners taken on the Savannah, an equal number of those now held by us, according to rank. I am yours, &c., JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The Savannah spoken of in this letter was a small schooner of 54 tons, formerly employed as a pilot-boat in Charleston harbor. She was fitted out as a privateer with a single 18-pounder pivot-gun amidships; and with a crew of twenty men, commanded by Captain Thomas F. Harrison Baker, left Charleston on the 2d of June on her first cruise. On the following morning she captured the brig Joseph, of Rockland, Maine; and in the course of the day, while in company of that vessel, was fallen in with by the United States brig Perry, E. G. Parrott, Lieutenant Commanding. After some hours' pursuit and the exchange of several harmless shots, she was overtaken, and surrendered without further contest.[*] Lieutenant Parrott reported his capture to Flag Officer Stringham on the Minnesota, of the blockading squadron off Charleston. The Savannah was sent with a prize crew to New York, and her officers and crew were taken by the Minnesota to Hampton Roads, whence they were brought in the Harriet Lane to New York, and there placed in keeping of the United States Marshal in close confinement in the city prison. A bill of indictment for robbery on the high seas was promptly found by the Grand Jury, and on the 23d of July the prisoners, thirteen in number, were arraigned for trial, which was set down for the October term. At the appointed time the trial took place, the Hon. Judges Nelson and Shipman presiding, the cause of the United States being conducted by Mr. E. Delafield Smith, District Attorney, assisted by William M. Evarts and other learned counsel, while the defence was ably conducted by Daniel Lord, James T. Brady and others. The trial continued for seven days, and was allowed to take a wide range in the speeches of the counsel over the various political and other questions involved in the history and principles of the rebellion.[†] The result was a disagreement of the jury, eight, it is said, standing for conviction, and four for acquittal. The prisoners were then remanded to the custody of the marshals.

Whilst these proceedings were going on at New York, another trial of similar nature at Philadelphia, that of William Smith, a Confederate privateersman, taken on board of a recaptured prize, resulted in his being found guilty of the crime of piracy. A case had thus arisen for the exercise of that system of retaliation threatened under such circumstances by President Davis; and the opportunity was abundantly afforded in the possession of the numerous officers and other prisoners captured at Bull's Run, in the military prisons at Richmond. Accordingly, on the 10th of November, "a most exciting and painful scene," as it is described by Mr. Ely, whose diary we have already cited, occurred, when Brigadier-General Winder entered the apartment of the United States officers, adjoining the "Old Tobacco Warehouse," and, in the presence of some seventy-five of them, read the following order which he had been directed to execute by the Secretary of War: "C. S. A. War Department, Richmond, Nov. 9, 1861. Sir: You are hereby instructed to choose, by lot, from among the prisoners of war, of the highest rank, one who is to be confined in a cell appropriated to convicted felons, and who is to be treated in all respects as if such convict, and to be held for execution in the same manner as may be adopted by the enemy for the execution of the prisoner of war, Smith, recently condemned to death in Philadelphia. You will also select thirteen other prisoners of war, the highest in rank of those captured by our forces, to be confined in the cells reserved for prisoners accused of infamous crimes, and will treat them as such so long as the enemy shall continue so to treat the like number of prisoners of war captured by them at sea, and now held for trial in New York as pirates. As these measures are intended to repress the infamous attempt now made by the enemy to commit judicial murder on prisoners of war, you will execute them strictly, as the mode best calculated to prevent the commission of so heinous a crime. Your obedient servant, J. P. Benjamin, Acting-Secretary of War."

---

[*] Lieutenant Parrott to Flag Officer Stringham. U. S. Brig Perry, at Sea, June 5, 1861.

[†] See the full report of the trial by A. F. Warburton, Stenographer. 8vo. New York, 1862.

Colonel W. Raymond Lee, of the 20th Massachusetts Regiment, who had been recently captured at the massacre at Ball's Bluff, was then handed six slips of paper, bearing the names of the six United States Colonels, held as prisoners by the Confederates, which he was required to deposit in a deep tin case provided for the purpose—the duty being assigned to Mr. Ely of drawing one of the lots forth to consign an officer to a felon's dungeon and treatment of the convicted pirate Smith. The lot thus drawn fell upon Colonel Michael Corcoran, then held as a prisoner in Castle Pinckney, Charleston Harbor. Colonel Alfred M. Wood, of Long Island, of the 14th New York Regiment, who had fallen into the hands of the enemy wounded at Bull Run, and who had now recovered, was another of the hostages. The name of Captain J. B. Ricketts, the commander of the celebrated battery of the 1st Artillery, who was wounded and taken prisoner in the main action in the same battle, was drawn, but he was exempted on account of his illness. The list of thirteen hostages for the crew of the Savannah, finally stood—Colonels Lee, Wilcox, Cogswell, Wood and Woodruff; Lieutenant-Colonels Bowman and Neff; Majors, Potter, Revere and Vodges; Captains Rockwood, Bowman and Keffer. "The officers selected from among us," adds Mr. Ely, "behave most gallantly. They will not shrink from their fate, whatever it may be. I think they may be retained awhile as hostages, but cannot apprehend any danger as to their ultimate safety. Our Government will never permit the privateersmen to be prosecuted to conviction; and even should that be done, will never execute them."*

The argument on this matter was presented with acuteness and feeling by the Hon. Charles P. Daly, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas of New York, in a letter written to the Hon. Ira Harris, United States Senator from the State, on the 21st of December, 1861. Recognizing privateering, as it is held by the whole country, to be "a legitimate mode of making war," he asks, "what is the difference between the Southern soldier, who takes up arms against the Government of the United States on the land, and the Southern privateersman who does the same on the water?" "Practically," he answers the question, "there is none; and if one should be held and exchanged as a prisoner of war, the other is equally entitled to the privilege." It was upon this ground of the practical inconvenience of carrying on a great war upon the principles justly laid down for suppressing an insurrection, that the decision of this matter ultimately rested. As the prisoners were not acting by authority of a recognized State, they technically became pirates, and must be considered as such, when the question was pressed by the Courts. It was for the Government to interpose, as they afterwards did, and relieve judge and jury of the dilemma. An urgent plea for the relaxation or abandonment of the ground originally taken by President Lincoln undoubtedly existed in the acts of retaliation, in the imprisonment of the Union officers, and the impending threats of their execution should the sentence, pronounced upon the privateers, be carried out; but there is every reason to believe that, without this pressure on the part of the government of Jefferson Davis, the decree would not have been enforced. The policy of the administration at Washington was in every respect humane and conciliatory. If, theoretically, the South was denied the privileges of a belligerent, it must be remembered that the practice, under that rule, secured her many exemptions and privileges which would have been denied to a foreign nation. The South called for the rights of a belligerent; the North held aloof from the application, refusing meanwhile to inflict the pains and penalties to which a foreign belligerent would have been liable.

The whole matter is well treated by Judge Daly, with a just appreciation of the necessities of the case and the considerate policy of President Lincoln's administration. "Neither the Constitution of the United States," says he, "nor the act against piracy were framed in view of any such state of things as that which now exists. The civil war now prevailing is, in its magnitude, beyond anything previously known in history. The revolting States hold possession of a large portion of the territory of the Union, embracing a great extent of sea-coast, and including some of our principal cities and harbors. They hold forcible possession of it by means of an army estimated at 300,000 men, and are practically exercising over it all the power and authority of government. They claim to have separated from the United States, to have founded a government of their own and are in armed resistance to maintain it. To reduce them to obedience and to recover that of which they hold forcible possession, it has been necessary for us to resort to military means of more than corresponding magnitude, until the combatants on both sides have reached to the prodigious number of a million of men. The principal nations of Europe, recognizing this state of things, have conceded to the rebellious States the rights of belligerents, a course of which we have no reason to complain, as we did precisely the same thing toward the States of South America in their revolt against the government of Spain. It is natural that we should have hesitated to consider the Southern States in the light of belligerents before the rebellion had expanded to its present proportions, but now we cannot, if we would, shut our eyes to the fact that war, and war upon a more extensive scale than usually takes place between contending nations, actually exists. It is now, and it will be continued to be, carried on upon both sides, by a resort to all the means and appliances known to modern warfare, and unless we are to fall back into the barbarism of the middle ages, we must observe in its conduct those human usages in the treatment and exchange of prisoners which modern civilization has shown to be equally the dictates of humanity and of policy."

---

* Journal of Alfred Ely, November 12, 1861, p. 208.

The practical difficulties of pursuing a contrary course, in face of the retaliation system of Jefferson Davis, was forcibly presented. "For every seaman that we have arrested as a pirate, they have incarcerated a Northern soldier, to be dealt with exactly as we do by the privateersman. We have convicted as pirates four of the crew of the Jefferson Davis, and there are others in New York awaiting trial. Are these men tc be executed? If they are, then by that act we deliberately consign to death a number of our own officers and soldiers, most of whom owe their captivity and present peril to the heroic courage with which they stood by their colors on a day of disastrous flight and panic. If such a course is to be pursued, it will not be very encouraging for the soldier now in arms for the maintenance of the Union, to know that what may be asked of him is, to fight upon one side, with the chance of being hanged upon the other; and in face of the enemy, with his line broken, instead of rallying again he may, in view of the possibility of a halter, consider it prudent to retire before the double danger. If, on the other hand, we convict these men as criminals and pause there, then the crime of which we have declared them to be guilty is not followed by its necessary consequence, the proper punishment. There is no terror inspired and no check interposed by such a procedure, for the plainest man in the South knows that the motive which restrains us from going further is the fact that the execution of these men as pirates seals the doom of a corresponding number of our own people; that the account is exactly balanced; that, with ample means of retaliation, they have the power to prevent; or, if mutual blood is to be shed in this way, *we*, and not they, will have commenced it. By such a course nothing is effected, except to keep our own officers and soldiers in the cells of Southern prisons, subject to that mental torture produced by the uncertainty of their fate, which, with the majority of men, is more difficult to bear than the certainty of death itself, and oblige them to endure, in the ill-provided and badly-conducted prisons in which they are confined, sufferings, the sickening details of which are constantly before us in their published letters to their friends. 'I little thought,' writes the gallant Colonel Cogswell, of the regular service, 'when I faced the storm of bullets at Edwards' Ferry, and escaped a soldier's death upon the field, that it was only to be left by my country to die upon the gallows.' And the nature of their sufferings will be understood when it is told that the noble-hearted and self-sacrificing Colonel Corcoran was handcuffed and placed in a solitary cell, with a chain attached to the floor, until the mental excitement produced by this ignominious treatment, combining with a susceptible constitution and the infectious nature of the locality, brought on an attack of typhoid fever."

"Shall this state of things," he asked, "continue? Let us take counsel of our common sense. These men are treated as criminals because, while we give to the Southern soldier the rights of war, for numerous exchanges of soldiers have taken place, we convict the Southern mariner of a crime punishable with death. Is there any reason, even upon the grounds of policy, for making this distinction? We have, by the blockade of the whole Southern coast, cut the privateersman off from bringing his prize into the ports of the South for adjudication, and the ports of all neutral nations being closed against him for such a purpose, he is deprived of the means of making lawful prize, and must eventually convert his vessel into a ship-of-war, or degenerate into a pirate, by unlawful acts which will make him amenable to the tribunal of every civilized nation. The comparative injury that may be done to our commerce by the few privateers which it will now be in the power of the rebellious States to maintain upon the ocean, is as nothing compared to the disastrous and lasting consequences to the whole nation, to its industry, its commerce and its future, that would grow out of making this war one of retaliatory vengeance. We have the fruitful experience of history to admonish us that in such acts are sown the seeds of the dissolution of nations, and especially of republics. By according to the rebellious States the rights of belligerents, at least to the extent of exchanging prisoners, whether privateersmen, man-of-war's men, or soldiers, we do not concede to them the rights of sovereignty. There is a well-defined distinction between the two, recognized by the United States Court in the case of Rose *vs.* Himmley, 3 Cranch, 241. One may exist without the other, and by exchanging prisoners, therefore, we concede nothing and admit nothing, except what everybody knows, that actual war exists, and that, as a Christian people, we mean to carry it on according to the usages of civilized nations. The existing embarrassment is easily overcome. All further prosecution can be stopped, and in respect to the privateersmen who have been convicted, the President, acting upon the suggestion of the Court that tried them, can, by the exercise of the pardoning power, relieve them from their position as criminals, and place them in that of prisoners of war.

"In conclusion," he adds, "we are not to forget that we are carrying on this war for the restoration of the Union, that every act of aggression not essential to military success will but separate more widely the two sections from each other, and increase the difficulty of cementing us again in one nationality. We are to remember that the people of the South, whose infirmity it has been to have very extravagant ideas of their own superiority, and whose contempt of the people of the North has been in proportion to their want of information respecting them, have been hurried into their present position by the professional politicians and large landed proprietors, to whom they have hitherto been accustomed to confide the management of their public affairs; that though prone to commit outrageous acts when under the influence of excitement, they are upon the whole a kindly and affectionate people, and have, when not blinded by passion, a very keen perception of their own interests; that there are throughout the South thousands of loyal hearts paralyzed by excitement around them, who still cling to the flag of their fathers and await the delivering stroke of our armies. Relying on our superior naval and military strength, and the settled determination of our people that this nation shall not be dismembered, we can, as the Swiss Cantons recently did in a similar crisis, put down this rebellion. That great duty imposes upon us all the exigencies of war. War, when conducted in accordance with the strictest usages of humanity, is, as all who have shared in the recent battles know, a sufficiently bloody business, and if we are to add to its horrors by hanging up all who fall into our hands as traitors or pirates, we leave the South no alternative but resistance to the last extremity, and should we ultimately triumph, we would have entailed upon us, as the consequence of such a policy, the bitter inheritance of maintaining a Government by force over a people conquered, but not subdued."

In a debate on this question of the treatment of prisoners, announced in the proclamation of President Lincoln in the British House of Lords in the month of May, it was evidently the voice of the English Government that, in whatever light the United States might regard the acts of those claimed to be her subjects, that Great Britain, having recognized the Confederates as belligerents, could not regard their privateers as pirates. "There was no doubt," said the Lord Chancellor, "that if an Englishman, engaged in the service of the Southern States, he violated the law of the country and rendered himself liable to punishment, and that he had no right to trust to the protection of his native country to shield him from the consequences of his act. But though that individual would be guilty of a breach of the law of his own country, he could not be treated as a pirate, and those who treated him as a pirate would be guilty of murder." Under the various embarrassments of the question, the United States Government desisted from its prosecution of the captured privateers as pirates, and treated them simply as prisoners of war.

The vessels fitted out by the Confederates as privateers were chiefly the coasting and Gulf steamers lying in the Southern harbors which the blockade had rendered useless for their usual purpose, several revenue-cutters, the property of the United States, which had been seized in the ports, a number of schooners and pilot-boats—a motley fleet not exceeding, perhaps, fifty in all in the early months of the war. At first their movements from New Orleans, Charleston and other ports, were exceedingly annoying to the merchant service in the

Gulf of Mexico and adjacent waters, but the blockade soon deprived them of places of refuge, and the obstacles thrown in their way by the foreign governments in the West India Islands proved a formidable check to their efficiency. Formerly, before steam was introduced on the ocean, the privateers had many opportunities which the use of the new element of navigation has denied them. They could keep longer at sea without fresh supplies or repairs, but at present the necessity of constantly renewing their fuel requires depots of coal and a frequent resort to harbor. No sailing privateer can keep out of the way of a fleet of steamers, and no privateer steamer can long keep afloat driven from one unfriendly harbor to another. With several important exceptions, as the Sumter and the Nashville, the Southern privateers thus failed to execute those threats of destruction upon which so much reliance appears to have been placed as a means of injury to the Northern merchants at the beginning of the war. A number of prizes, indeed, were made, and the rise of marine insurance exhibited a proper respect for the powers of mischief of these adversaries, but the result was far less than was expected. Some alarm was at one time felt for the safety of the Aspinwall steamers constantly passing through the Gulf, carrying the millions of the gold product of California ; but relying on their fleetness and some extra means of defence for resistance or escape should they be attacked, they experienced no interference from the enemy.

The story of several of the privateering vessels of the Confederates is of interest. Reserving for a special chapter the remarkable adventures of the Sumter, we may here glance at some of the more noticeable incidents in the fortunes of her companions. Among the United States craft seized by the insurgents in the Southern ports, was the revenue-cutter General Aikin, which was taken possession of in Charleston harbor. At the outbreak of the rebellion re-named the Petrel, and fitted out as a privateer, under the command of William Perry of South Carolina, this dashing military schooner was, on the 1st of August, 1861, off the harbor of Charleston when her officers descried what appeared to them an easy subject for capture in an approaching lumbering merchantman, to which they immediately gave chase. This was the United States frigate St. Lawrence, then on a cruise along the Atlantic coast in quest of piratical craft of the enemy. To disguise her real character, her port-holes were closed and her men kept carefully out of sight. The commander of the Petrel, misled by the deception, bore down upon the innocent-looking vessel, which, apparently intent upon escape, was seen hoisting sail and seemingly making every effort to get away, while in reality she was choosing her own position and gaining time to make preparation below for bringing her effective batteries into action. Presently a couple of shots from the Petrel were fired across the bows of the St. Lawrence, followed by a discharge of cannister striking the rigging. As the privateer thus came within range, her crew were seen at work at the guns, while an officer on her deck was calling on the supposed merchantman to heave to and send a boat alongside. The frigate then suddenly threw up her ports and opened a terrific fire upon her rash assailant. The destruction was instantaneous. A shell struck the galley, entered the hold, and exploded, tearing the vessel fearfully and bringing her to a sinking condition. Part of the crew threw themselves overboard or sought refuge in the life-boat, holding up a flag of surrender. The boats of the St. Lawrence were immediately lowered, and as the Petrel sank in the waves, her surviving officers and men were rescued and brought on board of the frigate. Four of the privateer's crew thus perished with the sinking vessel, and thirty-six were captured and carried in the United States gunboat Flag to Philadelphia. Lieutenant Harvey, one of the officers of the Petrel, a Southerner by birth, was formerly a midshipman of the United States navy, and had sailed under Captain Sartori of the Flag. Perry, the captain of the privateer, is described as about sixty-five years of age, a native of North Carolina, and well known as one of the Charleston pilots. The crew were generally Irishmen by birth.

The fate of one of the vessels captured by the Confederate privateers involved a tale of revenge—one of those tragedies of the seas, with its bloody incidents of piratical adventure, well calculated to send a thrill of horror through the community, but which was at the time regarded simply as an act of self-defence, or of righteous retribution—an admission of those penalties of war on the ocean with which the public was acquiring a strange familiarity on land. The circumstances were these. On the Fourth of July the schooner S. J. Waring, of Brookhaven, Francis Smith, master, sailed from New York for Montevideo, with an assorted cargo, and on the third day out, a hundred and fifty miles from Sandy Hook, was brought to by the rebel privateer brig Jeff. Davis, despoiled of such portions of her freight as were thought desirable by her captors, deprived of her captain, the two mates, and two seamen; leaving the negro steward, William Tillman, two seamen and Mr. Bryce Mackinnon, a passenger. A prize crew was added, consisting of Montague O'Neil, a Charleston pilot, in command, one Stevens as mate, and Malcolm Skiddy as second mate, and two men. Thus manned, the schooner's course was directed towards Charleston, S. C., with the view of entering that port. The original members of the crew were employed in navigating the vessel, entertaining hopes of recapture till their arrival, after protracted voyaging in the vicinity of their destination. The negro steward Tillman, a man of uncommon resolution, fearful of being carried into slavery, then determined to gain possession of the schooner, and take her to her owners in New York. His proceedings for this purpose were of the most summary and decided character. Having secured the assistance of William Stedding, a German, one of the original seamen—the other would not listen to his proposal—he prepared to carry his intention into effect. This was simply to catch the officers asleep, murder them in their beds, and take command of the vessel. After watching two nights without success, his comrade warned him of the looked-for opportunity about midnight of the sixteenth, when he rose from his bed, armed himself with a hatchet, and stole to the state-room of the captain, which was open to the cabin—the door having been removed for ventilation. His blow was a sure one, as he struck the sleeper on the head, fearfully cleaving his skull. He then crossed to the second mate's room, and inflicted a similar blow, somewhat less violent in its effect. The man rose staggering from his couch with an oath; while his assailant rushed on deck and confronted the mate who had been aroused by the outcry from his sleeping position on the cabin roof, in front of the wheel. Stedding, the accomplice, was steering, with a pistol in his hand ready for use when the negro drove his hatchet into the mate's skull, and the two quickly tumbled him over into the sea. Tillman then returned to the cabin and completed his relentless work with the hatchet on his two dying victims, while his companion kept guard with his pistol. They then dragged their mangled bodies to the deck and consigned them to the deep. It was a bright moonlight night of extraordinary beauty—one of those brilliant nights which will be remembered with the march of the army of the Potomac toward Manassas — the moon of Bull Run. The passenger, Mackinnon, awaked by the sound of the first blow, unable to offer resistance, had he been disposed, quietly witnessed the scene in the cabin. The two privateer seamen yet remained. One of them roused from his sleep on deck, seeing that the officers were gone, quietly submitted to being put in irons, and the other, who was in the forecastle, as readily agreed to assist in working the vessel. The next morning the former was released, and joined his comrade in his task.

When Tillman took possession of the schooner she was about fifty miles to the south, and a hundred to the east of Charleston, making for that harbor. He immediately changed her course for the North. None of the party knew anything of navigation, but the wind was fair, the weather propitious, and, trusting to keep along the land, they steered boldly onward. The guidance and main conduct of the vessel depended upon Mackinnon, Stedding and the steward, two of whom were obliged always to be on deck armed to secure the fidelity of the others. On the third day they made the land, and sounded their way along till on the morning of Sunday, the twenty-first—the day of Bull Run—they reached Sandy Hook, and were safely piloted to New York. The vessel was then taken in charge by the harbor police, the two Southerners led to prison, and the rest of the company detained as witnesses.

Great curiosity was at once manifested to hear and know everything relating to the hero of this adventure, whose courage and determination had been so sternly exhibited in rescuing the property of his employers from piratical depredators, and incidentally vindicating the authority of the national flag. It was ascertained that he was born of free-colored parents about twenty-seven years ago in Milford, Delaware, that he had been carried to Providence, R. I., when he was fourteen, and that he had followed the sea for ten years, and had been for some time in the employ of Jonas Smith and Co., a firm in Front Street, New York, the owners of the vessel he had brought home. A diligent reporter of the press further described him as "of medium height, rather strongly built, crisp hair, of nearly unmixed negro blood, and bearing in his countenance an expression of honesty and strong common sense, with some touches of humor." Further, to gratify the interest of the public, his portrait was taken by the photographers, and might be seen exhibited in the shop windows in Broadway, and somewhat less faithfully presented in the rude wood-cuts of the "illustrated papers" on the sidewalks. Negro Tillman was in fact, with a wide circle, the lion of the hour; thousands had eyes to gaze upon him, and ears to listen to his story, the facts of which he narrated with the utmost coolness and directness, softening the horrors of the description, at the cue of his visitors, with the most exhilarating patriotic emotions. Indeed, his audience was likely to prove so great that sad inroads would have been made upon his time, had he not hit upon an expedient tending to relieve him of a portion of his company, and by the same process make the society of the rest profitable and satisfactory. By an arrangement with the eminent showman, Mr. Phineas T. Barnum, he was enabled to hold his court with some degree of public privacy, on the usual terms of admission at the Museum, opposite the Park, where, the large class with whom seeing is believing, might, according to the promise of the advertisement, hear him relate "his experiences with the Southern chivalry," and behold, with their own eyes, "the secession flag which the rebels made out of the schooner's American flag, also a rebel cutlass, and the identical hatchet with which he killed the ocean robbers." It was the sight of this outrage to the stars and stripes on board the vessel, he was encouraged to say, which, above all other motives, had moved him to his deed of violence.

Tillman became also quite a prominent personage by the illustration which his case afforded of maritime law. An interesting question immediately arose as to his rights of salvage. The Board of Underwriters took it into consideration, and distinguished counsel volunteered to defend his claims. It was said that, as one of the hands of the vessel, he had done no more than his duty, and was hardly entitled to this legal privilege; but it was at the same time admitted that his conduct had been so meritorious that he was entitled to the amplest remuneration generosity could dictate. When the question was brought before the Courts, it was decided that Tillman was entitled to salvage, and a large sum thus passed into his hands.

The privateer Jeff. Davis, the captor of the Waring, we may here mention, was, several weeks after, on the morning of Sunday, the 19th of August, wrecked in attempting to cross the bar at the entrance to the port of St. Augustine. Her heavy guns were thrown overboard in the fruitless effort to relieve her and save the supplies which she had captured. The crew however, escaped, and were received with triumph by the people of St. Augustine. The ladies threw open their houses with every demonstration of joy in congratulation of the safety of the privateersmen, enhanced by the relief which their arrival afforded, from the dread of a visit from a Yankee cruiser, for which the Jeff. Davis had been at first mistaken, her Confederate flag, it was supposed, having been hoisted for purposes of deception.* The *Charleston Mercury* tells us how "the town bells rung out a joyous peal of welcome, and the people vied with each other in their courtesies to the shipwrecked ones," adding, as an obituary of the venturesome craft: "The name of the privateer Jeff. Davis had become a terror to the Yankees. The number of her prizes and the amount of merchandise which she captured has no parallel since the days of the Saucy Jack." This notable Jeff. Davis was commanded by Captain Coxetter of Florida, described as "a gentleman of large experience upon the sea, having been in the merchant service in various capacities until the Mexican war, when he was master of a transport vessel in the Gulf of Mexico, and became thoroughly conversant with the ports of Mexico and the West India Islands, as well as the coast of the United States. After the war, he took charge of a steamer running from Charleston, S. C., to Jacksonville and Pilatka, East Florida, in which capacity he became extensively known to the travelling public as the polite and popular captain of the Carolina, and afterwards the Everglade."* Her First-Lieutenant, Portell, was at one time a midshipman in the United States navy, and had held a position in the Savannah Custom-House. The Jeff. Davis herself had a characteristic previous history. She was formerly the slaver Echo, which had been captured about two years previously and condemned in Charleston harbor. She was a full-rigged brig, having a general resemblance to a whaler, and mounted a long 18-pound pivot-gun amidships, two short 18-pound guns in the waist, and two short 12-pounders on the top-gallant forecastle. The month before she was wrecked she had made a dashing and highly successful cruise along the Eastern shore, running in as near as Nantucket shoals, whither the sloop-of-war Vincennes was sent in haste to look after her. Her last adventure, previous to her destruction, was the capture of the ship John Crawford from Philadelphia, bound to Key West, with arms and coal for the United States forces. The officers and crew, twenty-two in number, were taken on board the privateer, and the captured vessel, drawing too heavily to be brought into any of the accessible Southern ports, was fired, and holes being bored in her sides and bottom, she quickly sank in flames.

---

* Statement of F. C. Dutneux, one of the crew of the Jeff. Davis, to the *Richmond Enquirer*.

---

* *Port Byron* (N. Y.) *Gazette*, ed. by B. W. Thompson, a refugee from Florida. New York *Tribune*, Sept. 3, 1861.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EXTRA SESSION OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

THE extra session of Congress closed at Washington on the 6th of August. Its legislation was almost exclusively confined to acts bearing immediately upon the prosecution of the war—the maintenance of the army in the field and provisions for its enlargement and efficiency, the increase of the navy, the financial measures and adjustments required for meeting the necessary expenses, and the determination, to a certain extent, of the policy to be pursued toward the rebellious States. The most ample resources of men, money and material were placed in the hands of the Government for the prosecution of the war. The President was authorized to accept the services of volunteers "for the purpose of repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, enforcing the laws and preserving and protecting the public property," to the number of five hundred thousand, to be called for as, from time to time, he might think necessary, for a term of service not less than six months nor more than three years. Nine regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of artillery were authorized to be added to the regular army. Ten millions of dollars were set apart for the purchase of arms in addition to other appropriations of the kind. A section in the "act making appropriations for fortifications and other purposes," provided the abolishment of flogging as a punishment in the army, a similar enlightened enactment having been made some years before for the regulation of the navy. The pay of the privates in the regular army and volunteers was fixed for three years at thirteen dollars per month. A section of the act securing this increased remuneration, legalized all the acts, proclamations and orders of the President respecting the army and navy, and the militia and volunteers after his inauguration, and before the meeting of Congress, "to the same intent and with the same effect as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority and direction of the Congress of the United States." This met the most important of the provisions of the joint resolution for the approval and confirmation of certain acts of the President which was discussed at various times during the session without a final vote being taken.*

Liberal appropriations were also made for the enlargement and support of the navy, and the general efficiency of the department. The Secretary was authorized to hire, purchase or contract for such vessels as might be necessary for the temporary increase of the service, and furnish them with the requisite munitions, and for this purpose and "to suppress piracy, and to render more effective the closing of the ports of the insurgents," three millions of dollars were specially appropriated. A million and a half of dollars were appropriated for the construction of one or more armored or iron or steel-clad steamships or floating steam batteries, to be expended by the Secretary of the Navy, on the report and approval of the plans and specifications of a board of three skillful naval officers. Twelve small side-wheel steamers of light draught and great speed were ordered to be built with the least possible delay, and twelve hundred thousand dollars were appropriated for the purpose. Enlistments were to be made by the Secretary for the term of three years or during the war, of "such number of able seamen, ordinary seamen and boys as he might judge necessary and proper to place the entire navy of the United States, and all vessels that may be added to it, in a state of the utmost efficiency for active service." To assist the Secretary in the labors of the department, the President was directed to appoint an Assistant Secretary of the Navy. This office was conferred upon Lieutenant G. V. Fox, a gentleman of great practical experience, not only by his early duties as an officer in the United States navy and the mercantile service of the Atlantic and Gulf steamers, but by his general efficiency as a man of business. Since his employment by the Government in the attempted relief of Fort Sumter, he had held the post of Chief Clerk in the Navy Department. His promotion was hailed with pleasure as a promise of increased vigor in the service.

---

* Ante, p, 363.

To meet the financial requirements of the war, the Secretary of the Treasury, in general accordance with his recommendations,* was authorized to borrow the sum of two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, for which bonds and treasury notes were to be issued, as might be expedient. The bonds were to be irredeemable for twenty years, and were to bear interest not exceeding seven per cent. ; the treasury notes of a denomination not below fifty dollars were to be payable three years after date, with annual interest at the rate of $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent., while to facilitate the disbursements of the Government and the payment of revenues, lower denominations of treasury notes, not below five dollars, to the extent of fifty millions of dollars, were authorized to be used for these purposes. The exclusive use of the Sub-Treasury was modified by allowing the Government to deposit its funds with solvent banks, a measure which, taken in connection with the issue of the bills receivable for specie, greatly relieved the financial pressure of the day. For the payment of the interest on this debt, and for the supply of other public needs, new duties were imposed on various articles of luxury and necessity, including tea and coffee, which had been hitherto exempt. On the former a duty of fifteen cents was imposed ; on the latter of four cents. Another section of the same Act of August 5, laid a direct tax of twenty millions of dollars on all real estate of the country, to be apportioned among the several States, loyal and insurgent. Property, belonging to any individuals residing thereon, to the amount of five hundred dollars, was to be exempted from taxation. A tax was also provided to be levied on the excess of all annual incomes above eight hundred dollars. The latter was to be calculated on the incomes of the year 1861. The power of appointment of officers to carry out this system of taxation was placed in the hands of the President, but was not to be exercised by him till the ensuing February. When the day came, a new and more comprehensive bill, superseding the present one, was found to be necessary by Congress to meet the exigencies of the times. Mr. Chase's suggestion of excise duties and other taxes on special articles of personal property, legacies, etc., was not adopted in the act of 1861.

Within a month after the adjournment of Congress, when the preparations for the issue of the national loan were completed, Mr. Chase sent forth an appeal to the citizens of the United States in behalf of the subscription. He called for purchasers at par of one hundred and fifty millions of Treasury notes bearing $7\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. interest, according to the plan already described. Subscriptions promptly flowed in from individuals, and large amounts were taken by the banking institutions. As the benefits of the loan became known, the first and second issues of fifty millions each were generally absorbed for investment. The Secretary's circular or appeal is of interest beyond the immediate occasion which called it forth, for the calculations which it presented of the resources of the country, and the probable cost and duration of the rebellion. "The real and personal values in the United States," he represented, "reach the vast aggregate of sixteen thousand millions of dollars, and in the States now loyal to the Union this aggregate is eleven thousand millions. The yearly surplus earnings of the loyal people are estimated by intelligent persons conversant with such investigations, at more than four hundred millions of dollars; while the well-considered judgments of military men of the highest rank and repute, warrant a confident expectation that the war, prosecuted with energy, courage and skill, may be brought to a termination before the close of the next spring; in which event, the cost, beyond the revenue, will hardly exceed the amount of the two hundred and fifty millions' loan, authorized by Congress. With due economy in all branches of the public service, the total expenditures for all objects, military, naval and civil, in this year of war, need not exceed the ordinary expenditures of Great Britain or France in years of peace.

---

* Ante, p. 362.

"And is it," he adds, "unreasonable to hope that the auspicious result of peace may be hastened by the reflections of the citizens of the States in insurrection? That they will review their action; weigh their own welfare; consider the disposition of the people of the whole country to recognize all their constitutional rights, and to allow them their full share in the benefits of the common Government, and renew that allegiance to the Union which, in an evil hour, they have been tempted to throw off? Will they not reflect that the war, into which the Government of the Union has been constrained, is not a war for their subjugation, but a war for national existence, and that an auspicious result to the Union will benefit as largely the States in insurrection as the States which have remained loyal? However this may be, the duty of the National Government, as the constitutionally constituted agent of the people, admits of no question. The war, made necessary by insurrection and reluctantly accepted by the Government, must be prosecuted with all possible vigor until the restoration of the just authority of the Union shall ensure permanent peace. The same good Providence which conducted our fathers through the difficulties and dangers which beset the formation of the Union, has graciously strengthened our hands for the work of its preservation. The crops of the year are ample. Granaries and barns are everywhere full. The capitalists of the country come cheerfully forward to sustain the credit of the Government. Already also, even in advance of this appeal, men of all occupations seek to share the honors and the advantages of the loan. Never, except because of the temporary depression, caused by the rebellion and the derangement of business occasioned by it, were the people of the United States in a better condition to sustain a great contest than now."

The passage of a bill confiscating the property of persons actively engaged in the rebellion, was thought to be demanded by the country, and was evidently predetermined in the policy of the majority. Mr. Trumbull, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, on the 15th of July, introduced the bill into the Senate, which, with an amendment from the House, became the law of the land. As finally passed and approved on the last day of the session, it was as follows: "An Act to Confiscate Property used for other insurrectionary purposes. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That if, during the present or any future insurrection against the Government of the United States, after the President of the United States shall have declared, by proclamation, that the laws of the United States are opposed, and the execution thereof obstructed, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the power vested in the marshal by law, any person or persons, his, her, or their agent, attorney or employee, shall purchase or acquire, sell or give, any property of whatsoever kind or description, with intent to use or employ the same, or suffer the same to be used or employed, in aiding, abetting, or promoting such insurrection or resistance to the laws, or any person or persons engaged therein; or if any person or persons, being the owner or owners of any such property, shall knowingly use or employ, or consent to the use or employment of the same as aforesaid, all such property is hereby declared to be lawful subject of prize and capture wherever found; and it shall be the duty of the President of the United States to cause the same to be seized, confiscated and condemned.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That such prizes and capture shall be condemned in the district or circuit court of the United States having jurisdiction of the amount, or in admiralty, in any district in which the same may be seized, or in which they may be taken, all proceedings first instituted.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the Attorney-General, or any district attorney of the United States, in which said property may at the time be, may institute the proceedings of condemnation, and in such case they shall be wholly for the benefit of the United States; or any person may file an information with such an attorney, in which case the proceedings shall be for the use of such informer and the United States in equal parts.

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That whenever hereafter, during the present insurrection against the Government of the United States, any person claimed to be held to labor or service under the law of any State, shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or by the lawful agent of such person, to take up arms against the United States; or shall be required or permitted by the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, or his lawful agent, to work or to be employed in or upon any fort, navy yard, dock, armory, ship entrenchment, or in any military or naval service, whatsoever, against the Government and lawful authority of the United States, then, and in every such case, the person to whom such labor or service is claimed to be due, shall forfeit his claim to such labor, any law of the State or of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. And whenever thereafter the person claiming such labor or service, shall seek to enforce his claim, it shall be a full and sufficient answer to such claim that the person whose service or labor is claimed had been employed in hostile service against the Government of the United States, contrary to the provisions of this act."

The vote on the final passage of the bill stood in the Senate 24 to 11; in the

House of Representatives 60 to 48. There was comparatively little discussion of the question in either branch of Congress. Mr. Breckinridge, in the Senate, on the introduction of the amendment liberating the slaves employed in the rebellion, contented himself with pronouncing it "very objectionable," and calling for the yeas and nays. "In my opinion," said he, "the amendment will be one of a series which will amount, before we are done with it—if, unhappily, we have no settlement or adjustment soon—to a general confiscation of all property and a loosing of all bonds." Six votes only were recorded against the amendment—those of Breckinridge, Johnson of Missouri, Kennedy and Pearce of Maryland, Trusten Polk of Missouri, and Powell of Kentucky.* In the minority vote on the final passage, Kennedy was absent, and there were added to the names just given those of Jesse D. Bright of Illinois, Carlile of Western Virginia, Edgar Cowan of Pennsylvania, Latham from California, Rice from Minnesota, and Saulsbury from Delaware. Of the forty-eight who voted against the bill in the House, ten were from Kentucky, seven from Ohio, six from Indiana, five from Pennsylvania, five from Maryland, and five from New York. The most prominent of these opponents of the measure who spoke in the debate were Crittenden of Kentucky, and Diven, a Republican member from New York. The latter objected to the measure as adding unnecessarily to the rigors of war without increasing the success of the army—in fact, it would stimulate the resistance of the enemy. The laws of war provided for the seizure of all military property, and to that the penalties of this nature should be confined As for the negroes taken in arms against the country, he would have them treated as prisoners of war, and would make it a condition of their release that their masters should lose all right to them. Mr. Crittenden saw in the bill an assumption in Congress of powers over slavery in the States opposed to the principles of the Constitution. That instrument, he said, prohibited the forfeiture of property of any description whatever, beyond the lifetime of the offender. The bill, on the contrary, made the forfeiture absolute. "If you can," said he, "on conditions, in time of war, abrogate and abolish slavery, it may well be asked whether you cannot do it in time of peace, on similar conditions of supposed future crime? Are we in a condition now, gentlemen, to hazard this momentous, irritating, agitating, revolutionary question? Is it politic to wage such a war as that? I know that it is forced upon you. Your capital is now threatened, and is within hearing of the enemy's cannon. You are bound to defend yourselves, and to defend yourselves like men. Shall we send forward to the field a whole catalogue of penal laws to fight this battle with? Arms more impotent were never resorted to. They are beneath the dignity of our great cause. They are outside of the policy which ought to control this Government, and lead us on to success in the war that we are now fighting. If you hold up before your enemies this cloud of penal laws, they will say: 'War is better than peace. War is comparative repose.' They will say when they are subdued, or if they choose now to submit, 'What next? Have we peace, or is this new army of penal laws then to come into action? Are these penal laws to inflict upon us a long agony of prosecution and forfeiture?' No, gentlemen; it is not by such means that we are to achieve the great object of establishing our Union and reuniting the country. Sir, these laws will have no efficacy in war. Their only effect will be to stimulate your adversaries to still more desperate measures. That will be the effect of this army of penal laws. The experiment has been tried by other countries. England tried it upon Ireland, and she reaped the reward of it in hundreds of years of intestine war. And that is its natural product. These penal laws will prove to be the seed-ground from which will spring up new rebellions. Gentlemen, for the sake of our country, I ask you not to enter upon such an experiment. Your laws already declare what is treason; they define what shall be the penalties of that crime. They are sufficient, and I hope there will be no further action, such as this bill contemplates. You know, as well as I do, the peculiar sensitiveness which exists upon the peculiar species of property to which this bill especially applies. I state now, as I have stated more than once in the other end of the Capitol, that I do not appear here to plead the cause of the slaveholder. I am here to plead for my country; I am here to speak for my country; and with an honest, sincere heart, with all the earnestness of my nature, do I implore you to forego the passage of this bill, and to dismiss it from your deliberations. The eyes of the world are upon you. You are in the presence of events that will be of deeper interest in history than any that have occurred in a hundred years; of as great importance, it seems to me, as can occur to the human race. Then let us not be here employing our time and ingenuity in finding out penal laws that can only have their effect after the war is over. When that war shall be over, I want to see it succeeded by the blessings of peace; I want to see manifested that spirit of forbearance and forgiveness which alone can bring us peace. If we are to provide, and provide beforehand, for a code of penal laws, which is to visit the citizens of the rebellious States when they shall have laid down their arms, in their property, in their persons, and in every way, we shall have no peace."

---

* Senate Proceedings, July 22, 1861.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, a Republican member, closed the debate. He urged the propriety of the measure as an exercise of the rights of war. In answer to a question from Mallory of Kentucky, an opponent of the bill, who pronounced it an unconstitutional act, he said "that it was constitutional and according to the law of nations in time of war. You have no right to do it in time of peace, but in time of war you have the right to confiscate the property of every rebel." In reference to the question of the treatment of the negroes taken from the enemy, "by what principle of the law of nations, by what principle of philanthropy," he asked, "can you return them to the bondage from which you have delivered them, and rivet again the chains you have once broken? I, for one, shall never shrink from saying, when these slaves are once conquered by us, 'Go and be free.' God forbid that I should ever agree that they should be returned again to their masters. I do not say that this war is made for that purpose. Ask those who made the war what is its object. Do not ask us. Our object is to subdue the rebels."

Replying to the suggestions which had been made of the effect the confiscation bill might have in strengthening the purposes of the enemy, he concluded : "But it is said that if we hold out this thing they will never submit—that we cannot conquer them — that they will suffer themselves to be slaughtered, and their whole country to be laid waste. Sir, war is a grievous thing at best, and civil war more than any other ; but if they hold this language, and the means which they have suggested must be resorted to, if their whole country must be laid waste and made a desert in order to save this Union from destruction, so let it be. I would rather, sir, reduce them to a condition where their whole country is to be repeopled by a band of freemen than to see them perpetrate the destruction of this people through our agency. I do not say that it is time to resort to such means, and I do not know when the time will come ; but I never fear to express my sentiments. It is not a question with me of policy, but a question of principle. If this war is continued long, and is bloody, I do not believe that the free people of the North will stand by and see their sons and brothers and neighbors slaughtered by thousands and tens of thousands by rebels, with arms in their hands, and forbear to call upon their enemies to be our friends, and to help us in subduing them ; I, for one, if it continues long, and has the consequences mentioned, shall be ready to go for it, let it horrify the gentleman from New York, [Mr. Diven] or anybody else. That is my doctrine, and that will be the doctrine of the whole free people of the North before two years roll round, if this war continues. As to the end of the war, until the rebels are subdued, no man in the North thinks of it. If the Government are equal to the people, and I believe they are, there will be no bargaining, there will be no negotiation, there will be no truces with the rebels, except to bury the dead, until every man shall have laid down his arms, disbanded his organization, submitted himself to the Government, and sued for mercy. And, sir, if those who have the control of the Government are not fit for this task and have not the nerve and mind for it, the people will take care that there are others who are—although, sir, I have not a bit of fear of the present Administration or of the present Executive. I have spoken more freely, perhaps, than gentlemen within my hearing might think politic, but I have spoken just what I felt. I have spoken what I believe will be the result ; and I warn Southern gentlemen that if this war is to continue, there will be a time when my friend from New York will see it declared by this free nation that every bondman in the South—belonging to a rebel, recollect ; I confine it to them—shall be called upon to aid us in war against their masters, and to restore this Union."*

Whatever considerations and suggestions, however, might be thrown out in debate, as to the possible incidents of the struggle, the sense of Congress, as to the means and objects of the war, was clear and explicit, and was in accordance with the policy of the Administration. The contest was to be carried on for the preservation of the Government, and not in a revolutionary spirit. This was sufficiently shown by the decided vote, 117 to 2, on the passage of Mr. Crittenden's Resolution in the House of Representatives: "Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in revolt against the constitutional Government, and in arms around the capital; that in this national emergency, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged upon our part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

---

* Debates in the House of Representatives, Aug. 2, 1861.

An important measure of this session, called forth by the new situation of affairs, was the passage of an Act requiring an oath of allegiance, and to support the Constitution of the United States to be administered to certain persons in the civil service of the United States. It was specially intended to purge the Government departments of disloyal agents. Every officer, or clerk, or employé was required, on penalty of dismission for refusal, to swear that he "will support, protect and defend the Constitution and Government of the United States against all enemies, whether domestic or foreign, and bear true faith, allegiance and loyalty to the same, any ordinance, resolution or law of any State, convention or legislature to the contrary notwithstanding; and further, that I do this with a full determination, pledge and purpose, without any mental reservation or evasion whatsoever, and further, that I will well and faithfully perform all the duties which may be required of me by law." The terms of this special oath, and the fact that it was thought necessary to be presented by Congress sufficiently indicate the difficulties and perils with which the Administration of the Government was beset at the national capital.

The temper of the new Congress was shown in the more determined action resolved upon in reference to the missing Senators of the seceding States, in comparison with the simple recognition of withdrawal, by declaring the seats vacant, with which the previous Congress had been contented. It was thought that the new cases of the kind which had arisen should be branded by expulsion. Accordingly on the motion of Daniel Clark of New Hampshire, the Senate, on the 11th July, formally expelled the absentee members: Mason and Hunter of Virginia, Clingman and Bragg of North Carolina, Chesnut of South Carolina, Nicholson of Tennessee, Sebastian and Mitchel of Arkansas, Hemphill and Wigfall of Texas, it being "apparent to the Senate that said Senators are engaged in a conspiracy for the destruction of the Union and Government, or, with full knowledge of such conspiracy, have failed to advise the Government of its progress, or aid in its suppression." Bayard of Delaware, objected to the censure in this resolution, sheltering the Senators under the action of their States, which they followed in retiring. "The action was avowed, open; it was an appeal to the people of their respective States; the people of their States, by majorities, recognized that course, and the States assumed the responsibility, as political governments, of going out of this Union. I am not willing to pass judgment of expulsion upon the individuals founded upon that." Latham of California, took a similar view of this matter, and moved that the word "expelled" be omitted from the resolution. "Expulsion," said he, "implies turpitude. It is a reflection upon the personal character of the individual; it is a stain. Now I know myself that some Senators—two in particular—named in that resolution, did not indorse the right of secession. They disapproved of it; they never sanctioned it; and they did not think they could occupy a seat on this floor after their State had seceded." McDougall, the fellow-Senator of the last speaker from California, differed from the views of his colleague. "The expulsion," said he, "is for personal cause. It is, that they have espoused the controversy made against the Republic. There may be no turpitude in the act. Treason was always a gentlemanly crime, and in ancient times a man who committed it was entitled to the axe instead of the halter. However, it is no more the less a crime, and the greatest; and espousing a cause against the Republic, if it be not treason, is akin to that crime. I am prepared to vote for the resolution of expulsion." The resolution was then adopted by a vote of 32 to 10. Johnson of Tennessee voting with the minority.

The admission of the new senators, Messrs. Willey and Carlile, from Western Virginia, on the 13th of July, was preceded by an animated debate, in which the question of the regularity of the proceeding was discussed by Bayard and Saulsbury of Delaware, Johnson of Tennessee, Trumbull of Illinois, Collamer of Vermont, Powell of Kentucky, and Hale of New Hampshire. Bayard objected to acting on the credentials, as involving the recognition of an irregular State government in Virginia, and moved that they be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. Saulsbury raised a question of consistency. The credentials declared the election of the new senators to be made on the 9th of July, to fill vacancies, and the Senate, on the 11th, had expelled the old members, therefore the vacancies, as stated, did not exist. Johnson of Tennessee advocated the prompt admission of the new members. Saulsbury again insisted on the irregularity. Trumbull said "he was not for sticking in the bark about this matter. Let us take the condition of things as it is. Here is the State of Virginia in Rebellion. If you are going outside to inquire after the fact, you will ascertain that a portion of the people of that State have risen in arms against the Government; another portion of the people of that State are loyal to the Union; and the loyal men of Virginia have elected a legislature and seek representation in the Congress of the United States. They are entitled to representation here, and the enemies of the country are not."

Hale of New Hampshire, while vindicating the admission of the senators, was roused to an emphatic declaration of his views of the position of the country. "I hope," said he, "that the Senate will not hesitate. Sir, this is no question of form, no question of ceremony; it is a question of life or death with this Republic and with this Government. The men that are in arms against you, are in arms against your very existence. The idea of your national life a day after you yield to their position is absurd and inconsistent. Sir, this Government had borne and forborne until your forbearance was construed into pusilanimity; and during the last session of Congress the most insulting language that ever fell from human lips was uttered in reference to this very general Government; and the gentlemen for whom so much regard is now felt and expressed, sat by, counseled and advised with the man who told us that we had been smitten a staggering blow in the face that we dared not resent. Yes, sir, that is exactly the way this Government has been treated; and it has come to the very last point, where it must either vindicate its existence by all the force that it commands, or it must go out in national disgrace forever. This is the day; this is the hour; this is the time; this is the experiment. Sir, it is the culmination of the great contest that has been going on through all time between despotism on the one side, and constitutional government and liberty on the other. That is the issue; and we are fighting the battle of all past ages and all coming generations. They all culminate in the experiment that we are making to-day. Sir, this war has been forced upon the country. Things went on until the last question that was left to it was to submit ignominiously, or, with all the energy that it could command, send its thrilling voice out to the millions that were subject to its control, and that—in their folly, I had almost said—believed they had a Government to defend them. And, sir, they have rallied as never a people rallied before; and I tell you, Senators, if you hesitate to meet the issue, to meet it in all its aspects, in all its contingencies, here on this floor, on the field of battle, and everywhere, you are unworthy of the day and the hour in which God Almighty has permitted you to enact the part that He has assigned you in the great chapter of human destiny. I am glad I was born about the time I was, so that my lines fall here to-day. I am glad that my destiny is linked in the great contest that has been coming, and coming, and coming with every successive generation, and every successive experiment that the world has ever made in all the past. I feel to-day that the blood which has been shed on every battle-field is at issue in the contest that we are now carrying on. I feel that the blood of every patriot who has poured out his life on the scaffold, the worth of it and the effect of it are all in issue; and I feel, sir, if we are faithful to the hour, faithful to the crisis, faithful to the duty, God will pour out on this nation the blessings that have been evoked by the prayers of the pious in all times past. It is no holiday contest in which we are engaged. It is not the time to hunt up justices of the peace records to find precedents of form as to how we shall go along. We must accept the contest as it has come, anomalous in its character, destitute of any precedents in the past, but, I trust in God, destined to shed infinite light on the future. And, sir, at such a time, at such a day, and in such a contest, the only question I ask of any man is, 'Is your heart right; if it be, give me your hand; join with us in this great struggle;' and if there are loyal men in Virginia that are determined to stand by the cause of civil liberty in this hour of her peril, let them rally; let them form a constitutional government as they best may; and let this Federal Government pour them out men and money, if necessary, to sustain them in their contest."

When the vote was taken, five only—Messrs. Bayard, Bright, Polk, Powell and Saulsbury—were in favor of referring the credentials; so the Senators were admitted to take the oath of office. The ground taken by Congress and the Government in this Virginia question in reference to the position of the Western portion of the State, which there was a strong disposition at one time to separate from the rest as a new and distinct commonwealth, was well set forth in a letter addressed on the 12th of the following month by the Attorney-General of the United States, Mr. Bates, to Mr. A. F. Ritchie, a member of the Virginia Convention, then sitting at Wheeling. "I have thought," wrote this high officer of the Government, "a great deal upon the question of dividing the State of Virginia into two States; and since I came here as a member of the Government, I have conversed with a good many, and corresponded with some, of the good men of Western Virginia, in regard to that matter. In all this intercourse, my constant and earnest effort has been to impress upon the minds of those gentlemen the vast importance—not to say necessity—in the terrible crisis of our national affairs, to abstain from the introduction of any new elements of revolution, to avoid, as far as possible, all new and original theories of Government; but, on the contrary, in all the insurgent commonwealths to adhere, as closely as circumstances will allow, to the old constitutional standard of principle, and to the traditional habits and thoughts of the people. And I still think that course is dictated by the plainest teachings of prudence. The formation of a new State out of Western Virginia is an original, independent act of revolution. I do not deny the *power* of revolution (I do not call it *right*—for it is never prescribed, it exists in *force* only, and has and can have no law but the will of the revolutionists.) Any attempt to carry it out involves a plain breach of both the Constitutions—of Virginia and the nation. And hence, it is plain you cannot take that course without weakening, if not destroying, your claims upon the sympathy and support of the General Government; and without disconcerting the plan already adopted both by Virginia and the General Government, for the reorganization of the revolted States, and the restoration of the integrity of the Union. That plan I understand to be this: When a State, by its perverted functionaries, has declared itself out of the Union, we avail ourselves of the sound and loyal elements of the State—all who owned allegiance to, and claimed protection of, the Constitution, to form a State Government, as nearly as may be, upon the former model, and claiming to be the very State which has been, in part, overthrown by the successful rebellion. In this way we establish a *constitutional nucleus* around which all the shattered elements of the commonwealth may meet and combine, and thus restore the old State in its original integrity. This I verily thought, was the plan adoped at Wheeling, and recognized and acted upon by the General Government here. Your convention annulled the revolutionary proceedings at Richmond, both in the Convention and General Assembly, and your new Governor formally demanded of the President the fulfilment of the constitutional guarantee in favor of *Virginia*—Virginia, as known to our fathers and to us. The President admitted the obligation, and promised his best efforts to fulfil it; and the Senate admitted your Senators, not as representing a new and nameless State, now for the first time heard of in our history, but as representing 'the good old commonwealth.'"

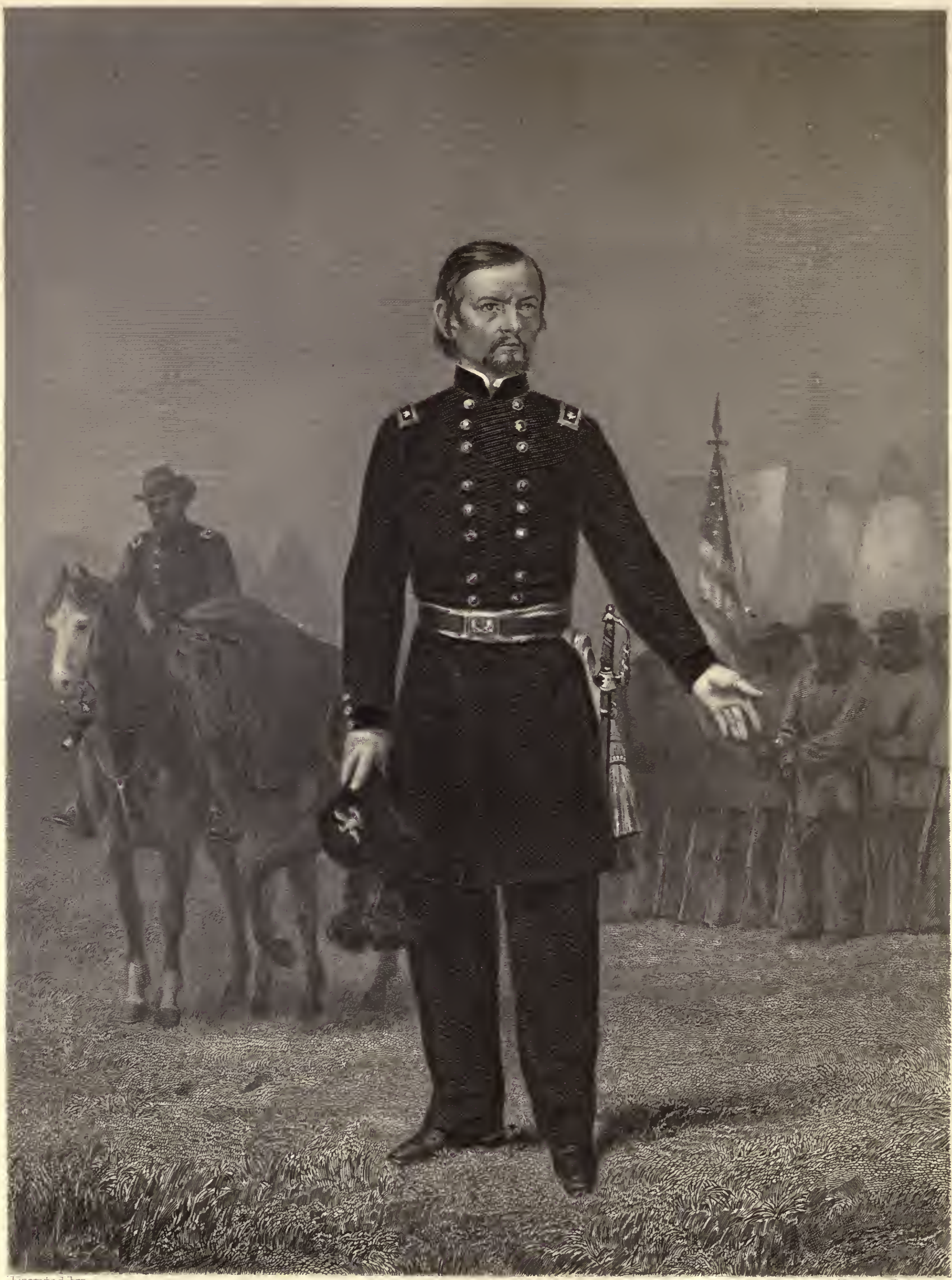
A joint resolution of the two Houses recommending a fast day, and following nearly the exact words of a resolution passed during the was of 1812, was introduced into the Senate by Harlan of Iowa, and was adopted unanimously. It ran thus:—"It being a duty peculiarly incumbent in a time of public calamity and rebellion, humbly and devoutly to acknowledge our dependence on Almighty God, and to implore his aid and protection: Therefore *Resolved*, That a joint committee of both Houses wait upon the President of the United States and request that he recommend a day of public humiliation, prayer and fasting to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity, and the offering of fervent supplications to Almighty God for the safety and welfare of these States, His blessings on their arms, and a speedy restoration of peace."

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BATTLE OF CARTHAGE, Mo., JULY 5, 1861.

General Lyon having, as we have seen in a previous chapter, summarily put the disloyal Governor of Missouri and his forces to flight at Booneville, prepared to follow them in their retreat to the Southern portion of the State, where, supporting themselves at the expense of the inhabitants, they were adding to their numbers, and gathering fresh nutriment in the cause of the rebellion. General Price, with other insurgent leaders, it was understood was in arms in the southwest, and there were rumors of the presence in the same quarter of the redoubtable Texas ranger, Ben McCulloch, who had lately left the vicinity of the Potomac, and been seen in Arkansas. To meet these and whatever other enemies there might be abroad, General Lyon set out from Booneville at the beginning of July, making his way through the western counties in the direction of Springfield.

He had hardly departed, however, before the enemy whom he sought were successfully encountered in a remote part of the State by a young officer of foreign birth, whose skill, displayed on more than one occasion, gained him the highest honors of the campaign. This was Colonel Franz Sigel, who, born at Baden in 1821, had been educated at the military school of Carlsruhe, held high rank in the Prussian army, and on the breaking out of the revolution in 1848, joined the liberals and became a leader of their revolutionary army. Having achieved considerable military distinction in this command, on the pacification of the country he came to America, where



Painted by Alonzo Chappel.

F. Sigel

Engraved from a recent Photograph from life

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York.

[illegible] in the clerks [illegible] of the [illegible] he diligently applied himself to the study of the language. Marrying the daughter of his preceptor, Mr. Dulon, he made his home in St. Louis, where, at the opening of the war, he was engaged as Professor in a College, among other courses, giving instruction in tactics. Quickly responding to the call of his adopted country, he stood by the side of Colonel Blair and Colonel Bornstein, at the head of one of the first regiments of volunteers raised in Missouri. He was now to have an opportunity to exhibit his military genius on a new theatre in America. The scene of his operations was in the southwestern corner of Missouri, where a communication was kept open by the insurgent state troops with Arkansas, and where the rebel generals often rallied during the war, till the more southerly regions were cleared of the insurgents, who were ever ready to carry the war beyond their own borders into the territory of Missouri. On the arrival of Colonel Sigel with his command, on the 23d of June, at Springfield, he was informed that the rebels, under Governor Jackson, were making their way from the Osage river southwardly through the western counties, a movement which he at once resolved to intercept by putting his force across their track. He accordingly moved in a southwesterly direction to Sarcoxie, where, on his arrival on the 28th, he learned that a body of troops, under General Price, some eight or nine hundred in number, were encamped below him to the south, a few miles from Neosho, the capital of Newton county, while other portions of the State troops of Jackson's and Rains' commands were, as he expected, advancing from above. As Price was the nearest at hand, General Sigel resolved first to march against him, and then turning north, to attack Jackson and Rains, and open a line of communication with General Lyon, who, it was incorrectly reported, had had an engagement with the enemy in that direction. Scarcely, however, had Colonel Sigel left Sarcoxie when he received news that the camp of Price had been broken up, and his troops retreated to the extremity of the State. Colonel Sigel then advanced, welcomed by the inhabitants on the way, who had suffered grievously from the pillaging of the insurgents, and occupied Neosho, where he was received without opposition. Declining further pursuit of Price's troops as impracticable, he then turned his whole attention to the enemy at the north. Disposing a detachment of his little force to watch their movements on the road, he summoned to him a battalion of Colonel Salomen's Missouri regiment, then approaching Sarcoxie, and with this addition to his troops, leaving a company of the 3d regiment as a guard to protect the friends of the Union at Neosho, he advanced to meet the enemy. The conflict which ensued, known as the battle of Carthage, is thus related in the official report which Colonel Sigel prepared of the expedition. "On the evening of the 4th of July," he writes, "our troops, after a march of twenty miles, encamped southeast of Carthage, close by Spring river. I was by this time pretty certain that Jackson, with four thousand men, was about nine miles distant from us, as his scouts were seen in large numbers coming over the great plateau as far as the country north of Carthage, and conducted their explorations almost under our very eyes. The troops under my command who participated in the engagement on the 5th of July, were as follows: Nine companies of the 3d regiment—in all, five hundred and fifty men; seven companies of the 5th regiment, numbering four hundred men; two batteries of artillery, each consisting of four field-pieces. With these troops I slowly advanced upon the enemy. Our skirmishers chased before them numerous bands of mounted riflemen, whose object it was to observe our march. Our baggage train followed us, about three miles in the rear. After having passed Dry Fork Creek, six miles beyond Carthage, and advanced another three miles, we found the enemy drawn up in battle array, on an elevation which rises by gradual ascents from the creek, and is about one and a half miles distant. The front of the enemy consisted of three regiments, deployed into line, and stationed with proper intervals of space. The two regiments forming the wings consisted of cavalry. The centre was composed of infantry, cavalry, and two field-pieces. Several other pieces were posted on the right and left wings. The whole number of troops which thus came to our view may be computed at two thousand five hundred, not including a powerful reserve which was kept in the rear.

"My rear guard being already engaged, I sent two cannon, together with two companies of the 3d regiment, for its support. Another cannon and a company of the 3d regiment I ordered to a position behind the creek, so as to afford protection to our baggage and the troops in the rear against the movements of the cavalry. The remainder of our troops I formed in the following manner: On the left the second battalion of the 3d regiment, under command of Major Bischoff, in solid column with four cannon. In the centre the 5th regiment in two separate battalions, under Colonel Salomon and Lieutenant-Colonel Wolff. On the right, three cannon under command of Captain Essig, supported by the first battalion 3d regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hassendeubel. Having made these dispositions, and advanced a few hundred paces, I commanded Major Backof to open fire upon the enemy with all the seven field-pieces. The fire was promptly answered. I soon perceived that the two mounted regiments of the rebel army made preparations to circumvent our two wings. They made a flanking movement, and, describing a wide semicircle, caused a large interval of space to be left between them and the centre. I forthwith ordered the whole fire of our artillery to be directed against the right centre of the enemy, which had the effect in a short time of considerably weakening the fire of the rebels at this point. I now formed a chain of skirmishers between our cannon, ordered two of Captain Essig's pieces from the right to the left wing, and gave my officers and men to understand that it was my intention to gain the height by advancing with my left wing, and taking position on the right flank of the centre of the enemy.

"At this critical moment Captain Wilkins, commander of one of our two batteries, declared that he could not advance for want of ammunition. No time was to be lost, as part of our troops were already engaged with the hostile cavalry at the extreme right and left, and as it seemed to me of very doubtful expediency to advance with the remainder without due support of artillery. The moral effect which the hostile cavalry made in our rear could not be denied, although the real danger was not great. The threatening loss of our entire baggage was another consideration not to be overlooked. I therefore, with great reluctance, ordered part of the detachment at Dry Fork Creek back, while Lieutenant-Colonel Hassendeubel, with the first battalion of the 3d regiment and a battalion of the 5th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wolff, followed by four cannon of Wilkin's battery, proceeded to the baggage train in order to protect it against the meditated attack. The enemy slowly followed us to Dry Fork. Captain Essig's battery had taken position behind the ford, assisted by Captain Stephany's company (5th regiment) on the left, and two companies of the 3d regiment, Captains Golmer and Denzler, on the right, while at the same time two companies of the 5th (Captain Stark and Meissner) stood as a reserve behind the wings. At this point it was where the aforesaid companies and battery made successful resistance to the entire force of the enemy for two hours, and caused him the heaviest losses. By that time two rebel flags had been shot out of sight, each act being accompanied by the triumphant shouts of the United States volunteers. In the meantime the two cavalry regiments had completely surrounded us and formed a line against our rear. They had posted themselves close by a little creek called Buck Branch, over which we had to pass. In order to meet them, I abandoned my position at Dry Fork, and ordered two pieces to the right, and two to the left of our reserve and baggage, supported by the detachments of Colonel Salomon and Lieutenant-Colonel Wolff, in solid column. Lieutenant-Colonel Wolff, seconding my movement with his accustomed ability, formed three companies of the first battalion, 3d regiment, into line, and made them take up marching line against the cavalry in front of the baggage. Behind these troops and the baggage, Lieutenant Shrickel, with a portion of the first battery of artillery and two companies, took a precautionary position in view of that part of the enemy coming in the direction of Dry Fork. After the firing of one round by our whole line, our infantry charged upon the enemy at double quick, and routed him completely. His flight was accompanied by the deafening shouts of our little army.

"The troops and baggage train now crossed the creek undisturbed, and ascended the heights which command Carthage from the north, this side of Spring river. Here the enemy again took position. His centre slowly advanced upon us, while his cavalry came upon us with great rapidity, in order to circumvent our two wings and gain the Springfield road. Deeming it of the utmost importance to keep open my communication with Mount Vernon and Springfield, I ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Wolff, with two pieces of artillery (Lieutenant Schaeffer of the second battery) to pass through Carthage and occupy the eastern heights on the Sarcoxie road. Captain Cramer, with two companies (Indest and Tois) was ordered to follow him, in order to protect the western part of the city against a hostile movement in this direction. Our rear took possession of the city, in order to give the rest of the troops time for rest, as they had marched twenty-two miles on the 4th, and eighteen miles more during the day, exposed to a burning sun, and almost without anything to eat or drink. The enemy, in the meantime, derived great advantage from his cavalry, being able to cross Spring river at various places, scatter on all sides through the woods, and harass our troops almost unintermittingly. I therefore ordered a retreat toward Sarcoxie, under cover of both artillery and infantry. We first took position on the heights beyond Carthage, and then again at the entrance of the Sarcoxie road into the woods, about two and a half miles southeast of Carthage. From the latter place our troops advanced unmolested as far as Sarcoxie.

"Our whole loss in this engagement amounts to thirteen dead and thirty-one wounded, among whom is Captain Strodtman, company E, 3d regiment, and Lieutenant Bischoff of company B, same regiment. The first battery lost nine horses; the third one (Major Bischoff's) and one baggage wagon had to be left behind in Carthage, for want of horses to pull it away. According to reliable accounts, the loss of the enemy cannot have been less than from three hundred and fifty to four hundred men. One of their field-pieces was dismounted and another exploded. With the deepest regret, I have to announce to you the surprise and capture by the rebels of Captain Conrad and his company of ninety-four men in Neosho. Officers and men were afterwards liberated, after taking an oath that they would not again take up arms against the Confederate States. On the other hand, it affords me intense pleasure to be able to say, in justice to the officers and men under my command, that they fought with the greatest skill and bravery. Although threatened more than once on the flank and in the rear by powerful detachments of cavalry, and attacked in front by an overwhelmingly disproportionate force, they conducted themselves like veterans and defended one position after another without a man swerving from his place. I would also specially acknowledge the services of the 5th regiment, under its brave commanders and adjutants, with heartfelt gratitude. They proved themselves to be true friends and reliable comrades on the battle-field. The excellent artillery under Major Backof, who, like my adjutants, Albert and Heinrich, was untiring from morning till night in his efforts to execute and second my commands, also deserves honorable mention."

To this authoritative account of the engagement, we may add an interesting description of the action by an eminent citizen of Missouri, Mr. John M. Richardson, formerly Secretary of State, who was an eye witness and careful observer of the action. His letter to the Editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, dated Mount Vernon, July 7, bears ample testimony to the military ability of Colonel Sigel, and the merits of the troops engaged, and supplies various particulars necessary to a proper understanding of the movement. "We have had stirring times," he writes, "in this part of the State. Claiborne Jackson has been for some time concentrating his forces in Vernon county, preparatory for forcing the infamous military bill on the people. Colonel Sigel's scouts kept him well advised of Jackson's movements and conduct. Claiborne has been engaged in robbing wagons laden with goods of South-west merchants, taking all the good horses he or his men could find, and, of late, as his forces have increased, in forcing loyal men to take the oath required by the military bill, and be enrolled in the 'State Guard.' Sterling Price, having a considerable force near the Arkansas line, Colonel Sigel, on the morning of the 4th of July, broke up his camp at Neosho, and marched his command to

Carthage. I have no information from Colonel Sigel on the subject, but being a looker-on in his camp, suppose his reason for marching on Carthage to be as follows: 1st, To remain at Neosho would enable his enemies to concentrate at an early day a large force close on the north and on the south of his camp, thereby placing him in a position to fight both forces whenever he might feel disposed to attack either party. To avoid this he removed his command to Carthage, near Jackson's camp. That is, I think, the military reason. In addition, loyal men had appealed to him for protection from Jackson's forces. This war requires a commander of military genius and capacity, and in addition, it requires the clear head of a statesman. In a political point of view the course of Colonel Sigel is endorsed by every loyal man in this section of the State. He had the sagacity to see this section of the country in its true condition. A decided majority for the Union, but that majority liable to be crushed out by the terrorism of Jackson's forces. He appears to understand full well the character of the people he is among. He knows them to be loyal, yet, at the same time, he is perfectly aware that if they take the oath under this military bill, the fate of the Union is decided so far as the people of South-west Missouri is concerned. I give this as the political reason (and the most important in my estimation), why the army has marched to Carthage.

"The command reached the latter place on the evening of the 4th of July, and on the morning of the 5th, it marched in good condition, and in fine spirits, in the direction of Lamar, the county seat of Barton county. Nine miles north of Carthage, on the North Fork, our little army came in sight of Jackson's forces. They were commanded by Rains and Parsons, and were drawn up for action, on a very favorable and elevated point of prairie, with the ground gradually sloping for nine hundred yards toward the United States forces. Jackson, having been joined by Rains, had quite a large force, principally mounted men, with a small force of infantry and several pieces of artillery. The forces of Jackson are variously estimated at four to seven thousand men. Colonel Sigel's forces were composed of portions of the 3d and 5th regiments Missouri Volunteers, and a fine battalion of artillery. His infantry in action amounted to from seven to eight hundred men. He had eight cannon. The United States forces were drawn up in line of battle, as follows: The infantry in the centre, four pieces of artillery on the left, one piece on the right, and one company of infantry and one piece of artillery in the rear, to protect the provision train. When the action commenced the armies were distant from each other about eight hundred yards. In company with S. B. Laforce of Jasper county, I took my position on horseback, fifty yards in the rear of Colonel Sigel's infantry, from which point I could observe the manœuvering of both parties. Colonel Sigel was calm and thoughtful in all his acts, and the result of the conflict ought, and doubtless will, add greatly to his reputation as a military man. The officers all conducted themselves in such a manner as to command the admiration and approval of the few spectators present. Among them I can mention Captain Albert, the Adjutant of the brigade, and Mr. Heinrich, the Adjutant of the 3d Regiment. These gentlemen were very active in carrying the orders of their commanding officer, paying no heed whatever to the cannon balls that were flying around them. But greater praise is due to the private soldiers for their conduct on that occasion. They were calm and collected during the cannonading, showing they would do their duty to their adopted country or die. My position was such as to enable me to see that the shower of cannon balls that flew over their heads had no effect—did not dampen their courage nor cool their ardor. Such men can fight. In addition, I should make favorable mention of Lieutenant-Colonel Hassendeubel, of the 3d Regiment, and Major Bischoff and Captain Essig, of the artillery, Colonel Salomon and Lieutenant-Colonel Wolff. These men deserve the approbation of their countrymen for their conduct on the field.

"The first gun was fired by the United States troops at eleven minutes past 10 o'clock, and a brisk cannonading was kept up for half an hour, during which time the colors of Jackson's troops were knocked down twice. The enemy being nearly all mounted, and numbering certainly not less than 3,000 men, made an effort to cut off the provision train of Colonel Sigel's command. The latter ordered his train closer up, and fell back with his command to the south side of the Dry Fork. The enemy had already crossed, and a large force of rebels were already between our troops and the provision train, and we were completely surrounded. Our army soon dispersed the rebels, and regained possession of the provision train. The rebel forces following up, in attempting to cross the Dry Fork found our troops occupying a strong position, and a sharp conflict ensued, the artillery on both sides being brought into requisition. The rebels at this point were repulsed with considerable loss. Our little army then retired toward Carthage. The rebels disputed the crossing of Buck Branch, where another short but spirited conflict ensued. At that point they lost considerable; our forces did not lose a man. The Federal troops then marched to Carthage. At that place the rebels made a dash in great strength. The Federals retired in good order, driving the rebels before them at every point. Here there was another warm contest, between our infantry and artillery on one side, and the rebels, with their artillery, on the other. From Carthage our troops retreated to Sarcoxie, having a severe contest at a point of timber three miles south-east of Carthage. At this last point the rebel forces sustained great loss. From this last point our troops marched to Sarcoxie, and thence to Mount Vernon, without seeing an enemy. The rebels have, it is credibly reported, four thousand troops at Neosho and at Cassville. These troops came into Arkansas. All these forces, when united with Jackson's, will make a very formidable army, and if the Government desires to prevent the Union sentiment from being crushed out in this part of the State, it must act promptly and with energy. Had Colonel Sigel been well supplied with ammunition he could have maintained his ground at any point, or had he had four hundred mounted men, he could have routed Jackson's forces and made the most of them prisoners. As it was (though victorious at every point), it was thought best to retire to this place, so that communication with Springfield and St. Louis should not be cut off. There were about fifty citizens spectators of the fight, and all applauded the energy and tact of Colonel Sigel in conducting his retreat, and in posting his men at every point where he could reach his mounted enemy. His conduct satisfies the Union men here that he can be *relied* upon as a military commander."

As an indication of the animus of the leaders of the insurgents at this time, we may present a passage of a treasonable manifesto addressed "To the People of Missouri, issued on the 8th of July at Nashville, by the Lieutenant-Governor of Missouri, Thomas C. Reynolds, who like the rest of the rebel administration, had left the seat of government in anticipation of the approach of General Lyon, and who, it appears from his own statement, had since, diligently occupied his time in fomenting the revolt. As early as the middle of January Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds had been instrumental in securing a hearing before both Houses of the General Assembly of Missouri, of a Mr. Russell, an agent of Mississippi, who boldly presented himself a fortnight after the formal secession of that sovereign State, to address loyal Missouri, by the most glowing appeals to her pride and interest, her destiny as the Empire State of the South, controlling the trade of the West from the territory of the Hudson Bay Company in one direction, to Santa Fe in another; promising all this and more if the State would join the Southern Confederacy. Having thus paved the way for revolt at home, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, in due time, engaged as a propagandist of his principles abroad. Going beyond Governor Jackson, in May, in his demand for "open, immediate and vigorous war," he was now, in July, seeking to assist the subjugation of the State to the rebellion, by stirring up enemies to her peace from without. Leaving Jefferson City the 20th of May, the day before Governor Jackson's truce with General Harney was signed, having no confidence, he tells us, in that armistice, he arrived in three days at Fort Smith, in Arkansas, where he had the satisfaction of an interview with General McCulloch, who had just made his appearance in that quarter. "Since then," said he, "in Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia my efforts have been directed unceasingly, to the best of my limited ability, to the promotion of our interests, indissolubly connected with the vindication of our liberties and our speedy union with the Confederate States. Rest assured of the profound sympathy with which the people of the Southern Confederacy regard our condition; though engaged in a war against a powerful foe, they would not hesitate still further to tax their energies and resources, at a proper time, and on a proper occasion, in aid of Missouri. The avowed and decided policy of the Confederate States is to add her to their numbers as soon as her sovereign people desire the union. That desire being unquestionable to any one acquainted with their real sentiments, her union with her Southern sisters is merely a question of time, and the opportunity which the course of events will sooner or later certainly afford." "I rejoice to learn, from various sources," he adds, mingling instruction in the art of war and appeals to heaven with his incitements, "even amid the present gloom, you remain confident of final success. We are draining to the very dregs the bitter cup of Federal usurpation; but the medicine was needed to cure the diseases of our body politic. The military advantages lately obtained by our oppressors are not surprising, for our perilous uprising at the call of our Governor was made without the previous concert with your natural allies, which was almost indispensable for success. But the fortune of war is prone to change; be ready to take advantage of it. Do nothing weak; nothing rash. Whenever a favorable opportunity occurs, rally to the standard of your Governor, or those coöperating with him; but partial uprisings, in defenceless positions, or without due concert of action, are worse than useless. Watch the opportunity to strike with effect. Meanwhile let each one of you quickly prepare; nearly all of you doubtless are aware that your ordinary rifles and shot guns with Minié balls are equal to the weapons of your foes, and in your practised hands will rarely fail of their marks. Be not impatient of delay. Success in war depends greatly on a proper combination of preparation, precaution and daring; on blows surely given at the right time and place. You have this inestimable advantage; if the hopes given you, by me now and by others, of effective aid, should incite the enemy to increase his forces in Missouri, he but weakens himself elsewhere and hastens in Virginia his own defeat, which is your victory; if he remains inactive, he but shortens the time of your captivity. Be of good cheer; be but true to yourselves, invoking the aid of the Almighty, who has so visibly favored the Southern cause, and sooner or later the deliverance will surely come."

While such was the desperate resolution of the insurgents to inflict the deadliest evils upon the country, and while they were committing the most odious acts of tyranny in the suppressing of freedom of speech, breaking up postal communications, destroying railroads and bridges, and performing other cruel acts of devastation, it is instructive to contrast the spirit in which the national officers in Missouri entered upon the work forced upon them, of maintaining the reasonable authority of the Government. We have seen the conciliatory terms of the Proclamation issued by General Lyon. The language of the officers under his command, who preceded him on the march in Missouri to the southward, was the same. Two proclamations were issued on the 4th of July—one by Major Sturgis, another by General Sweeny. Both promised to loyal citizens the amplest protection in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and sought to relieve them from the usual oppressions and even inconveniences of war. In answer to representations artfully made by the insurgents, that the object of the movement of the army was "to steal and set free the slaves, and thereby encourage a servile insurrection," and commit various injuries on persons and property, he said: "The Government and troops thus villified you are called upon to judge for yourselves. Upon our march thus far, we have religiously observed the laws of your State, and protected you in the full enjoyment thereof. In no instance has property been seized for the use of the troops. Everything required has been fairly purchased, and its full equivalent paid for in gold. We have been ever diligent in guarding the soldiers from committing the least impropriety, and wherever detected, have punished them with extreme severity."*

---

* Proclamation of Major S. D. Sturgis, Camp Washington, near Clinton, Mo., July 4, 1861.

Equally emphatic was the declaration of General Sweeny, in command of an advance portion of the southwest expedition at Springfield. "The troops under my command," said he, "are stationed in your midst by the proper authority of our Government. They are amongst you not as enemies, but as friends and protectors of all loyal citizens. Should an insurrection of your slaves take place, it would be my duty to suppress it, and I should use the force at my command for that purpose. It is my duty to protect all loyal citizens in the enjoyment and possession of all their property, slaves included." General Sweeny, who issued this proclamation, a native of Ireland, but who had lived in America from his childhood, had acquired distinction in the Mexican war as an officer of a New York regiment of volunteers. He had lost an arm at Churubusco, subsequently served in the west, and at the outbreak of the rebellion held the rank of Captain in the 2d Regular Infantry. He was then made Colonel, and afterwards Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

On the first of August the popular Convention of Missouri, which had been elected at the call of the late Legislature, were reassembled at Jefferson City, Missouri, and in consequence of the recent proceedings in the State holding the office of Governor vacant, elected a distinguished citizen, who was one of its members, Hamilton R. Gamble, Provisional Governor in place of the disloyal Governor Jackson. No one apparently regretted the necessity of this step more than Governor Gamble himself, but some civil government was required, and the Convention thus undertook to supply the need. A passage from the new Governor's address, which he delivered to the Convention on taking the oath of office, will show his lively sense of the danger and responsibility of the work before him. "Gentlemen of the Convention," said he, "what is it that we are now threatened with? We apprehend that we may soon be in that condition of anarchy in which a man, when he goes to bed with his family at night, does not know whether he shall ever rise again, or whether his house shall remain intact until morning. This is the kind of danger, not merely a war between different divisions of the State, but a war between neighbors, so that when a man meets those with whom he has associated from childhood, he begins to feel that they are his enemies. We must avoid that. It is terrible. The scenes of the French Revolution may be enacted in every quarter of our State, if we do not succeed in avoiding that kind of war. We can do it if we are in earnest, and endeavor with all our power. So far as I am concerned, I assure you that it shall be the very highest object—the sole aim of every official act of mine—to make sure that the people of the State of Missouri can worship their God together, each feeling that the man who sits in the same pew with him, because he differs with him on political questions, is not his enemy—that they may attend the same communion and go to the same heaven. I wish for every citizen of the State of Missouri that, when he meets his fellow-man, confidence in him may be restored, and confidence in the whole society restored, and that there shall be conversations upon other subjects than those of blood and slaughter; that there shall be something better than this endeavor to encourage hostility between persons who entertain different political opinions, and something more and better than a desire to produce injury to those who may differ from them."

To aid the national Government in warding off the enemies of the State coming from abroad; to preserve, as far as possible, peace within its borders, was the task. A special Proclamation of Governor Gamble on the 3d of August, further showed his desire to discharge the duty in a conciliatory spirit. Again was the policy of the Government distinctly announced as one of non-interference with the peculiar institution of the State. In choosing him as Governor, the Convention, he said, had given an assurance sufficient to satisfy all "that no countenance will be afforded to any scheme or to any conduct calculated in any degree to interfere with the institution of slavery existing in the State. To the very utmost extent of Executive power that institution will be protected." He warned the citizens against obedience to the requisitions of Governor Jackson and the "Military act" of the late Legislature, which the Convention had annulled, and urged a new organization of the militia for the defence of the State. Of the foreign enemies who were its assailants he said: "The State has been invaded by troops from the State of Arkansas, and a large force, under General Pillow of Tennessee, has landed upon the soil of Missouri, notwithstanding the Congress of the Confederate States, in their act declaring war against the United States, expressly excepted Missouri as a State against which the war was not to be waged. General Pillow has issued a proclamation, addressed to the people of Missouri, in which he declares that his army comes at the request of the Governor of this State, and says they will help us to expel from our borders the population hostile to our rights and institutions, treating all such as enemies if found under arms. It remains to be seen whether General Pillow and other officers of the Confederate States will continue their endeavor to make Missouri the theatre of war, upon the invitation of Governor Jackson or of any other person, when such invasion is contrary to the act of the Confederate States, and when the invitation given by the Governor is withdrawn by the people. We have sought to avoid the ravaging our State in this war, and if the military officers of the Confederate States seek to turn the war upon us, upon the mere pretext that they are invited by a State officer to do so, when they know that no State officer has authority to give such invitation, then upon them be the consequences, for the sovereignty of Missouri must be protected."

The Proclamation of General Pillow alluded to, was dated New Madrid, in the southeastern portion of the State, on the Mississippi. It was addressed to the People of Missouri, and read thus:—"The forces under my command are your neighbors, and we come at the instance and request of the Governor of your State as allies to protect you against tyranny and oppression. As Tennesseeans, we have deeply sympathized with you. When you were called to arms and manifested a determination to resist the usurper who has trampled under his feet the Constitution of the Government, and destroyed all the guards so carefully prepared for the protection of the liberties of the people by our fathers, and when you called for help, Tennessee sends her army, composed of her cherished sons, to your aid. We will help you expel from your borders the population hostile to your rights and institutions, treating all such as enemies if found under arms. We will protect your people from wrong at the hands of our army, and while we have every reason to believe that no violence will be done to the rights of your true-hearted and loyal people, the General commanding begs to be informed if any case of wrong should occur. To the gallant army under his command, who hold in their keeping the honor of Tennessee, though composed of Tennesseeans. Mississippians and Kentuckians, he appeals as a father to his children, to violate the rights of no peaceable citizen, but to guard the honor of Tennessee as you would that of an affectionate mother, cherishing you as her sons. The field for active service is before you. Our stay here will be short. Our mission is to place our down-trodden sister on her feet, and to enable her to breathe after the heavy tread of the tyrant's foot. Then, by her own brave sons, she will maintain her rights and protect her own fair women from the foe, whose forces march under banners inscribed with 'Beauty and Booty' as the reward of victory. In victory the brave are always merciful, and no quarters will be shown to troops marching under such a banner. In this view, and for these purposes, we call upon the people of Missouri to come to our standard, join our forces, and aid in their own liberation. If you would be freemen, you must fight for your rights. Bring such arms as you have. We will furnish ammunition, and lead you on to victory. That the just Ruler of nations is with us is manifested in the glorious victory with which our arms were crowned in the bloody field of Manassas."

It was the era of Proclamations in Missouri. From this same place, New Madrid, Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, the last day of July, issued his Proclamation to the People of Missouri, authorizing the proceedings of General Pillow, whom he had brought from Tennessee; and a few days after, Governor Jackson himself issued another, also of considerable length and of greater importance, arraigning the acts of President Lincoln, and "provisionally" declaring the political connection between the United States of America and the people and Government of Missouri dissolved. This was in accordance with an arrangement of Governor Jackson with the government at Richmond for the introduction of Missouri as a member of the Confederacy.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GENERAL LYON'S MISSOURI CAMPAIGN. BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK, AUG. 10, 1861.

We left General Lyon setting out from Booneville at the beginning of July. He was firmly convinced of the necessity of action, and determined, in spite of every disadvantage of means and resources, to make that action prompt and effective. We may pause here a moment to notice a letter written by him a few days before, to a near relative who had requested some information on previous incidents of his life, doubtless with a view to their publication, for there were at this time few persons of whom the public more desired to hear than of General Lyon. It was a complimentary call which most persons thus situated would have found some means of complying with. But General Lyon was far too deeply engrossed with the concerns of his country to look at such a time into his past life for materials for eulogy. His reply exhibits the disinterestedness of the man, his superiority to any personal vanity or sense of importance, and his overwhelming conviction—a conviction which he, more than most leaders of the North, at that time felt—of the momentous nature of the conflict upon which the country had entered. He thus wrote from Boonevile, June 28th, 1861: "Dear Cousin,—I have your two notes asking for points of my military service. I have not answered, because I have no time, and do not think the subject of the least importance. This great and wicked rebellion absorbs my whole being to the exclusion of any considerations of fame or self-advancement. In this issue, if I have or shall have a conspicuous part, I would share it and the honors of it equally with every one who contributes to sustain the great cause of our country, which I have so much at heart. I have not received your notice of me in the *Journal of Commerce.* Most of the notices by the press are more or less erroneous. But alas! the past is nothing—painfully, indeed, unfruitful of benefits to our race. It is with the present we are dealing, and let us all devote ourselves to it with a view to secure the future. And let that future be blank and forever oblivious rather than our cause fail before the unscrupulous villainy now at war upon it. Of the ultimate results I have no doubts, though unfavorable incidents may arise under frauds and misrepresentations and a heretofore demoralized sentiment at the North, so unfortunately auspicious to our enemies. I am now deeply involved and concerned in the issues before me. My exertions and will shall not be wanting, though they may not go far to effect the result. What is now before me in this region I hardly know. The Governor and party have gone South, and may make another stand; though it is probable they intend to rendezvous in Arkansas and return with reinforcements. I have been unavoidably delayed by getting up a train, but shall pursue, though I do not expect to catch the fugitives."

Having diligently collected a train by the purchase of wagons and animals from the farmers of the country—he was not the man to wait for the Government manufacture of the regulation article—General Lyon, on the 3d of July, 1861, left Booneville in quest of the enemy. He had with him at starting 2,700 men, Iowa and Missouri volunteers, a company of regulars, and Captain Totten's battery of four pieces. of artillery. Though the force was small, it was imposing and affective, for the men of which it was composed knew their duty, and were prepared to discharge it. A body of pioneers, armed with Sharp's rifles and carrying axes and shovels, followed the regulars, who were placed in advance as skirmishers. Then came the artillery, succeeded by the infantry and a long train of supplies. General Lyon rode mounted on an iron-grey horse, accompanied by a select body-guard of ten stout German butchers from St. Louis, mounted on powerful horses and armed with revolvers and cavalry swords. Thus provided and equipped, the little army, hardly more than a simple brigade, made its way southward through the heat and dust of the sultry season. On the 7th, having secured the passage of Grand river, a branch of the Osage running through Henry county, he was joined at that ferry by 3,000 troops from Kansas, commanded by Major Sturgis, and the whole force was passed over the stream that night and early on the following morning by a single small scow. With similar expedition and success the army next day reached the Osage, striking the river in the heart of a dense forest ten or twelve miles west of Oceola. Here considerable excitement was produced in the camp by the news of Colonel Sigel's engagment at Carthage, which, in consequence of his retreat, was represented as a defeat. It was resolved turning from the extreme western part of the State to hasten to Springfield. On the 11th the army, starting at sunrise, regardless of the heat, accomplished a march of twenty-seven miles by 3 o'clock. "At sundown," continues Dr. Woodward, the latest biographer of General Lyon, in his narrative of the expedition, "the line of march was again formed. The road soon struck a heavy forest, where the dense foliage of the overhanging limbs shut out the glimmer of the stars, leaving the men to grope their way through almost total darkness. The road was little travelled, and extremely rough. Steep hills, deep gorges, swift streams, miry sloughs, gullies washed out by the rains, rocks scattered about everywhere, stumps and fallen timber were among the obstacles which had to be encountered in the darkness. Many were the bruised limbs and broken vehicles. For thirty-six hours most of the men had hardly closed their eyes, and now unsupportable drowsiness overpowered them. If the line came to a momentary halt, scores fell asleep in their tracks. Arousing as the column moved on; the men struggled bravely against fatigue til 3 o'clock in the morning, when General Lyon ordered a halt. Scarcely was the order issued before nine-tenths of the army were buried in slumber. Few waited to unroll their blankets or seek a shelter spot for a couch. Wherever they stood, they dropped upon the ground—officers and men indiscriminately—with the earth for a bed and the sky for a covering." Within twenty-four hours the toil-worn forces marched nearly fifty miles over a rugged, disadvantageous country, in the heat of midsummer, to carry aid to a portion of the army supposed to be in danger. Their exertions were rewarded the next morning by hearing that Sigel's command was safe, and, thus encouraged, they marched leisurely to Springfield, which they reached on the 13th, accomplishing the distance of nearly two hundred miles, from Booneville, in eleven days.

The retreat of Sigel through the enemy's forces at Carthage, was a fiery indication of the storm of war gathering in the South-west, which, sweeping onward, was destined to overpower—though not without a desperate struggle—the inferior bands of loyal men gathered round General Lyon at Springfield—numbers daily diminished by the expiration of the time of enlistment of the volunteers, of which his force was mostly composed. The preparations making by the rebels were the most formidable of their many attempts in this quarter during the war. Their army, collected from various quarters, at Cassville, to the south-west of Springfield, near the Arkansas line of Missouri, included a large body of Missourians, under General Price, a force of Arkansas troops led by General Pearce, a regiment of Texan rangers under Colonel Greer, a Louisiana regiment under Colonel Hebert, and a regiment of mounted riflemen under Colonel Churchill, with other commands comprehending the best military talent of the South-west. Few names of those who were distinguished at that time in the rebel service of the South-western region were missing from the muster of forces which, advancing under the command of General McCulloch, were encamped on the 6th of August at Wilson's Creek, a position ten miles south-west of Springfield. The object was the investment and capture of the Union forces of General Lyon at that town.

The rebel commander, Ben McCulloch was a person of some mark in military frontier life. A native of Rutherford county, Tennessee, the son of an aid of General Jackson's warrior-friend, General Coffee, he had early addicted himself to the hunter's life of the wilderness. In his younger days he acquired some reputation as an adept in bear hunting. When the tide of emigration began to set beyond the Mississippi, he made some ineffectual attempts to join parties of traders and trappers to Santa Fe and the Rocky mountains. He then settled in Gonzales county, Texas, joined General Houston at the first outbreak with the Mexicans, and was present, in command of a gun, at the battle of San Jacinto. When the province was annexed to the United States, and the war became national, he raised a company of Texans, and joined General Taylor on the Rio Grande, accompanying him to Monterey and Buena Vista, rendering good service as a scout. He was thence transferred to the column of General Scott, and entered Mexico with the triumphant army. After the war he returned to his home, and received his reward in the appointment by President Pierce, of United States Marshal in Texas. He subsequently enjoyed another appointment from President Buchanan, who, oddly enough, sent him with the army, when difficulties arose in the region, as Peace Commissioner to Utah. At the first overt acts of the Rebellion he was hovering about Washington, and his name was frequently mentioned in connection with rumors of attacks upon the city. He then disappeared from that quarter to become a more certain source of terror, and fulfil his destiny as the leader of the insurgents of Arkansas and South-western Missouri.

It was General Lyon's intention to meet the detached bodies of the enemy on their route before they were concentrated in their new position, and setting out from Springfield with this purpose on the 1st of August, he had advanced nineteen miles in a south-westerly direction, when, on the afternoon of the 2d, after a forced march of unusual severity, under a burning sun, he encountered a portion of the rebel forces under command of General Rains, in a sharp action at Dug Springs. The engagement is thus described by an eye-witness: "In order," says the writer, the correspondent of a New York journal with the army, "to understand the position of the parties, imagine an oblong basin of five miles in length, surrounded by hills, from which spurs projected into the main hollow, covered with occasional thickets and oak openings. The winding of the road round the spurs had the effect of concealing the strength of each party from the other, so that from the top of each successive ridge could be seen the rear of the enemy's forces. At about five o'clock a brisk interchange of shots was commenced by our skirmishers, Captain Steele's regular infantry taking the lead on the left, supported by a company of cavalry, the rest of the column being back some distance. Presently we could see a column of infantry approaching from the woods with the design of cutting off our infantry. Captain Stanley immediately drew up his men, and as soon as within range, they opened fire from their Sharp's carbines, when several volleys were exchanged. The number of the enemy's infantry was seemingly about five hundred; our cavalry not quite a hundred and fifty. The infantry kept up the firing for some minutes, when some enthusiastic lieutenant giving the order to 'charge,' some twenty-five of the gallant regulars rushed forward upon the enemy's lines, and, dashing aside the threatening bayonets of the sturdy rebels, hewed down the ranks with terrible slaughter. . . . The ground was left in our possession, being strewn with muskets, shot-guns, pistols, etc. Our men seized some fifteen muskets and the same number of horses and mules and rode off, when a large force of the enemy's cavalry was seen approaching from the woods, numbering some three hundred or more. At the instant when they had formed in an angle, Captain Totten, who had mounted a six and twelve-pounder upon an overlooking hill, sent a shell right over them; in another minute the second — a twelve-pound shell, a very marvel of gunnery practice —which landed right at their feet, exploding, and scattering the whole body in the most admired disorder. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth were sent into their midst. The horsemen could not control their horses, and in a minute not an enemy was to be seen anywhere."

The entire Union loss in this affair has been stated at 8 killed, 30 wounded; that of the enemy 40 killed, 44 wounded.* Although, says the correspondent just quoted, "the entire action cannot be raised to the dignity of a great battle, for the whole affair lasted less than half an hour, it was in reality a great triumph. Our advanced cavalry was alone engaged on our part, and they successfully fought and drove off a force ten times their number. It moreover revealed the fighting animus of the enemy; it revealed the state of their armament, and afforded a brilliant example for our expectant troops. All supposed when the crack of the cannon and whistling of shell were heard in such quick succession, that the battle was begun, and that a trial of arms was to ensue ere nightfall. Our men were under arms, cannon in position, until the news of the inglorious retreat of the vaunting rebels dispelled the prospect. The camps were then pitched, and the necessary precautions taken against attack. No description can do justice to the labors of the day. When the morning dawned the men were put in motion. The heat was insufferable, the incessant running about among the brush for miles on both sides of the main road created the most suffocating thirst. The tongue became swollen, the sweat was blinding, and the dust profuse. Even the hardiest men were glad to find shelter for a moment in some canebrake. The few wells or springs in the vicinity had given out. Water was not to be had ; toward evening two dollars and a half being offered for a canteen of warm ditch water. Many were victims of sunstroke and exhaustion, and never were a set of men more grateful than when the burning sun cast his declining shadow over the western hills." *

---

* Tribune Almanac for 1862, p. 45.

The march was continued some miles further to Curran, with various skirmishing by the way, in which General Lyon's forces kept the advantage, but the forward movement was not a successful one. The troops with inadequate supplies, were toiling with great inconvenience under the blazing sun of midsummer, through a country stripped of the means of subsistence, with no little hazard to their communications from the swarming bands of the enemy. In this state of affairs a council of officers was held, it was determined to retire, and the force was brought back to Springfield and its immediate neighborhood.

It appears to have been General Lyon's intention to attempt a night attack on the enemy's forces, on the 7th, and a portion of his command, under Major S. D. Sturgis of the regular cavalry, was kept advanced on the road for the purpose. Every preparation, in fact, was made for the movement ; but it was abandoned in consequence, it is said, of the loss of an hour or two by General Lyon, who, delayed by various business at his headquarters. found on proceeding to the camp, that it was 3 o'clock in the morning—too late an hour to take the enemy by surprise. These attempted movements of General Lyon show the impatience of the man for action in the midst of the unfavorable circumstances by which he was surrounded. He needed reinforcements and supplies, but called for them in vain. "I fear," he wrote on the 31st of July, "the enemy may become emboldened by our want of activity. I have constant rumors of a very large force below, and of threats to attack us with overwhelming numbers. I should have a much larger force than I have, and be much better supplied."

The troops were now called into Springfield ; a council of war was held, and it was seriously debated among the officers whether the town should not be abandoned and a retreat ordered. The motive of this discussion was the superior force of the enemy, which greatly outnumbered the Unionists. General McCulloch, in his report of the action which ensued at Wilson's Creek speaks of his effective force of 5,300 infantry, 15

---

* Correspondence of the New York *World*, Aug. 12, 1861.

pieces of artillery, and 6,000 horsemen, armed with flint-lock muskets, rifles and shot-guns. General Price gives the number of the Missouri State forces 5,221, officers and men. Major Sturgis mentions the force of General Lyon's division in the field at 3,700, to which are to be added some 1,200 with Sigel, making the actual combatants on the Union side at about 5,000. Major Sturgis sets down the enemy's force, in the aggregate, at 23,000. The troops of General Lyon were, many of them, freshly-raised, inexperienced recruits, who had been hastily summoned to take the place of the three months' volunteers who had left the camp upon the expiration of their short term of enlistment.

Under these circumstances it might have seemed the part of prudence and discretion to retire. There were some peculiarities in the case, however, which, to so ardent patriots as the commander and his officers, determined a contrary course. If they retreated, the moral advantage would be still greater than the material, to the foe. The Union cause would be broken in a large part of the State ; its defenders would lose heart and submit to their resolute assailants ; an important region, including the military resource of the lead mines, would be gained at once, and the northern and central portions of the State would be open to attack. Nor could the numerous trains of the Union forces be led away in safety with a greatly superior and unchecked army vigorously engaged in the pursuit. A sacrifice, in fact, to the minds of these patriots, appeared necessary for a great cause ; and when an offering on the altar of his country was required, General Lyon willingly presented himself. Nor was the battle without a prospect of success. There were officers in the Union ranks of signal ability, who, on previous occasions, had led their men to victory over superior forces. Good generalship and resolute bravery might at this time also gain the day. In the council of war held by General Lyon, it is said that his officers generally were in favor of a retreat from Springfield. General Sweeny, however, warmly advocated making a stand in face of the enemy, meeting them boldly, and withdrawing only on compulsion. In the action which ensued at Wilson's Creek, he was attached to the staff of General Lyon, and was especially distinguished for his courageous services in the field.

On Friday, the 9th, it was determined in both camps to make an advance within twenty-four hours. Orders were issued the afternoon of that day to the rebel forces to march in four separate columns at 9 o'clock that night, so as to surround Springfield and begin a simultaneous attack at daybreak. "The Darkness of the night and a threatened storm, however," continues General Price in his report, "caused General McCulloch, just as the army was about to march, to countermand this order, and to direct that the troops should hold themselves in readiness to move whenever ordered. The men were thus kept under arms till toward daybreak. The morning of Saturday, the 10th of August, found them still encamped at Wilson's Creek, fatigued by a night's watching and want of rest."*

General Lyon, meanwhile, on that Friday afternoon, was making his dispositions for an attack on the enemy the following morning. The command was arranged to move in two columns. The first, under General Lyon, consisted of three brigades, led respectively by Major S. D. Sturgis, a gallant officer of the regular army of much experience, who had joined the Union forces from Fort Leavenworth ; Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews of the 1st Missouri Volunteers, and Colonel Deitzler of a Kansas regiment. Major Sturgis' brigade included a battalion of regular infantry under Captain Plummer, Captain Totten's light battery of six pieces, Major Osterhaus' battalion of Missouri Volunteers, Captain Wood's mounted company of Kansas Volunteers, and Lieutenant Canfield's company of regular cavalry. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews' brigade embraced Captain Steele's battalion of regulars ; Lieutenant Dubois' light battery of four pieces, one of them a 12-pounder gun ; and the 1st Missouri Volunteers. The third brigade was made up of the 1st and 2d Kansas and 1st Iowa Volunteers, the former under Colonels Deitzler and Mitchell, with two hundred mounted Missouri Home Guards. Colonel Sigel's column or division consisted of the 3d and 5th regiments Missouri Volunteers, a company of cavalry under Captain Carr, another of 2d Dragoons, under Lieutenant Farrand, a company of recruits under Lieutenant Lothrop, 4th artillery, and a light battery of six pieces. The attack was to be made at daylight by General Lyon, on the enemy's left, and by Colonel Sigel on his right. The reports of these two movements by Major Sturgis, the second in command to General Lyon, and his successor on the field, and by Colonel Sigel, furnish the authentic narrative of the battle of Wilson's Creek.

---

* Gen. Price to Gov. Jackson, Springfield, Aug. 12, 1861.

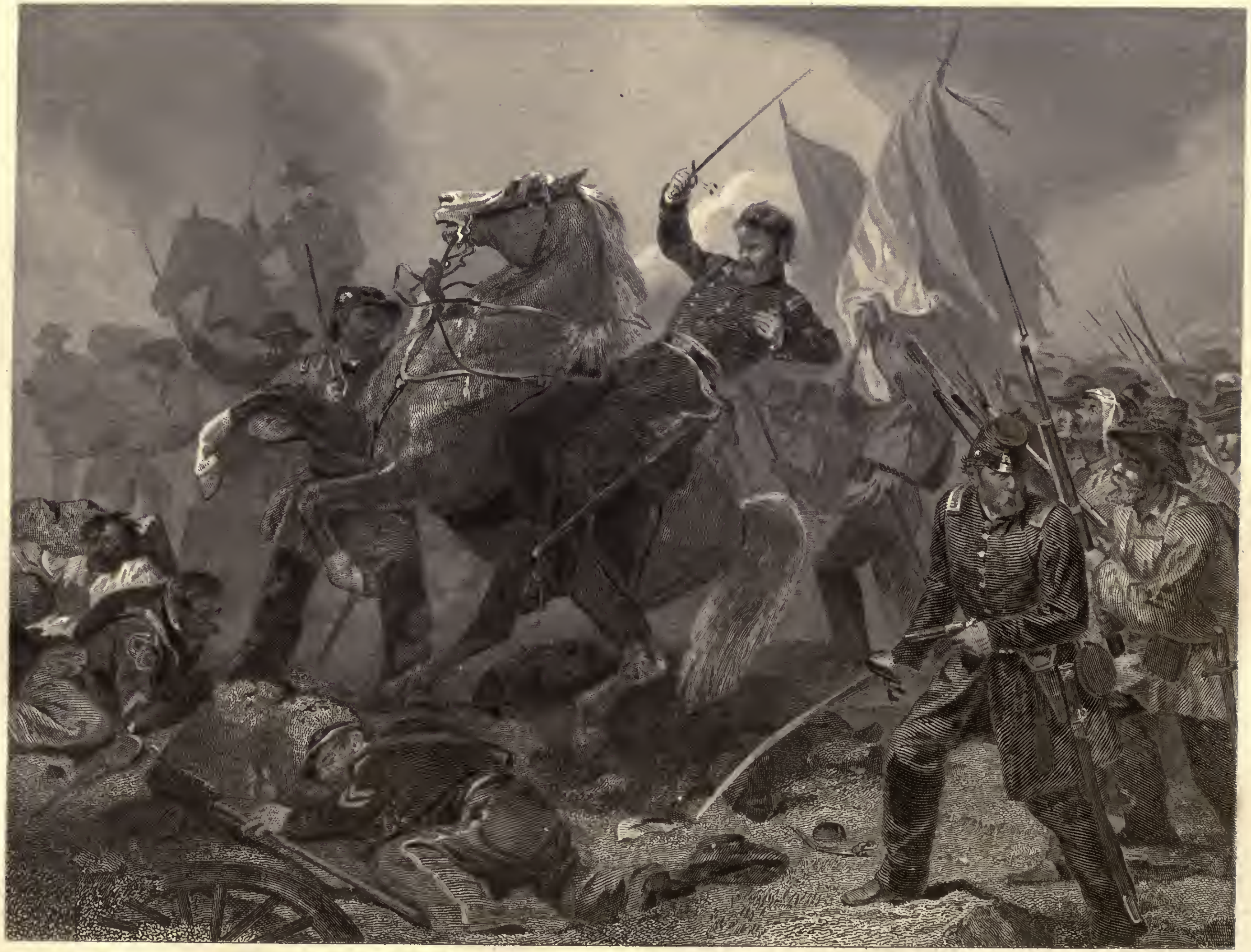
"The main column, under General Lyon," says Major Sturgis, "marched from Springfield at 5 o'clock P. M., on the 9th, making a detour to the right—at 1 o'clock in the morning arriving in view of the enemy's guard-fires. Here the column halted and lay on their arms until the dawn of day, when it again moved forward, Captain Gilbert's company, which had formed the advance during the night, still remained in advance, and the column moved in the same order in which it had halted. A south-easterly direction was now taken, with a view to strike the extreme northern point of the enemy's camp. At daylight a line of battle was formed, closely followed by Totten's battery, supported by a strong reserve. In this order we advanced, with skirmishers in front, until the first out-post of the rebels was encountered and driven in, when the column was halted and the following dispositions made, viz : Captain Plummer's battalion, with the Home Guard on his left, was to cross Wilson's Creek and move toward the front, keeping pace with the advance on the left opposite bank, for the purpose of protecting our left flank against any attempt of the enemy to turn it. After crossing a ravine, and ascending a high ridge, we came in full view of a considerable force of the enemy's skirmishers. Major Osterhaus' battalion was at once deployed to the right, and two companies of the 1st Missouri Volunteers, under Captains Yates and Cavender, were deployed to the left, all as skirmishers. The firing now became very severe, and it was evident we were approaching the enemy's stronghold, where they intended giving battle. A few shells from Totten's battery assisted our skirmishers in clearing the ground in front. The 1st Missouri and 1st

Kansas moved at once to the front, supported by Totten's battery and the 1st Iowa regiment; Dubois' battery, Steele's battalion and the 2d Kansas were held in reserve. The 1st Missouri now took its position in the front, upon the crest of a small elevated plateau. The 1st Kansas was posted on the left of the 1st Missouri, and separated from it some sixty yards on account of a ravine. The 1st Iowa took its position on the left of the 1st Kansas, while Totten's battery was placed opposite the interval between the 1st Kansas and 1st Missouri. Major Osterhaus' battalion occupied the extreme right, with his right resting on a ravine which turned abruptly to our right and rear. Dubois' battery, supported by Steele's battalion, was placed some eighty yards to the left and rear of Totten's guns, so as to bear upon a powerful battery of the enemy, posted to our left and front, on the opposite side of Wilson's Creek to sweep the entire plateau upon which our troops were formed.

"The enemy now rallied in large force near the foot of the slope, and under considerable cover, opposite our left wing, and along the slope in front and on our right toward the crest of the main ridge running parallel to the creek. During this time Captain Plummer, with his four companies of infantry, had moved down a ridge about 500 yards to our left, and separated from us by a deep ravine, and reached its abrupt terminus, where he found his further progress arrested by a large force of infantry occupying a corn-field in the valley in his front. At this moment an artillery fire was opened from a high point about two miles distant, and nearly in our front, from which Colonel Sigel was to have commenced his attack. This fire was answered from the opposite side of the valley, and at a greater distance from us; the line of fire of the two batteries being nearly perpendicular to our own. After about ten or twelve shots on either side, the firing ceased, and we neither heard nor saw anything more of General Sigel's brigade until about 8½ o'clock, when a brisk cannonading was heard for a few minutes, about a mile to the right of that heard before, and from two to three miles distant. Our whole line now advanced with much energy upon the enemy's position. The firing, which had been spirited for the last half hour, now increased to a continuous roar. During this time Captain Totten's battery came into action by section and by piece, as the nature of the ground would permit (it being wooded, with much undergrowth), and played upon the enemy's lines with great effect. After a fierce engagement, lasting perhaps half an hour, and in which our troops retired two or three times in more or less disorder, but never more than a few yards, again to rally and press forward with increased vigor, the enemy gave way in the utmost confusion, and left us in possession of the position. Meanwhile, Captain Plummer was ordered to move forward on our left, but meeting with overpowering resistance from the large mass of infantry in the corn-field in his front and in the woods beyond, was compelled to fall back; but at this moment Lieutenant Dubois' battery, which had taken position on our left flank, supported by Captain Steele's battalion, opened upon the enemy in the corn-field a fire of shells with such marked effect, as to drive him, in the utmost disorder and with great slaughter, from the field.

"There was now a momentary cessation of fire along nearly the whole line, except the extreme right, where the 1st Missouri was still engaged with a superior force of the enemy, attempting to turn our right. The General having been informed of this movement, sent the 2d Kansas to the support of the 1st Missouri. It came up in time to prevent the Missourians from being destroyed by the overwhelming force against which they were unflinchingly holding their position. The battalion of regular infantry under Captain Steele, which had been detailed to the support of Lieutenant Dubois' battery, was during the time brought forward to the support of Captain Totten's battery. Scarcely had these dispositions been made, when the enemy again appeared in very large force along our entire front, and moving toward each flank. The engagement at once became general, and almost inconceivably fierce along the entire line; the enemy appearing in front often in three or four ranks, lying down, kneeling, and standing, the lines often approaching to within thirty or forty yards of each other, as the enemy would charge upon Captain Totten's battery and be driven back. Early in the engagement the 1st Iowa came to the support of the 1st Kansas and 1st Missouri, both of which had stood like veteran troops, exposed to a galling fire of the enemy. Every available battalion was now brought into action, and the battle raged with unabated fury for more than an hour, the scales seeming all the time nearly equally balanced, our troops sometimes gaining a little ground, and again giving way a few yards to rally again. Early in this engagement, while General Lyon was leading his horse along the line on the left of Captain Totten's battery, and endeavoring to rally our troops, which were at this time in considerable disorder, his horse was killed, and he received a wound in the leg and one in the head. He walked slowly a few paces to the rear and said, 'I fear the day is lost.' I then dismounted one of my orderlies and tendered the horse to the General, who at first declined, saying it was not necessary. The horse, however, was left with him, and I moved off to rally a portion of the Iowa regiment, which was beginning to break in considerable numbers. In the meantime the General mounted, and swinging his hat in the air, called to the troops nearest him to follow. The 2d Kansas gallantly rallied around him, headed by the brave Colonel Mitchell. In a few moments the Colonel fell, severely wounded; about the same time a fatal ball was lodged in the General's breast, and he was carried from the field a corpse. Thus gloriously fell as brave a soldier as ever drew a sword—a man whose honesty of purpose was proverbial—a noble patriot, and one who held his life as nothing when his country demanded it of him.

"Of this dire calamity I was not informed until perhaps half an hour after its occurrence. In the meantime our disorderly line on the left was again rallied, and pressed the enemy with great vigor and coolness, particularly the 1st Iowa regiment, which fought like veterans. This hot encounter lasted perhaps half an hour. After the death of General Lyon, when the enemy fled and left the field clear, so far as we could see, an almost total silence reigned for a space of twenty minutes. Major Scofield now informed me of the death of General Lyon, and reported for orders. The responsibility which now rested upon me



BATTLE OF WILSON'S CREEK—DEATH OF GEN. LYON.

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers, New York

was duly felt and appreciated. Our brave little army was scattered and broken; over 20,000 men were still in our front, and our men had had no water since 5 o'clock the evening before, and could hope for none short of Springfield, twelve miles distant; if we should go forward, our own success would prove our certain defeat in the end; if we retreated, disaster stared us in the face; our ammunition was well nigh exhausted, and should the enemy make this discovery through a slackening of our fire, total annihilation was all we could expect. The great question in my mind was, 'Where is Sigel?' If I could still hope for a vigorous attack by him, on the enemy's right flank or rear, then we could go forward with some hope of success. If he had retreated, there was nothing left for us also. In this perplexing condition of affairs, I summoned the principal officers for consultation. The great question with most of them was, 'Is retreat possible?' The consultation was brought to a close by the advance of a heavy column of infantry from the hill, where Sigel's guns had been heard before. Thinking they were Sigel's men, a line was formed for an advance, with the hope of forming a junction with him. These troops wore a dress much resembling that of Sigel's brigade, and carried the American flag. They were therefore permitted to move down the hill within easy range of Dubois' battery, until they had reached the covered position at the foot of the ridge on which we were posted, and from which we had been fiercely assailed before, when suddenly a battery was planted on the hill in our front, and began to pour on us shrapnel and canister—a species of shot not before fired by the enemy. At this moment the enemy showed his true colors, and at once commenced along our entire lines the fiercest and most bloody engagement of the day. Lieutenant Dubois' battery on our left, gallantly supported by Major Osterhaus' battalion and the rallied fragments of the Missouri 1st, soon silenced the enemy's battery on the hill, and repulsed the right wing of his infantry. Captain Totten's battery in the centre, supported by the Iowas and regulars, was the main point of attack. The enemy could frequently be seen within twenty feet of Totten's guns, and the smoke of the opposing lines was often so confounded as to seem but one. Now, for the first time during the day, our entire line maintained its position with perfect firmness. Not that the slightest disposition to give way was manifested at any point, and while Captain Steele's battalion, which was some yards in front of the line, together with the troops on the right and left, were in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by superior numbers, the contending lines being almost muzzle to muzzle, Captain Granger rushed to the rear and brought up the supports of Dubois' battery, consisting of two or three companies of the 1st Missouri, three companies of the 1st Kansas, and two companies of the 1st Iowa, in quick time, and fell upon the enemy's right flank, and poured into it a murderous volley, killing or wounding nearly every man within sixty or seventy yards. From this moment a perfect route took place throughout the rebel front, while ours on the right flank continued to pour a galling fire into their disorganized masses.

"It was then evident that Totten's battery and Steele's little battalion were safe. Among the officers conspicuous in leading this assault were Adjutant Hezcock, Captains Burke, Miller, Maunter, Maurice, and Richardson, and Lieutenant Howard, all of the 1st Missouri. There were others of the 1st Kansas and 1st Iowa who participated, and whose names I do not remember. The enemy then fled from the field. A few moments before the close of the engagement, the 2d Kansas, which had firmly maintained its position, on the extreme right, from the time it was first sent there, found its ammunition exhausted, and I directed it to withdraw slowly and in good order from the field, which it did, bringing off its wounded, which left our right flank exposed, and the enemy renewed the attack at that point, after it had ceased along the whole line; but it was gallantly met by Captain Steele's battalion of regulars, who had just driven the enemy from the right of the centre, and, after a sharp engagement, drove him precipitately from the field. Thus closed—at about half-past eleven o'clock—an almost uninterrupted conflict of six hours. The order to retreat was given soon after the enemy gave way from our front and centre. Lieutenant Dubois' having been previously sent to occupy with its supports the hill in our rear. Captain Totten's battery, as soon as his disabled horses could be replaced, retired slowly with the main body of the infantry, while Captain Steele, was meeting the demonstrations upon our right flank. This having been repulsed, and no enemy being in sight, the whole column moved slowly to the high open prairie, about two miles from the battle-ground; meanwhile our ambulances passed to and fro, carrying off our wounded. After making a short halt on the prairie, we continued our march to Springfield. It should be here remembered, that just after the order to retire was given, and while it was undecided whether the retreat should be continued, or whether we should occupy the more favorable position of our rear, and await tidings of Colonel Sigel, one of his non-commissioned officers arrived, and reported that the Colonel's brigade had been totally routed, and all his artillery captured, Colonel Sigel himself having been either killed or made prisoner. Most of our men having fired away all their ammunition, and all that could be obtained from the boxes of the killed and wounded. Nothing, therefore, was left to do but to return to Springfield, where two hundred and fifty Home Guards, with two pieces of artillery, had been left to take care of the train. On reaching the Little York Road, we met Lieutenant Farrand, with his company of dragoons, and a considerable portion of Colonel Sigel's command, with one piece of artillery. At five o'clock we reached Springfield."

From this account of the main action, we turn to the narrative of Colonel Sigel of the part borne by his command at the opposite or southern end of the valley. "On Friday, the 9th day of August," says he, "General Lyon informed me, that it was his intention to attack the enemy in his camp at Wilson's Creek, on the morning of the 10th; that the attack should be made from two sides, and that I should take command of the left. The troops assigned to me consisted of the Second Brigade, Missouri volunteers—900 men—infantry of the 3d and 5th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Albert and Colonel Salomon, and six pieces of artillery, under Lieutenants Schaeffer and Scheutzenbach; besides two companies of regular cavalry, belonging to the command of Major Sturgis. I left Camp Fremont, on the south side of Springfield, at 6½ o'clock, on the evening of the 9th, and arrived at daybreak within a mile of the enemy's camp, and, after taking forward the two cavalry companies from the right and left, I cut off about forty men of the enemy's troops, who were coming from the camp in little squads to get water and provisions. This was done in such a manner that no news of our advance could be brought into the camp. In sight of the enemy's tents, which spread out on our front and right, I planted four pieces of artillery on a little hill, whilst the infantry advanced toward the point where the Fayetteville road crosses Wilson's Creek, and the two cavalry companies extended to the right and left to guard our flank. It was 5½ o'clock when some musket firing was heard from the north-west. I therefore ordered the artillery to begin their fire against the camp of the enemy (Missourians), which was so destructive that the enemy were seen leaving their tents and retiring in haste toward the north-east valley. Meanwhile the 3d and 5th had quickly advanced, passed the creek, and traversing the camp, formed almost in the centre of it. As the enemy made his rally in large numbers before us, about 3,000 strong, consisting of infantry and cavalry, I ordered the artillery to be brought forward from the hill and formed there in battery across the valley, with the 3d and 5th to the left, and the cavalry to the right. After an effectual fire of half an hour, the enemy retired in some confusion into the woods and up the adjoining hills. The firing toward the north-west was now more distinct, and increased, until it was evident that the main corps of General Lyon had engaged the enemy along the whole line. To give the greatest possible assistance to him, I left my position in the camp and advanced toward the north-west to attack the enemy's line of battle in the rear.

"Marching forward, we struck the Fayetteville road, making our way through a large number of cattle and horses, until we arrived at an eminence used as a slaughtering place, and known as Sharp's Farm. On our route we had taken about two hundred prisoners, who were scattered over the camp. At Sharp's place we met numbers of the enemy's soldiers, who were evidently retiring in this direction, and, as I suspected that the enemy on his retreat, would follow in the same direction, I formed the troops across the road by planting the artillery on the plateau and the two infantry regiments on the right and left, across the road, whilst the cavalry companies extended on our flanks. At this time, and after some skirmishing in front of our line, the firing in the direction of the north-west, which was during an hour's time, roaring in succession, had almost entirely ceased. I thereupon presumed that the attack of General Lyon had been successful, and that his troops were in pursuit of the enemy, who moved in large numbers toward the south, along the ridge of a hill about 700 yards opposite our right.

"This was the state of affairs at 8½ o'clock in the morning, when it was reported to me by Dr. Melchior and some of our skirmishers, that Lyon's men were coming up the road. Lieutenant Albert of the 3d, and Colonel Salomon of the 5th, notified their regiments not to fire on troops coming in this direction, whilst I cautioned the artillery in the same manner. Our troops at this moment expected with anxiety the approach of our friends, and were waving the flag, raised as a signal to their comrades, when at once two batteries opened their fire against us—one in front, placed on the Fayetteville road, and the other upon the hill upon which we had supposed Lyon's forces were in pursuit of the enemy, whilst a strong column of infantry, supposed to be the Iowa regiment, advanced from the Fayetteville road and attacked our right. It is impossible for me to describe the consternation and frightful confusion which was occasioned by this important event. The cry 'They (Lyon's troops) are firing against us!' spread like wild fire through our ranks; the artillerymen, ordered to fire, and directed by myself, could hardly be brought forward to serve their pieces; the infantry would not level their arms until it was too late. The enemy arrived within ten paces of the muzzles of our cannon, killed the horses, turned the flanks of the infantry, and forced them to fly. The troops were throwing themselves into the bushes and bye-roads, retreating as well as they could, followed and attacked incessantly by large bodies of Arkansas and Texas cavalry. In this retreat we lost five cannon, of which three were spiked, and the colors of the 3d, the color-bearer having been wounded, and his substitute killed."

"In order," adds Colonel Sigel, "to understand clearly our actions and our fate, you will permit me to state the following facts: First, according to orders, it was the duty of this brigade to attack the enemy in the rear, and to cut off his retreat, which order I tried to execute, whatever the consequences might be. Second, the time of service of the 5th regiment Missouri Volunteers had expired before the battle. I had induced them, company by company, not to leave us in the most critical moment, and had engaged them for the term of eight days, this term ending on Friday the 9th, the day before the battle. Third, the 3d regiment, of which 400 three months' men had been dismissed, was composed for the greater part of recruits, who had not seen the enemy before, and were imperfectly drilled. Fourth, the men serving the pieces, and the drivers, consisted of infantry taken from the 3d regiment, and were mostly recruits who had only a few days' instruction. Fifth, about two-thirds of our officers had left us; some companies had no officers at all—a great pity—but the consequence of the system of the three months' service."

General McCulloch, the Commander-in-chief of the several divisions of the insurgent forces in the field, thus reports the operations of the day, his account abundantly confirming the valor of the assailants as reported by the Union officers: "General Lyon attacked us on our left and General Sigel on our right and rear. From these points batteries opened upon us. My command was soon ready. The Missourians under Generals Slack, Clark, McBride, Parsons and Rains, were nearest the position taken by General Lyon with his main force; they were instantly turned to the left, and opened the battle with an incessant fire of small arms. Woodruff opposed his battery to the battery of the enemy, under Captain Totten, and a constant cannonade was kept up between these batteries during the engagement. Hebert's regiment of Louisiana Volunteers, and McIntosh's regiment of Arkansas Mounted Riflemen, were ordered to the front, and after passing the battery (Totten's), turned to the left and soon engaged the enemy with the regiments deployed. Colonel McIntosh dismounted his regiment, and the two marched up abreast of a fence around a large corn-field, where they met the left of the enemy already posted. A terrible conflict of small arms took place here. The opposing force was a body of regular United States Infantry, commanded by Captains Plummer and Gillbert. Notwithstanding the galling fire poured on these two regiments, they leaped over the fence, and, gallantly led by their colonels, drove the enemy before them, back upon the main body. During this time the Missourians under General Price were nobly attempting to sustain themselves in the centre, and were hotly engaged on the sides of the height upon which the enemy were posted. Far on the right, Sigel had opened his battery upon Churchill's and Greer's regiments, and had gradually made his way to the Springfield road, upon each side of which the army was encamped, and in a prominent position he established his battery. I at once took two companies of the Louisiana regiment, who were nearest me, and marched them rapidly from the front and right to the rear, with order to Colonel McIntosh to bring up the rest. When we arrived near the enemy's battery, we found that Reid's battery had opened upon it, and it was already in confusion. Advantage was taken of it, and soon the Louisianians were gallantly charging upon the guns, and swept the cannoneers away. Five guns were here taken, and Sigel's command completely routed, were in rapid retreat, with a single gun, followed by some companies of the Texan regiment and a portion of Colonel Major's Missouri cavalry. In the pursuit many of the enemy were killed and taken prisoners, and their last gun captured.

"Having cleared our right and rear, it was necessary to turn all our attention to the centre, under General Lyon, who was pressing upon the Missourians, having driven them back. To this point McIntosh's regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Embry, and Churchill's regiment on foot, Gratiot's regiment, and McRae's battalion were sent to their aid. The terrible firing of musketry was now kept up along the whole side and top of the hill, upon which the enemy was posted. Masses of infantry fell back and again rushed forward. The summit of the hill was covered with the dead and wounded—both sides were fighting with desperation for the day, Carroll's and Greer's regiments, led gallantly by Captain Bradfute, charged the battery, but the whole strength of the enemy was immediately in rear, and a deadly fire was opened upon them. At this critical moment, when the fortune of the day seemed to be at the turning point, two regiments of General Pearce's brigade were ordered to march from their position (as reserves) to support the centre. The order was obeyed with alacrity, and General Pearce gallantly rushed with his brigade to the rescue. Reid's battery was also ordered to move forward, and the Louisiana regiment was again called into action on the left of it. The battle then became general, and probably no two opposing forces ever fought with greater desperation; inch by inch the enemy gave way, and were driven from their position; Totten's battery fell back; Missourians, Arkansians, Louisianians and Texans pushed forward. The incessant roll of musketry was deafening, and the balls fell as thick as hailstones; but still our gallant Southerners pushed onward, and with one wild yell broke upon the enemy, pushing them back and strewing the ground with their dead. Nothing could withstand the impetuosity of our final charge; the enemy fled, and could not again be rallied, and they were seen, at 12 M., last retreating among the hills in the distance. Thus ended the battle. It lasted six hours and a half."

The loss in this battle was very heavy in proportion to the number engaged. It appears by official returns that the loss of the Union army was two hundred and twenty-three killed, seven hundred and twenty-one wounded, and two hundred and ninety-one missing; a total loss in killed and wounded of about one-fifth of the number engaged. General McCulloch, the Confederate commander, states his loss at two hundred and sixty-five killed, eight hundred wounded, and thirty missing. General Price reports one hundred and fifty-six killed on the field, and five hundred and seventeen wounded of his Missouri State Guard—about one-eighth of his command. "This great victory," he writes, "was dearly bought by the blood of many a skillful officer and brave man. Among those who fell mortally wounded on the battle-field, none deserve a dearer place in the memory of Missourians than Richard Hanson Weightman Colonel commanding the first brigade of the second division of the army. Taking up arms at the very beginning of this unhappy contest, he had already done distinguished services at the battle of Rock Creek, where he commanded the State forces after the death of the lamented Holloway, and at Carthage where he won unfading laurels by the display of extraordinary coolness, courage and skill. He fell at the head of his brigade, wounded in three places, and died just as the victorious shouts of our army began to rise upon the air. Here, too, died, in the discharge of his duty, Colonel Benjamin Brown, of Ray county, President of the Senate, a good man and true." The story of the day multiplies these eulogies. We may accept them from both sides. Good men and true may be deluded by their pride or prejudices. The deepest sorrow for them, the heaviest indignation for the leaders, the traitorous conspirators by whom the offence cometh.

The Union forces, the morning after the battle, left Springfield, and began their retreat under command of Colonel Sigel, to whom Major Sturgis and the other officers assigned the direction of the movement, a distance of about a hundred and twenty-five miles in a north-westerly direction, to Rolla, where there was railway communication with St. Louis. The southern portion of the State was thus left open to the depredations of the Confederates. It was more than a month afterward, however, before they made any further inroad upon the north, when General Price, having mustered a considerable force, appeared before Lexington. The immediate result of General Lyon's battle was undoubtedly to give an important check to the movements of the secessionists. Its lasting influence was felt throughout the war, and will not be forgotten in another age. When public speakers would animate the valor of the newly-enlisted officers and their recruits, untried in the experience of the camp, they held up the example of the courage and devotion of Lyon ; when Representatives in Congress would stimulate the activity of Generals in the field, they pointed to the energy of Lyon ; when patriots would rebuke the corrupt horde of army contractors, fattening upon the misfortunes of the State, they turned to dwell with admiration on the purity and self-denying virtues of Lyon, the single-minded lover of his country.

General Lyon was never married. He left three brothers and three sisters. It was stated at the time of his death that he had bequeathed some thirty thousand dollars, the frugal gatherings of his career in the public service, to the nation ; but this was an error. He made no such disposition of his property, nor was he called upon to do so. That such an anecdote was invented and generally credited shows, however, the view entertained of his character and devoted patriotism. By no one was this devotion more warmly acknowledged than by Major-General Fremont, the commander of his department. On the receipt of the official reports of the officers engaged at Wilson's Creek, he issued a general order, in which he announced "with pride and the highest commendation the extraordinary services to their country and flag rendered by the division of the brave and lamented General Lyon. Opposed by overwhelming masses of the enemy in a numerical superiority of upward of twenty thousand against four thousand three hundred, or nearly five to one, the successes of our troops were nevertheless sufficiently marked to give to their exploits the moral effect of a victory." Adopting the glowing eulogy of the "indomitable" General Lyon, which we have already recorded in the official report of Major Sturgis, he invited all to "emulate his prowess and undying devotion to his duty. The regiments and corps engaged in this battle will be permitted to have 'Springfield' emblazoned on their colors as a distinguished memorial of their services to the nation."

The body of General Lyon was placed in an ambulance to be carried from the field, and by some accident was not removed in the retreat ; but was recovered by a flag of truce and borne to Springfield. There the remains were taken in charge by the wife of the Hon. J. S. Phelps, loyal member of Congress of the district and entombed. They were presently removed to the East by two members of the family of the fallen General, who were received by the Confederate military authorities at Springfield with every consideration for their melancholy errand. At St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York and Hartford, the remains were accorded public honors as they were borne to a final resting-place in the rural district of Connecticut, the village home where, forty-three years before, the lamented patriot first saw the light. A large procession, military and civic, attended the funeral, and eulogies and addresses were delivered in front of the church at Eastford by the Hon. Judge Carpenter of Connecticut, the Hon. Galusha A. Grow, Speaker of the national House of Representatives, Governor Buckingham of Connecticut, Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, and others. When the National Legislature met in December, it was resolved, by a joint resolution of both Houses, that "Congress deems it just and proper to enter upon its records a recognition of the eminent and patriotic services of the late Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon. The country to whose service he devoted his life, will guard and preserve his fame as a part of its own glory. That the thanks of Congress are hereby given to the brave officers and soldiers who, under the command of the late General Lyon, sustained the honor of the flag and achieved a victory against overwhelming numbers at the battle of Springfield in Missouri; and that in order to commemorate an event so honorable to the country and themselves, it is ordered that each regiment engaged shall be authorized to bear upon its colors the word 'Springfield,' embroidered in letters of gold. And the President of the United States is hereby requested to cause these resolutions to be read at the head of every regiment in the army of the United States."

General Price, the commander of the Missouri State Guard, issued a Proclamation after the battle, addressed to the People of Missouri. Declaring that the army under his command "had been organized under the laws of the State for the protection of their homes and firesides, and for the maintenance of the rights, dignity and honor of Missouri," he added that it was "kept in the field for these purposes alone, and to aid in accomplishing them, our gallant Southern brethren have come into our State with these. We have just achieved a glorious victory over the foe, and scattered far and wide the well-appointed army which the usurper at Washington has been more than six months gathering for your subjugation and enslavement. This victory frees a large portion of the State from the power of the invaders, and restores it to the protection of its army. It consequently becomes my duty to assure you that it is my firm determination to protect every peaceable citizen in the full enjoyment of all his rights, whatever may have been his sympathies in the present unhappy struggle, if he has not taken an active part in the cruel warfare which has been waged against the good people of this State by the ruthless enemies whom we have just defeated. I therefore invite all good citizens to return to their homes and the practice of their ordinary avocations, with the full assurance that they, their families, their homes and their property shall be carefully protected. I, at the same time, warn all evil-disposed persons, who may support the usurpations of any one claiming to be provisional or temporary Governor of Missouri, or who shall in any other way give aid or comfort to the enemy, that they will be held as enemies, and treated accordingly." The Confederate Congress at Richmond presently, on the 21st of August, on motion of Mr. Ochiltree of Texas, passed the following resolution: "Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to the arms of the Confederate States another glorious and important victory in a portion of the country where a reverse would have been disastrous, by exposing the families of the good people of the State of Missouri to the unbridled license of the brutal soldiery of an unscrupulous enemy; therefore, be it resolved: That the thanks of Congress are cordially tendered to Brigadier-General Ben McCulloch and the officers and soldiers of his brave command, for their gallant conduct in defeating, after a battle of six and a half hours, a force of the enemy equal in numbers, and greatly superior in all their appointments, thus proving that a right cause nerves the hearts and strengthens the arms of the Southern people, fighting, as they are, for their liberty, their homes and friends against an unholy despotism." Such were the representations made, and such the belief inculcated in high quarters of the motives and conduct of the Federal army, raised at such cost and self-sacrifice for the preservation of the Union and the old liberties and prosperity of the nation!

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE DEFENCE OF LEXINGTON, SEPTEMBER 12–20, 1861.

We have now to turn our attention to a position in western Missouri which became the scene of one of the most interesting episodes of the war. The town of Lexington, the capital of Layfayette county, situated on the Southern bank of the Missouri river, three hundred miles above St. Louis, occupies an important frontier position, commanding the approach by water to Fort Leavenworth, and the direct communication with Independence and the great overland route to Santa Fe. It was a prosperous town, lying in a fertile region, and one of the most thriving settlements of the West. Its inhabitants were understood to be tainted with secession sentiments, and the place afforded, of course, a favorable opportunity for the operations of the insurgents. As the danger of its occupation became imminent, a small force was sent forward by order of General Fremont to take charge of the money in the banks, and prevent the region from spoliation in aid of the Rebellion. With these and several accessions of troops, there were collected at this place, early in September, a body of about twenty-seven hundred men, composed of the 13th Missouri regiment under Colonel Peabody, the 1st Illinois regiment of cavalry, Colonel Marshall, five hundred Missouri Home Guards, and the 23d regiment of the Irish brigade, a body of stalwart men raised in Illinois, who were led by Colonel James A. Mulligan of Chicago. This gentleman of Irish parentage, was born in Utica, New York, in 1829. He was educated at the Catholic College at Chicago, had studied law, and edited the *Western Tablet* in that city, been admitted to the bar, employed as a clerk in the Department of the Interior at Washington, and at the outbreak of the present war was a Captain of a militia company, "Shields' Guards," at Chicago. With such antecedents, it was a natural step to a Colonelcy of the Irish Brigade raised in that city in 1861. The youth, enthusiasm, and energy of this officer proved important qualifications for the military career upon which he had entered, and which his command was destined successfully to illustrate.

Colonel Mulligan, while encamped with his regiment at Jefferson City, at the end of August, received the order to march to the relief of Colonel Marshall's cavalry at Lexington, one hundred and twenty miles by the road to the westward.

Starting with forty rounds of ammunition and three days' rations, foraging by the way, they accomplished the march in nine days, reaching Lexington on the 9th of September, when Colonel Mulligan, as senior officer, took the command of the troops assembled there—Colonel Marshall's cavalry and the Home Guard, already mentioned. Colonel Peabody's Missouri regiment came in the next day in full retreat from Warrensburg, before the forces of General Price. Colonel Mulligan then immediately began the work of intrenchment, having chosen a favorable position for the purpose on an elevation high above the river, at a distance of about half a mile from it, and commanding the lower inland approaches. The spot selected bore the name Masonic Hill, and was intermediate between the new and old town. A solid brick edifice, built for a college, was upon it, and by the side of this the first line of defence were drawn. The whole circuit of the fortification was made to include an area capable of receiving ten thousand men. This was defended by a heavy earthwork, raised with great labor by Colonel Mulligan's force, breast high, some ten feet in width at the base and five feet at the summit. Outside of this was a ditch eight feet broad, while in the open space, for several hundred feet beyond, the ground was perforated by a series of skillfully contrived pits, and heaped up with mounds which, though extempore works, suggested more by mother wit than military experience, were well calculated to baffle the efforts of any assailants on foot or on horseback. Beside these ingenious devices, the ground was also carefully mined, and a good supply of gunpowder, with suitable trains laid in it, a fact which, subsequently reported to the enemy with the exaggeration usual under such circumstances, undoubtedly tended to keep them at a distance and prolong the siege.

Works like these, of course, were not the labor of a day. They were performed under many disadvantages, with the foe close at hand, with the prospect of a fierce and deadly encounter with superior numbers, and under circumstances which to less brave and spirited men, would have counseled, without dishonor, a prudent and safe retreat. It would seem that this gallant band were actuated by the single motive of setting before their countrymen an inspiring example of ennobling toil and indomitable valor.

Their preparations were barely commenced, when the third day after the arrival of Colonel Mulligan, the enemy, in large numbers, led by General Price, were announced at hand. Their first design was evidently an immediate attack. The pickets were driven in, but further onset was steadily repulsed. There was some sharp and brave work on that day, the 12th, driving the rebels backward over a bridge which they had crossed, and encountering them with deadly resolution in a struggle at another point in a graveyard. The result of the day's fighting, which included a cannonading of the college defences, was the withdrawal of General Price to a safe position, where he awaited reinforcements, while the little band of Lexington gathered to their arduous labors at the intrenchments. At these works were mounted a scant supply of artillery, consisting of but five 6-pounders, with which the honors of a siege were to be maintained against the batteries of the enemy, numbering thirteen guns.

Having been strongly reinforced—his

troops now numbering, it is calculated, twenty-seven thousand men—General Price began to close in upon the works. The number appears large. The troops gathered by the rebels in Missouri, it should be remembered, however, did not always turn out for a campaign, but came with their hunting rifles for the occasion. They may thus, very probably, have greatly exceeded in number the volunteers regularly enlisted for the war. On the 17th, the defenders were cut off from the town, upon which they were mainly dependent for a supply of water. The work was now stoutly invested. On the 18th the final attack was begun. The extensive preparations for it are related in the official report of General Price to Governor Jackson. "Brigadier-General Rains' division," he states, "occupied a strong position on the east and north-east of the fortifications, from which an effective cannonading was kept up by Bledsoe's battery and another commanded by Captain Churchill Clark of St. Louis. General Parsons took a position on the west of the works, whence his battery, under command of Captain Guibor, poured a steady fire. Skirmishers and sharpshooters were also sent forward from both of these divisions to harass and fatigue the enemy, and to cut them off from the water on the north, east and south of the college, and did inestimable service in the accomplishment of these purposes. Colonel Congreve, Jackson's division, and a part of General Steen's were posted as a reserve, at all times vigilant and ready to rush upon the enemy."

One of the severest passages of arms beyond the limits of the fort during these days of bombardment, illustrates the barbarity of this unnatural war. It was a struggle for the possession of the hospital building, occupied by the sick and wounded of the Union troops, one hundred and fifty in number, and situated outside of their entrenchments. This edifice, a large dwelling-house, on the summit of the bluff, commanded the fort and its defenders at a distance of a few hundred yards. It was seized upon by a portion of General Price's command, about noon, his troops, he alleges, having been fired upon from the building; and became, with the adjoining grounds, in the hands of the sharpshooters of his army—men expert in the use of their trusty rifles—a most serious annoyance to the defenders of the fort. In this strait Colonel Mulligan, after two parties of the Missouri troops shrank from the task, sent forth a devoted band of his brigade, Captain Gleason's company of Montgomery Guards, to regain the building and repel the assailants. The men whom he selected were a single company, eighty in number. Onward they marched, silent, unflinching, twice receiving the volleys of the insurgents from the building and making no reply. When they charged, the onset was terrific. They quickly drove the enemy before them, and took possession of the building. Fifty only of the gallant party returned, quietly to resume their labors at the trenches; the rest were offered a sacrifice in a deed of glory.

The position was, however, soon regained by the insurgents. The heights to the left of the hospital, to resume the narrative of General Price, were fortified by his soldiers, "who threw up breastworks as well as they could with their slender means." Thus the siege went on for three prolonged days, the bright moonlight rendering the night as serviceable as the day for the work of assault, which was never intermitted. The supply of food and ammunition was rapidly failing within the fort, and water, that indispensable craving of the wounded, was quite cut off. Yet the garrison held out; its thin ranks manfully fighting the guns, and ready to repel, hand to hand, any near approach of the invaders. At length a prudent expedient was hit upon by the assailants, which saved them the necessity of a dangerous assault. "On the morning of the 20th," says General Price, "I caused a number of hemp bales to be transported to the river heights, where movable breastworks were speedily constructed out of them by Generals Harris and McBride, Colonel Rivers and Major Winston, and their respective commands. Captain Kelley's battery, attached to General Steen's division, was ordered at the same time to the position occupied by General Harris' force and and quickly opened a very effective fire. These demonstrations, and particularly the continued advance of the hempen breastworks, which were as efficient as the cotton bales at New Orleans, quickly attracted the attention and excited the alarm of the enemy, who made many daring attempts to drive us back. They were, however, repulsed in every instance by the unflinching courage and fixed determination of our men. In these desperate encounters, the veterans of McBride's and Slack's divisions fully sustained their proud reputation, while Colonel Martin Green, and his command, and Colonel Boyd and Major Winston, and their commands, proved themselves worthy to fight by the side of the men who had, by their courage and valor, won imperishable honor in the bloody battle of Springfield."

From statements like these of the assailants, we may judge of the vigor of the defence. We have heard Colonel Mulligan himself, in a popular address to the citizens of New York, recount the incident of these eventful days of persistent courage and endurance. He filled up with animated adventure that tale of war, which, in the best written dispatches, is little better than a barren formula, but which, to the participants, is intensified with lofty purpose, and glowing action—a sum of life which crowds the sensations of years into days. He told of the toil and exposure, the ignominious hard labor, made honorable by the lofty motive, the patience and resolution with which wounds were braved, and death encountered among the shattered and the dying; of the hospital sufferings when the enemy having barbarously made captives of the surgeons, the only aid for mangled limbs was from the scant service of a soldier, who had been at one time a physician, who was called from the ranks for this unwonted duty, who cut, lopped and hacked perforce, his only instrument a razor; of the dying agonies of men calling for water, and drinking the scant refuse mingled with blood, with which the whole place was dabbled and oozy; of the death-dealing of the enemy, when they for a short time only gained a portion of the works; of the strange touches of good humor and good fellowship which seemed to relieve, and yet enhanced the terrors of this grim scene.

By the testimony of friend and foe it was an extremity which justified surrender, which, in the eyes of policy and military discretion, might have justified surrender long before. Not until the ammunition was exhausted, the privations of thirst become excessive, and all hope of timely relief departed, was a council of officers held, and the delivery of the fort agreed upon. The surrender was unconditional. This occurred on the afternoon of the 20th, the third day of the incessant siege, when the work was taken possession of by General Price, who already held the town; the officers were kept as prisoners, and the rank and file dismissed on their parole, pledging themselves not to take up arms against the Confederate States or the State of Missouri.

"Thus," in the words of an eye-witness of the scene, "ended the siege of Lexington. Of the defence I need scarcely speak in terms of eulogy; a plain statement of the circumstances carries its own conclusion to every mind. For seventy-two hours was a mere handful of men exposed, without cessation, to a literal shower of iron and leaden hail; and to this was added the more terrible enemy, thirst. For forty-eight hours did the Union forces labor beneath a melting sun, grimy with powder, choked by sulphurous smoke, worn out by labor, to which the cooling shades of night brought no intermission, tortured by a terrible thirst, which was mocked by the turgid waters of the Missouri, that flowed lazily along just beneath their eager eyes—out of provisions, out of ammunition, despairing of help, certain of ultimate extinction, they yet fought on. The gallant Mulligan was always where bullets and dangers were thickest—leading now a desperate charge against a hempen breastwork—passing from trench to trench, encouraging the men to resistance—crying like a broken-hearted child when forced by stern necessity to yield up his command—and, last of all, groaning upon a sick bed, to which he was driven by the workings of a gallant but sensitive soul over his 'great misfortunes.'"*

The loss of the Union troops during the siege has been stated at about one hundred and thirty in killed and wounded; that of the assailants is set down in the report of General Price as twenty-five killed and seventy-two wounded. "The visible fruits of this almost bloodless victory," adds this Confederate commander, "are great—about 3,500 prisoners, among whom are Colonels Mulligan, Marshall, Peabody, White, Grover, Major Van Horn, and 118 other commissioned officers, five pieces of artillery and two mortars, over 3,000 stand of infantry arms, a large number of sabres, about 750 horses, many sets of cavalry equipments, wagons, teams, ammunition, more than $100,000 worth of Commissary stores, and a large amount of other property. In addition to all this, I obtained the restoration of the great seal of the State and the public records, which had been stolen from their proper custodian, and about $900,000 in money, of which the bank at this place had been robbed, and which I have caused to be returned to it. This victory has demonstrated the fitness of our citizen soldiery for the tedious operations of a siege, as well as for a dashing charge. They lay for fifty-two hours in the open air, without tents or covering, regardless of the sun and rain, and in the very presence of a watchful and desperate foe, manfully repelling every assault, and patiently awaiting my orders to storm the fortifications. No general ever commanded a braver or a better army. It is composed of the best blood and the bravest men of Missouri."* The question was asked, why was not Lexington relieved. Colonel Mulligan had sent for aid, and though his messenger was captured, his position was known, and the tenacity of his defence could only be understood on the supposition that he expected succor. The official announcement of Major-General Fremont of the event, in his despatch to Colonel Townsend, Adjutant-General at Washington, dated St. Louis, September 23, in these few words, says something in explanation of the apparent neglect: "I have a telegram from Brookfield that Lexington has fallen into Price's hands, he having cut off Mulligan's supply of water. Reinforcements, four thousand strong, under Sturgis, by the capture of the ferry-boats, had no means of crossing the river in time. Lane's force from the south-west, and Davis' from the south-east, upward of eleven thousand in all, could also not get there in time. I am taking the field myself, and hope to destroy the enemy either before or after the junction of the forces under McCulloch." Great disappointment was felt on this disaster of Lexington, following close upon the defeat at Springfield, and fears were entertained of a permanent occupation of western Missouri, with inroads into the northern region across the river. Nothing of this, however, occurred. Conscious of his inability to hold the position against the forces marshalling at St. Louis, General Price soon determined to abandon the place. As Fremont made preparations to advance toward him he retreated. The rebels took their course toward the southern portion of the State, leaving a guard behind them in possession of Lexington.

---

* Correspondence of the New York *Times*. Squier's Pictorial History of the War, p. 155.

The following month (Oct. 16th) a brilliant attack was made upon the town by Major Frank J. White, a gallant young officer of General Fremont's staff, at the head of a scouting cavalry squadron which he had organized for special service under direction of his commander. Setting out from Georgetown at 9 o'clock in the evening with two hundred and twenty men, he reached Lexington early the following morning by a severe forced march of nearly sixty miles. Driving in the rebel pickets without loss, he took possession of the town, made from sixty to seventy prisoners, to whom he administered the oath of allegiance, captured a quantity of arms and provisions, released a number of Federal officers and men who had been taken and imprisoned by Price, and seized a steamer which came up to the town during his visit The place was held for thirty-six hours before the rebels, who had fled in every direction, mustered in force to surround it."*

Colonel Mulligan, after following the insurgent forces for awhile in their marches as a prisoner, recovered his freedom by exchange. An agreement was made on the 26th October at Neosho, between Generals Fremont and Price, arranging terms of exchange of the prisoners taken at Lexington and those who were captured by General Lyon at Camp Jackson. The exchange was to be effected grade for grade, or two officers of a lower grade as an equivalent in rank for one of a higher grade; the exchange to embrace prisoners on parole, as also those held in custody. The number of prisoners enumerated in the agreement for exchange was five hundred and thirty, mostly, if not all, paroled. Of these, there were about seventy officers on each side. In making this exchange, General Price reiterated the protest of the officers and men made at Camp Jackson, against the legality of their capture and the exaction of parole when released.

---

* General Sterling Price to the Hon. Claiborne F. Jackson, Governor of the State of Missouri, Camp Wallace, Lexington, Sept. 2?, 1861.

* Major White, Com. 1st Squadron Prairie Scouts, to Major-General Fremont, Oct. 24, 1861.

On his return soon after to Chicago, Colonel Mulligan was welcomed by a public reception, when he acknowledged the salutations of his fellow-citizens in the following appropriate speech: "How deeply and profoundly I am impressed with this honor, let my future conduct determine. It stirs me with a deep emotion. I take it as intended, not for myself, but that I may tender it to those brave men who, with arms that never failed, and hearts that never faltered, hedged me round for those nine wild, trying days at Lexington. I take it that I may tender it to the brave Major Moore; to my gallant Lieutenant-Colonel Quirk; to the chivalric Captain Moriarty, that brave old soldier who laid down the sword in the trenches for the scalpel in the hospital, and the scalpel again for the sword, to wield it bravely in the trenches till the last moment; to that noble Captain Montgomery who, when I ordered him on the bloodiest charge of the battle, drew up his company in readiness four deep, and as I said to them, 'Men of the brigade, you must take that hospital,' there stood Captain Gleason, pale as marble—pale, not with fear, but from sickness—ready to meet death at any moment; to the gallant Fitzgerald, worthy the name of the illustrious Edward; and to all who have lain with me upon the steel and flinty couch of war, and personally offer it to those brave hearts. I was besieged at Lexington, but never so besieged as now, and coming, as I do, from the land of Price and of 'Dixie,' such a welcome is indeed pleasant, as it is again to stand in the land of 'Hail Columbia' and 'Yankee Doodle.' Coming to, as I do, with the experience gained in those trying hours, I pledge myself, and the whole Irish Brigade, that while there is a fireside here threatened, or a house endangered, their lives will cheerfully be given in defence of that fireside and home. I am for the Union now, and for the Union until death, and, in conclusion, let me say, that when I again meet you, I hope it will be at the head of my old brigade, with my face set toward Missouri and against rebellion."

At the meeting of Congress in December, a resolution, introduced by Mr. Arnold of Illinois, was adopted, thanking Colonel Mulligan and his command for their heroic defence of Lexington, and authorizing the 23d regiment of Illinois to wear on their colors the name of "Lexington." For this and other services, Colonel Mulligan was promoted to a Brigadier-Generalship.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HATTERAS ISLAND.

Toward the end of August a military and naval expedition was in preparation at Fortress Monroe obviously intended to act on some point of the Southern coast. The secret of its destination was well kept, and it was not till the speedy return of its commander, bearing news of its success, that its plan and objects were known to the public. It was of importance, not so much by its magnitude or any immediate grand results, as by the demonstration which it afforded of the power of our ships in operations against forts on the land, and of the comparative ease with which the coast territory of the rebels might be occupied and controlled. Hitherto the Navy had been confined to the tedious manœuvering and police work of the blockade; it was now to have an opportunity to test the skill of its gunners, the seamanship of its sailors, and the spirit and efficiency of its officers. The result proved that, whatever lagging or need of further preparation there might be in the army, this portion of the service was in every respect ready for its work.

The command of the land force of this expedition was held by Major-General Butler, who had been recently succeeded at Fortress Monroe by General Wool. He had with him about nine hundred troops, consisting of five hundred of Colonel Max Weber's 20th regiment New York Volunteers, two hundred and twenty of Colonel Hawkins' 9th New York Zouave regiment, one hundred of the Union Coast Guard, commanded by Captain Nixon, and sixty of the 2d United States Artillery, under Lieutenant Larned. The naval force, under the command of Commodore Silas H. Stringham, a native of New York, who had been in the service for more than half a century, honorably employed in its active duties, was composed of the flag-ship Minnesota, Captain G. A. Van Brunt, having in company the United States steamers Wabash, Captain Samuel Mercer; Monticello, Commander John P. Gillis; Pawnee, Commander S. C. Rowan; Harriet Lane, Captain John Faunce; the chartered transport steamers Adelaide, Commander Henry S. Stellwagen; George Peabody, Lieutenant R. B. Lowry; and the chartered tug Fanny, an armed propeller of light draft, commanded by Lieutenant Crosby—all of the United States navy. The fleet was well provided with surf-boats for landing.

The destination of the expedition was Hatteras Inlet, one of the most important entrances to the extensive series of navigable waters on the river coast of North Carolina, through the long range of sand islands which here serve as a barrier against the wild waves of the Atlantic. There were several of these passages—a shallow one above at New Inlet, a near approach to Albemarle Sound, another of more consequence below at Ocracoke, but this at Hatteras, hard by the lighthouse at the Cape, was evidently of most value. It was guarded by two protecting forts—Hatteras and Clark—recently erected by the rebels, and its deep harbor was notorious as a refuge for privateers and an entrance for various trading vessels running the blockade. Its value to the secessionists in this respect may be estimated from the following passage from a letter written by Major W. Beverhow Thompson, the constructing engineer of the rebels at Fort Hatteras, to Colonel Warren Winslow, Military Secretary. This epistle is dated at the end of July, about a month preceding the arrival of the Burnside Expedition, and was found at the capture of the forts. After calling for additional troops for the defence of the place, and urging its importance as "the key to Albemarle Sound," he notes these incidents of the day: "We now have two privateers in this harbor, besides the war steamers Winslow, the Gordon of Charleston, Captain Lockwood, armed with three guns, a fine large steamer. She returned this morning with a prize brig laden with three hundred and sixty hogsheads of molasses. We have also a saucy-looking little pilot-schooner, the Florida, mounting one 6-pound rifle cannon. She captured a prize two days since, took her crew out, and sent her in with her own men. A United States Government steamer gave chase to the prize, and they were obliged to beach her near Nag's Head. She, of course, is a total loss." Were it only to relieve the commerce of the country of so convenient a piratical resort, the capture of the position would have been worth attempting. Its possession would control a large part of the trade of North Carolina, and cut off from Virginia a very ready means of supply in numerous essential articles of foreign production.

The expedition to accomplish this desirable result set sail from Hampton Roads after midday of the 26th of August, reached Cape Hatteras the next day, and were anchored off the Inlet in the afternoon. The surf-boats were hoisted out, and preparations made for landing troops in the morning. The Wabash, with the Cumberland, Captain John Marston, in tow, this frigate having joined the expedition from her cruising-ground off the coast, led in toward Fort Clark, the outermost of the two forts at the entrance, and at 10 o'clock opened fire, which was returned from the fort. The Minnesota presently passed inside of the attacking vessels just named and delivered her fire. At 11 Captain John Chauncey arrived with the Susquehanna from the Delaware, and added his heavy guns with admirable precision to the bombardment. In the words of Commodore Stringham, in his report describing the method of the action, "the vessels continued passing and repassing the fort until it was abandoned by the enemy." While the fire from the squadron was most effective, that from the fort fell short or passed the ships. At half-past 12 the flags were down on both forts, and the signal was given by the Commodore to cease firing.

Meanwhile General Butler, on board the Harriet Lane, was busily engaged in directing the disembarkation of his troops on the open beach, a proceeding, as it proved, of no little difficulty, in consequence of a heavy surf which had been excited by the recent gales from the south-west. The landing commenced at 10 o'clock, and was only partially successful, being broken up by the increasing violence of the wind and surf, and the injuries to the means of transportation. Both the iron boats, upon which dependence were placed, were swamped in the surf, and both the flat-boats were stove. "A brave attempt," records General Butler, "made by Lieutenant Crosby of the United States army, who had volunteered to come down with the steam-tug Fanny, belonging to the army, to land in a boat from the war-steamer Pawnee, resulted in the beaching of the boat so that she could not be got off." The further landing was relinquished for the time, because it was found utterly impracticable. Three hundred and eighteen of the men, however, were safely on shore, though in an ill condition, their garments saturated with water, their ammunition wet, and they were without provisions or the means of receiving them from the fleet. The little force thus thrown upon the island consisted of portions of the two New York regiments, a party of marines from the Minnesota, forty-five regulars under Lieutenant Larned, twenty-eight of Captain Nixon's coast-guard, and twenty sailors to serve the artillery. Fortunately a 12-pound rifled boat-gun and a 12-pound howitzer had been landed. The whole were under the command of Colonel Weber. His first proceeding was to forward a small reconnoitering party, when word was presently brought back reporting that the troops were beginning to evacuate Fort Clark. He then ordered its occupation, which was gallantly accomplished. Lieutenant-Colonel Weiss entered the work, took with his own hands the first secession flag, and hoisted the Stars and Stripes. Colonel Weber then followed with his troops, but his movement was somewhat seriously interrupted by the fire from the fleet, which had not yet ceased. Shells burst over them and in their midst, two exploding in the fort wounding one of the men slightly in the hand. "I still," says Colonel Weber, "held the fort occupied, sent an American flag along the beach, and the firing ceased." He then placed Captain Nixon, with a sufficient guard, to hold possession of the fort during the night, and set a vigilant watch of the enemy in the direction of Fort Hatteras, and returning with his main force, bivouacked at the landing place.

The attention of the fleet meanwhile, in the afternoon, had been more particularly turned to this by far the more important of the two works. At 2 o'clock the Monticello, while making her way into the inlet to take possession, was opened on from Fort Hatteras, "toward which a tug steamer, towing a schooner filled with troops, was seen coming from the southward for its relief. General signal 'Engage batteries,' was immediately made. The Minnesota, Susquehanna and Pawnee opened fire at once, the Wabash having towed the Cumberland into the offing. The Monticello, from her advanced position, was much exposed, and was struck several times, but finally hauled off without serious damage." The firing ceased at evening, and the squadron hauled off for the night, leaving the Monticello, Pawnee and Harriet Lane near the shore for the protection of the troops.

Early the next morning, the 29th, the attack was vigorously resumed. The weather was pleasant, with the wind to the south-west, and a more moderate sea. At half-past five the fleet weighed anchor and stood for the shore. The troops, about whom some anxiety was felt, were discovered on the shore, and the Monticello and Pawnee were ordered to their relief. An adventurous act was performed at this time by an Aid of General Butler, Lieutenant Fiske. He boldly plunged through the breakers, with the expectation of being thrown ashore, that he might carry orders for the troops on the land and apprise them of the movements of the troops. He not only accomplished this, but he returned in a similar manner to the fleet, bearing with him, in a package strapped on his shoulders, the official documents, letters and books of the commanding officers, which he had found in Fort Clark. "When the meeting was held on the Minnesota," as the story is told by the correspondent of the New York *Herald*, "to arrange terms of capitulation, the rebel officers were utterly astonished at the accurate information of the General, and inquired anxiously how he knew what they were doing the day before, and who was the person among them to whom signals had been made from the fleet. The General simply replied that he possessed means of accurate information."

At half-past seven the general signal was given, "Attack batteries, but be careful not to fire near the battery in our possession." At 8 the Susquehanna led the way, and opened fire on Fort Hatteras. The Wabash immediately followed, the Minnesota passing inside and anchoring between the two. At 9 they were joined by the Cumberland, coming in under full sail, "handled handsomely," says Commodore Stringham, with a genuine sailor's admiration, of the relief of the old frigate, from her dependence upon the steam power of her associates. She anchored in excellent position, on the starboard bow of the Minnesota, and joined in the attack. At first the shots fell somewhat short, when longer fuses were employed, and the shell fell in and around the fort with destructive effect. The Harriet Lane, about 10, came up and opened her rifled guns. A few minutes past 11 a white flag was displayed from the fort, and the action ceased. The force of Colonel Weber, which had been employed during the morning in holding a position on the inner shore, and driving off with the artillery the rebel steamers in the Sound, now advanced to take possession of the fort.

General Butler was at the time of the surrender on board the tug Fanny, about to land the remainder of the troops. He then proceeded into the inlet, and sent Lieutenant Crosby on shore, "to demand the meaning of the white flag." There had been already some conversation on the subject between the Commander of the Fort, Captain Samuel Barron, formerly of the United States navy, now in the Confederate service, "Commanding Naval Defence, Virginia and North Carolina," and Captain Nixon and Lieutenant Wiegel, of the forces on shore, and the rebel officer had prepared a memorandum expressive of his wishes, to be conveyed to General Butler. It was now received and carried by Lieutenants Crosky and Wiegel. It thus read: "Flag Officer, Samuel Barron, C. S. Navy, offers to surrender Fort Hatteras, with all the arms and munitions of war. The officers allowed to go out with side-arms, and the men without arms to retire." This was accompanied by a verbal communication, stating that he had in the fort six hundred and fifteen men, and a thousand more within an hour's call, but that he was anxious to spare the effusion of blood. To both these messages General Butler, answered in the following terms: "Memorandum. Benjamin F. Butler, Major-

General, U. S. Army commanding, in reply to the communication of Samuel Barron, commanding forces at Fort Hatteras, cannot admit the terms proposed. The terms proposed are these: full capitulation, the officers and men to be treated as prisoners of war. No other terms admissible. Commanding officers to meet on board flag-ship Minnesota to arrange details."

After a slight delay, while the proposition was considered by the Confederate officers, Lieutenant Crosby returned, bringing with him Captain Barron, Major W. L. G. Andrews, commander of the forts, and Colonel William F. Martin of the 7th Light Infantry, N. C. Volunteers. They were first met by General Butler in his tug Fanny, and thence proceeded together to the more imposing quarters of the flag-ship Minnesota, where they were joined by Commodore Stringham, and the formal articles of capitulation agreed upon and signed. All munitions of war, arms, men and property, were unconditionally surrendered with the stipulation that the officers and men should receive the treatment due to prisoners of war.

When this was accomplished, General Butler landed with the Confederate officers, Colonel Martin and Major Andrews, and, in his own concise, expressive language, "took a formal surrender of the forts, with all the men and munitions of war, inspected the troops, to see that the arms had been properly surrendered, marched them out and embarked them on board the Adelaide, and marched my own troops into the fort, and raised our flag upon it amid the cheers of our men, and a salute of thirteen guns, which had been shotted by the enemy."

Whilst the negotiations for the capitulations were in hand, both the Adelaide transport, with a large portion of the troops on board, and the Harriet Lane had grounded, in attempting to pass the bar, and lay fully exposed to the enemy's guns. It was a moment, General Butler acknowledges, in which he felt the greatest anxiety. He had demanded the strongest terms and they were yet under consideration. The opportunity of assault upon so valuable a portion of the expedition, which accident had suddenly thrown in their way, might be a temptation to the enemy to reject them. "But," says the General, "I determined to abate not a tittle of what I believed to be due to the dignity of the Government; not even to give an official title to the officer in command of the rebels. Besides, my tug was in the inlet, and at least I could carry on the engagement with my two rifled six-pounders well supplied with Sawyer's shell." Considering that the tug thus alluded to, the Fanny, was but a canal boat, which had been adapted to warlike purposes, and that the full powers of the Wabash, the Susquehannah and other proved vessels of the Navy had been required to bring the forts to surrender, this determination certainly showed a doughty resolution on the part of the gallant commander. Fears were had of the loss of the Harriet Lane, in her critical position in the breakers, but by lightening her of her guns and coal, which were thrown overboard, and by the aid of a high tide, she was two days afterwards got off in safety.

"Upon taking possession of Fort Hatteras," continues General Butler in his official report, "I found that it mounted ter guns, with four yet unmounted, and one large ten-inch Columbiad, all ready for mounting. Its position is an exceedingly strong one, nearly surrounded on all sides by water, and only to be approached by a march of five hundred yards, circuitously over a long neck of sand, within half musket range, and over a causeway a few feet only in width, and which was commanded by two thirty-two pound guns, loaded with grape and canister, which were expended in our salute. It had a well-protected magazine, and bomb proof, capable of sheltering some three or four hundred men. The parapet was nearly of octagon form, enclosing about two-thirds of an acre of ground, well covered with sufficient traverses and ramparts and parapets, upon which our shells had made but little impression. Fort Clark, which was about seven hundred yards northerly, is a square redoubt, mounting five guns and two six-pounders. The enemy had spiked these guns, but in a very inefficient manner, upon abandoning the fort the day before."

The casualties to the enemy in the engagement are not exactly known. From the report of assistant-surgeon William M. King, the United States officer to whom was assigned the charge of the rebel wounded, we learn that the whole number found wounded at the surrender of the forts was thirteeen. Eleven of these were capable of being removed on board the Adelaide. Many others, and perhaps all the killed, he thinks were sent away on the steamers in the Sound prior to the capitulation. On the Union side "there was no casualty of any consequence whatever." Among the incidents of the bombardment, one is related of a sailor of the Minnesota, named Kraigbaum, who accidentally dropped his gun sponge overboard, instantly jumped after it, succeeded in regaining it, and was assisted on deck by his comrades. On being questioned by his officer for this rash act, he replied, "He did not want his gun to be disgraced!"

Two secession reports of the engagement by Major Andrews and Commodore Barron have appeared. Both these officers arrived on the ground the evening of the first day's engagement. Major Andrews found Colonel Martin in command, utterly prostrated by the duties of his position, having, "after a day of most severe and unceasing fighting," succeeded in concentrating his forces within the walls of Fort Hatteras. Commodore Barron was then invited to assume the command, and accepted the task. Measures were taken to bring the guns to bear upon the assailants, but when the bombardment began the next morning, it was found that the fleet was quite out of their reach. Waiting for reinforcements, they received the hostile shower which, Major Andrews tells us, "in half an hour became literally tremendous, as we had falling into, and immediately around the works, not less on an average than ten each minute and, the sea being smooth, the firing was remarkably accurate. One officer counted twenty-eight shells falling so as to damage us in one minute, and several others counted twenty in a minute. For three hours and twenty minutes Fort Hatteras resisted a storm of shells perhaps more terrible than ever fell upon any other works. At the time the council determined to surrender, two of our guns were dismounted, four men were reported killed, and between twenty-five and thirty badly wounded. One shell had fallen into the room adjoining the magazine, and the magazine was reported on fire." Commodore Barron informs us that in assuming the grave responsibility of defending the fort, he was not unaware that he could be shelled out of it, but that he expected the arrival from Newbern of a regiment of North Carolina volunteers at or before midnight, with which he would be able to assault the party who had landed and taken possession of Fort Clark. He was encouraged to this by the fleet having put to sea and the appearances of bad weather. The regiment, however, did not arrive till the following day, when the bombardment had commenced, "and when the time came," he adds, "that I deemed evacuation or surrender unavoidable, the means of escape were not at my command." Commodore Samuel Barron, who thus became a prisoner of war and was so retained in the Northern States till the general exchange of prisoners which took place a year after these events, was a native of Virginia, son of Commodore Barron, celebrated for his command of the Chesapeake in the encounter with the Shannon, and his fatal duel with Decatur. He entered the United States navy in 1812, and remained in the service variously employed at intervals on sea and on shore, till his recent defection on the breaking out of the revolt. Accompanying him in the surrender was Lieutenant William Sharpe, also a native of Virginia, late holding the same rank in the United States service, who had left the Navy Yard at Norfolk for the rebel flag.

General Wool, from his headquarters of the department of Virginia, at Fortress Monroe, issued a General Order announcing the glorious victory, which he eulogized not by epithets, but by an enumeration of its immediate results in "the capture of seven hundred and fifteen men, including the commander, Barron, and one of the North Carolina cabinet, one thousand stand of arms, and seventy-five kegs of powder, five stand of colors, and thirty-one pieces of cannon, including a ten-inch columbiad, a brig loaded with cotton, a sloop loaded with provisions and stores, two light boats, one hundred and fifty bags of coffee, etc. This gallant affair will not fail to stimulate the volunteers and regulars to greater achievements," adding, in the spirit of an old disciplinarian who knew the dangers of presumption and the essential conditions of success, the oracular military maxim: "Obedience, order, discipline and instruction are indispensable to maintain the interest, honor, and humane institutions of the Union."

Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, congratulated the officers and men on the skill and bravery they had displayed, and its successful result. "This brilliant achievement," was the language of his letter, "accomplished without the loss of a man on your part, or injury to any one in the Federal service, has carried joy and gladness to the bosom of every friend of the Union." He saw in it "but the beginning of results that will soon eventuate in suppressing the insurrection and confirming more strongly than ever the integrity of the Union."

This sentiment of the day was everywhere loudly echoed. The tide of success, it was said, had at last turned in our favor. The navy had an opportunity to display its strength, and had not been found wanting. The whole Southern coast was at the mercy of its operations. It had but to strike, and the blow would be felt. One gun on shore had been thought equal to three on land; but all this was now reversed. The modern system of warfare had changed all that. Steam navigation, newly invented weapons, and practised gunnery, had destroyed the prestige of the land. Such a defence as that by Moultrie of Fort Sullivan in the Revolution, when a handful of resolute men, behind a wall of Palmetto logs, could defy a well-equipped British squadron, was no longer practicable. What would hinder the repetition of this achievement at Charleston, Savannah, the seaports of Florida, Mobile and the Mississippi? In the victory at Fort Hatteras the whole coast was potentially ours.

The import of the victory at Hatteras, in its connection with the progress of the war, is indicated in the correspondence of an accurately informed observer at Washington, the editor, Mr. John W. Forney, to his journal, *The Press*, at Philadelphia. After describing some of the immediate results of the occupation, he adds: "Now that Virginia is almost effectually closed in—now that the rebels can receive no aid from Maryland—none from the frontier counties of Pennsylvania — none from North Carolina, the whole coast of which is to-day almost entirely blockaded — Western Virginia becomes a strategic point of the highest importance. Now Eastern Tennessee may look up with some hope for succor. Kentucky may be emboldened to strike from her gigantic limbs her self-imposed or neutral fetters. The same influences that awaken the patriots of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee, may reorganize and revive the patriots of North Carolina. But beyond the border States, for thus far the whole burden of the war has fallen upon them, lies the greater question of meeting the traitors in the Gulf or cotton States, and of punishing them in their strongholds. They have sent forward nearly all their available troops to capture the capital and to subsidize the Union men of the border States. They will hereafter be called upon to protect their coasts, and undoubtedly their inland positions, from the loyal fleets that will swarm in their waters, and the loyal armies that will swarm over their soil. Gradually Fort Pickens has been strengthened; Key West, in the same latitude, held, and more than one of their strong points silently and secretly occupied. The mouth of the Mississippi is menaced by our men-of-war. Fort Pulaski, in Georgia, will soon be in range of our guns, and the Texan coast, within easy sailing or steaming distance, will be seized by our naval or mercantile marine—all the more easily that Ben McCulloch and his banditti are off ravaging the fair fields of Missouri." These prescient intimations of coming campaigns were thrown out on the 1st of September, 1861; we shall see in what the future fell short of the programme, and in what the promise was sustained.

In fitting out the Expedition it was the intention of the Government simply to take and destroy the forts and break up the communication with the interior by blocking the shallow channel within the inlet. The unexpected success of the bombardment, however, led General Butler, on consultation with Flag-Officer Stringham and Commander Stellwagen, to garrison the fort and occupy the position, at least till such time as further instructions could be obtained from the Government on the subject. The troops were accordingly left in possession, while the prisoners were embarked in the Monticello for New York, and General Butler hastened, on the Adelaide, to carry the first tidings of his victory to the Department at Washington. He reached the capital by way of Fortress Monroe and a special train from Annapolis, a little after midnight on the morning of Sunday the 1st of September, and immediately communicated the intelligence to members of the Cabinet. The news was then quickly spread by telegraph over the country. Commodore Stringham arrived at New York a few days after in his flag-ship Minnesota, bringing with him the captured officers and men, who were lodged at Governor's Island. On the night of the 5th of September, he was honored by a complimentary serenade from his fellow-citizens of Brooklyn, N. Y., where he resided, when various congratulatory speeches were delivered with much enthusiasm.

Shortly after General Butler's return, a letter written by him was published, dated from the United States frigate Minnesota, off Cape Hatteras, the day preceding the recent action, August 27th. It was in reply to inquiries and solicitations of his Democratic party friends in Massachusetts, who had suggested that he should be a candidate for Governor at the ensuing election. On leaving home, he said, for the duties of the war, he left all politics, in a party sense of the term behind him, and now "knew no politics in any sense, save as represented by the question—How best to preserve the Union and restore the country in its integrity." He therefore seeing in Governor Andrew one who "has endeavored faithfully, zealously and efficiently to put our commonwealth on the side of the nation," desired no change in the Executive. He would not say that he would vote for Governor Andrew, but if he were at home he would not vote against him. "The Republican party having won a political victory, both in the State and the nation, is entitled to the patriotic endeavor of every man to give it a fair trial in the administration of the Government, and in that it should, as it does, take the lead in official positions." In regard to certain "peace" propositions or discussions, he said: "A peace involving the disintegration of the Union, or until the supremacy of the Government is forever established, would be simply a declaration of perpetual war of sections. Were the Southern Confederacy to-day acknowledged in the fullness of good faith, two months would not elapse before causes of war would arise, sufficient not only to justify, but to demand a renewal of the conflict. No two months have passed, in the last ten years at least, in which outrages have not been committed upon Northern men in the South, which, had they been perpetrated by a foreign nation, would have demanded a redress of grievances, under pain of a suspension of diplomatic relations. But we have borne these outrages because there was no tribunal to the arbitrament of which we could submit them, and it was against the genius of our people to appeal to arms. Therefore, I see with pain upon the part of some of those with whom I have acted in political organizations, a disposition to advocate peaceful settlements wherein there can be no peace. Therefore, this war must go on, not for the purpose of subjugation, but, if those who have commenced it bring upon themselves that condition as an incident, it will only be another illustration of the fruit of sowing the wind." In the same spirit and to the same effect he addressed the citizens of Lowell on his return to Massachusetts. "We must have the whole of this country under one government, or else no government at all There is no middle ground. We must pour out blood and treasure—the first like water, the last like sand—until that is accomplished. If you have no country, what have you left? Nothing! We should be base to give up the rich inheritance bequeathed to us by our fathers, and leave to our children only a broken and ruined country."

The action of the officers in retaining possession of the forts was approved by the Government, and measures taken to secure the position. The garrison at Hatteras was reinforced by the remaining companies of Hawkins' Zouaves, who were destined for honorable service in this region, and the rebel defences at Ocracoke, which had been abandoned, were entirely broken up. This service was performed under the direction of Commodore S. C. Rowan, of the U. S. steamer Pawnee, by Lieutenant James Y. Maxwell, who proceeded to the spot with a detachment of marines and soldiers of the Naval Brigade, on the Fanny, towing a launch from the Pawnee. The Susquehannah also accompanied the expedition. Fort Ocracoke, on Beacon Island, commanding the inlet, was found to be a well constructed work, octagonal in shape, with four shell-rooms, and a large bomb-proof in the centre. There were platforms for twenty guns, which had been partially destroyed, and the gun carriages burnt. Eighteen guns were left in the fort which Lieutenant Maxwell, after vain efforts to break off the truncheons with sledge hammers, or effectually damage by dropping solid shot from an elevation, destroyed by heavily loading one and firing it against the others.* In its construction and position, Fort Ocracoke, compared to advantage with the work at Hatteras.

Simultaneously with this proceeding, Colonel Hawkins issued a Proclamation to the People of North Carolina, in which he endeavored to correct various erroneous impressions of an extraordinary character, arguing a sad misconception of the motives of the Government, which were said to prevail among them. He assured them that it was "no part of the object of the Federal forces to pillage or plunder," that they came not "to war against women and children," but, on the contrary, that they would give them every protection, that loyal citizens might "enjoy their homes and property without fear of molestation," that the "rights of property and persons would be respected and protected;" in fine, that they came to war only upon traitors and rebels, who were called upon to lay down their arms. Nothing could be more conciliatory or assuring than the declaration thus variously repeated. "We come to give you back Law, Order, the Constitution, your rights under it, and to restore peace." Yet, such was the prejudice or system of repression, that this good seed thus generously sown, bore no immediate fruit.

Affairs remained the ensuing month at Hatteras much as they were left by General Butler. The poor inhabitants, the fishermen and wreckers of the sand-spit, readily professed their allegiance to the old Government, and there was some talk of a sound Union feeling existing on the main land, but, if so, it was not suffered to be very demonstrative. Vessels of the Navy, in the blockading service, lingered at the spot as a guard, and transports came and departed with supplies for the fort. Garrison duty was performed by Hawkins' Zouaves, Colonel Hawkins, in coöperation with the naval officers on the station, being in command of the post. At the end of September, the force at Hatteras having been increased by the arrival of Colonel Brown's 20th Indiana Volunteers, a military movement was undertaken. The enemy, it was understood, were establishing themselves at Roanoke Island, where Pamlico Sound, at its northern extremity, is joined by the waters of the Albemarle, and where there is an outlet to the sea at the termination of the sandy barrier on which Hatteras is situated. The upper inlet was not very advantageous for navigation, but it afforded a refuge for small craft, and if the rebels were allowed to control it, their next step might be to advance upon Hatteras itself. Influenced, probably, by some such considerations, Colonel Hawkins resolved to meet the threatened evil by stationing a force, properly provided with artillery, to hold the upper end of Hatteras Island, in the inlet. Accordingly, on the 29th of September he sent forward Colonel Brown's 20th Indiana regiment, with the exception of three companies, which he reserved at the fort to occupy the position. The troops were transported on the gunboats Putnam and Ceres, some forty miles along the Sound, arriving at the neighborhood of the place which they were to fortify, in the evening. The water was very shallow off the shore, so that the steamers could approach no nearer than three miles; but they were provided with appropriate barges, and the men were landed the next morning in safety. They had but a few days' provisions, and were without their camp equipage, intrenchment tools, and other means of defence, which were to be sent after them by the tug-boat Fanny. This serviceable little vessel which we have seen noticeably employed at the capture of the forts, left Hatteras two days after, carrying a further small detachment of the Indiana regiment, thirty-five in number, under command of Captain Hartt, and a squad of ten of Hawkins' Zouaves, under Sergeant Major Peacock, to assist in working the two rifled guns, six and nine pounders, of the James and Sawyer pattern, which were on board. The vessel was freighted with sixty barrels of flour, a large quantity of beef, military clothing, an ample stock of ammunition, and the usual sutler's supplies for the camp. She sailed alone, unaccompanied by an escort.

---

* Commander Rowan to Flag-Officer Stringham. Lieutenant Maxwell to Commander Rowan, Sept. 18, 1861.

On reaching her destination where the troops had been previously landed, at about two o'clock, the disembarkation had hardly commenced, a single barge having been sent off with ten persons and a portion of the camp equipage, when three rebel gun-boats appeared in sight, and opened fire on the Fanny. Being simply a chartered vessel under no naval or military command, her naval commander, Lieutenant Crosby, having been called to other service, and her previous crew, from the Naval Brigade, withdrawn, the tug, ill protected for defence, and with troops on board unskilled in gunnery, was certainly not prepared for a contest. Nine shots, however, says her captain, Morrison, were fired from her before she surrendered. She was then deserted by the captain and crew, who took with them the only remaining boat, and made their way to Hatteras. The troops who were left on board employed themselves in throwing overboard portions of the ammunition, but all—men, equipments, provisions and sutler's luxuries—were speedily taken possession of by the enemy. The captor, Colonel Wright, is reported by a rebel authority to have had with him three hundred men on the steamer Curlew. The prize was estimated by the North Carolinians at some seventy or eighty thousand dollars, exclusive of the vessel, which was of no great worth. Her former owners valued the cargo at half the sum.

On the day following this disaster, the steamers Putnam and Ceres, with the launch of the Susquehanna, went up and landed seven days' provisions for the Indiana troops without meeting with opposition. Nor was any immediate attack made by the rebels upon the party on shore, but the success of their adventure emboldened Colonel Wright, with his Georgia and North Carolina troops on Roanoke Island, to attempt the capture of the whole body of the Indianians at their camp. Accordingly, having taken ten full days for preparation, early on the morning of the 4th, an expedition was set on foot which is described by one of the Indiana regiment, who witnessed its arrival off Chicamocomico, as the beach where the encampment was situated is called, as consisting of seven steamers, two schooners, one floating battery, and a number of transports for landing troops. The force thus conveyed, was commanded by Colonel Wright, and numbered, according to a rebel authority, fifteen hundred men. There were about six hundred of the Indiana regiment on the shore.

The plan of the enemy was to make a double attack first on the camp, putting the men to flight, and then intercepting their return to Hatteras by a landing below on the shore. A messenger from the fort, Captain Jardine, had reached the camp the day before, charged with instructions for a retreat, if he should think it necessary. He did not deliver this order till the shot from the enemy's gunboats had set fire to the tents, and their preparations for landing rendered escape imperative, where the island was narrow and offered every facility for a flanking fire from the guns. He then took his departure in haste to carry word of the peril of the regiment to Fort Hatteras. Riding down three horses on the way, he reached the camp in the afternoon, when Colonel Hawkins at once advanced to the rescue.

It was about 9 o'clock when the attack upon the Indianians was made. Armed only with their muskets, and with not a day's provisions on hand, they were drawn up along the shore, prepared to receive the foe. Without returning to his encampment Colonel Brown commenced the retreat. It was a march of fearful severity. One of the Indianians who participated in its hardships has described it. "The sun was shining on the white sand of the beach, heating the air as if it were a furnace. The men had neither provisions nor water. The haste in which they had rushed to repel the enemy had prevented this, and it was too late to go back to camp. It was a march I shall never forget. The first ten miles was terrible. No water, the men unused to long marches, the sand heavy, their feet sinking into it at every step. As the regiment pushed along, man after man would stagger from the ranks and fall upon the hot sand. Looking back, I saw our Colonel trudging along with his men, having given up his horse to a sick soldier. But the most sorrowful sight of all was the Islanders leaving their homes from fear of the enemy. They could be seen in groups, sometimes with a little cart carrying their provisions, but mostly with nothing, fleeing for dear life ; mothers carrying their babes, fathers leading along the boys, grandfathers and grandmothers straggling along from homes they had left behind. Relying on our protection, they had been our friends, but in an evil hour we had been compelled to leave them.

"We still toiled on, the heat most intense, and no water. Hunger was nothing in comparison with thirst. It was maddening. The sea rolling at our feet and nothing to drink. I started to take a scout to watch the movements of the enemy's vessels. I skirted the Sound for some ten miles. In every clump of bushes I would find men utterly exhausted. The enemy's vessels were now nearly opposite, steaming down the Sound to cut off our retreat. I would tell them this, but they would say, 'they did not care, they would die there,' so utterly hopeless did they seem.

"Near sunset I caught sight of the army drawn up in line of battle on the beach, about a mile distant. Soon joining them, I found that the enemy were reported in force in front. After some delay, the army marched by the right flank, skirmishers ahead, until we reached the narrow inlet about five miles above Hatteras lighthouse, and here our great danger was at once seen. The fleet of the enemy had drawn up in line, so as to sweep the beach, and render a passage impossible, but had neglected to land their men. It was now near twilight. The clouds in the west reflected he bright tints of the sun, and showed us the enemy in the foreground. In the east heavy gray clouds lowered, and our uniforms corresponding, hid us from their view, as we silently stole along, the roar of the surf drowning the footsteps of the men and the commands of the officers, yet every little while we would watch, expecting to see the flash of the enemy's cannon, or hear the report of the bursting shell in our little band. It was a narrow escape, and a providential one, and our Colonel was affected to tears at the danger we had passed. At midnight we reached Hatteras Lighthouse, having made a march of twenty-eight miles. Here we found water, and using the lighthouse as a fort, we encamped for the night, and woke up next morning feeling like sand-crabs, and ready, like them, to go into our holes, could we find them."

Thus closed the events of the 4th with the escape of the fugitives. The 5th was to witness a bitter and unexpected revenge from the guns of the fleet. Colonel Hawkins, on making his preparations to meet the returning troops, had also given information to Captain J. L. Lardner, the successor of Captain Chauncey in the command of the steam-frigate Susquehanna, of the state of affairs. Besides his vessel, the United States steamer Monticello, Lieutenant D. L. Braine commanding, was then in the inlet. Captain Lardner immediately brought both vessels to Hatteras Cove, where he found the retreating Indianians in the morning gathered round the lighthouse after their exhausting night vigil. He supplied them with food and remained for their protection, sending the Monticello along the coast to watch the movements of the enemy, who, having effected a landing, were reported to be in force some miles above at Keneekut. The errand was thoroughly accomplished. Its striking incidents are thus related in the official report of Lieutenant Braine, addressed to Captain Lardner the day of the assault. "I have the honor to inform you that, in obedience to your order of this morning, I stood through the inner channel of Hatteras shoals at 12½ P. M., and stood close along shore to the northward, keeping a bright look-out from aloft. At 1½ P. M. we discovered several vessels over the woodland Keneekut, and at the same time a regiment marching to the northward, carrying a rebel flag in their midst, with many stragglers in their rear; also two tugs inside flying the same flag. As they came out of the woods of Keneekut, we ran close in shore, and opened a deliberate fire upon them at a distance of three-quarters of a mile. At our first shell, which fell apparently in their midst, they rolled up their flag and scattered, moving rapidly up the beach to the northward. We followed them, firing rapidly from three guns, driving them up to a clump of woods in which they took refuge, and abreast of which their steamers lay. We now shelled the woods, and could see them embarking in small-boats after vessels, evidently in great confusion, and suffering greatly from our fire.

"Their steamers now opened fire upon us, firing, however, but three shots, which fell short. Two boats filled with men were struck by our shells and destroyed. Three more steamers came down the Sound and took position opposite the woods. We were shelling also two sloops. We continued firing deliberately from 1½ P. M. to 3½ P. M., when two men were discovered on the sea-beach making signals to us. Supposing them to be two of the Indiana regiment, we sent an armed boat and crew to bring them off, covering them at the same time with our fire. Upon the boat nearing the beach they took to the water. One of them was successful in reaching the boat—private Warren O. Haver, Company H, 20th regiment Indiana troops. The other man—private Charles White, Company H, 20th regiment Indiana troops—was unfortunately drowned in the surf.

"Private Haver informs me that he was taken prisoner on the morning of the 4th; that he witnessed one shot which was very destructive. He states that two of our shells fell into two sloops loaded with men, blowing the vessel to pieces and sinking them. Also that several officers were killed, and their horses seen running about the track. He had just escaped from his captors, after shooting the captain of one of the rebel companies. He states that the enemy were in the greatest confusion, rushing wildly into the water striving to get off their vessels. Private Haver now directed me to the point where the rebels were congregated, waiting an opportunity to get off. I opened fire again with success, scattering them. We were now very close, in three fathoms water, and the fire of the second shell told with effect. Six steamers were now off the point, one of which I recognized as the Fanny. At twenty-five minutes past 5 we ceased firing, leaving the enemy scattered along the beach for upwards of four miles. I fired repeatedly at the enemy's steamers with our rifled cannon—a Parrott 30-pounder—and struck the Fanny, I think, once."*

---

* Lieutenant Braine to Captain Lardner, October 5, 1861

Twenty-nine of the Indiana regiment, in addition to those captured on the Fanny, were missing in this retreat. From an account of the affair published in the Norfolk *Day-Book*, purporting to be from Captain Carsville of the 3d Georgia regiment, it would appear that the rebels, as at the capture of the Fanny, were commanded by Colonel Wright. The firing on the encampment was from the 10-pound howitzer on board the transport Cotton Plant, about a mile from the shore. The Georgia regiment, on landing, dragged their guns with them through the heavy sand in the pursuit, so that they had themselves a taste of the hardships which they were inflicting on the fugitives. Newspaper anecdotes of personal prowess are not over reliable; but as we have the authority of a Georgia captain for the story, and as a characteristic specimen of its class, we give this anecdote of the pursuit from the account just cited. The incident is said to have occurred on the morning of the second day. "When about six miles from the starting-place, Colonel Wright, being on horseback and considerably in advance of his command, overtook a party of thirteen Yankees, together with their Adjutant. He made a gallant charge on them, when the Adjutant shot his horse and commenced loading again, when the Colonel grabbed up a small Yankee and presented him as a breastwork to ward off the Adjutant's fire. With this he advanced on the Adjutant with his repeater and captured four, including the Adjutant." In the same narrative we are informed that the Monticello poured in her shell upon the rebel party at the distance of half a mile from the shore for five hours "without injury to any one except a slight bruise on one man's leg, who fell down in endeavoring to dodge a ball, which rolled over his leg; and a slight scratch on another's face from the explosion of a shell." The entire expedition then returned to Roanoke Island, stopping on their way to gather the spoils left at Chicamocomico.

On receipt of the news of this disaster at Washington, General Mansfield was sent to Hatteras with five hundred troops. Their presence, with the recent lesson from the fleet, gave security to the island, and no further serious attempt was made by the rebels to annoy the Union forces in its occupation. It was evident, however, that without a proper fleet of light draft gunboats on the Sound in the presence of the enemy's steamers, the possession of Hatteras was available only for guarding the inlet, without making any of the expected impressions upon the mainland of the State. Why, it was asked, should the enemy be allowed quietly to intrench themselves at Roanoke Island, and thus hold command of the waters of Albemarle and the southern communications with Virginia. The country grew somewhat impatient with the Government as the season wore on, and the angry storms of winter fell upon the desolate, isolated position, and no response was given. The answer, however, was pronounced at last, and, as we shall see, in no doubtful language.

Meantime, the post was firmly held. Brigadier-General Thomas Williams, an eminent officer of the regular army, followed General Mansfield in the command; constant services were rendered to the blockading squadron; the illicit commerce of the enemy was checked, and an occasional prize taken. But the most prominent, if not the most important event at Hatteras, was the political assembly of the loyal inhabitants of the island. Though necessarily but a limited demonstration, and quite insignificant as an encroachment upon the vast area of secessiondom, it yet attracted no little attention, and was the means of calling forth the sympathies of the North. On the 12th of October a Convention of one hundred and eleven delegates of the citizens of Hyde county, of which Hatteras is a part, assembled at a church near the inlet, and adopted a "Statement of Grievances and a Declaration of Independence," in which they loudly proclaimed their loyalty to the United States, and expressed in the most decided manner their abhorrence of the "spurious government designating itself the 'Confederate States of America,' and of the revolutionary and treasonable dynasty which now usurps the governing power of our own State." Like other documents of its class, it was modelled on the national Declaration of Independence, and found no lack of material in the violent and injurious acts of a revolutionary government trampling upon the hallowed rights of the people, for a long and serious bill of indictment. Passing over what is common to all such usurpations, we may note what is distinctive in the case of North Carolina. The dominant secession party was thus arraigned:

"They have recklessly disregarded the will of the people to abide by the compact of the national Union, as repeatedly declared in public meetings throughout the State, and by the emphatic and overwhelming vote of the qualified electors of the Commonwealth in February last; they have set aside the solemn and deliberate disapproval of the machinations of the Disunionists, pronounced by a majority of the people, in refusing to authorize the calling of a State Convention; they have prostituted their official positions to the purpose of a secret and infamous conspiracy which had predetermined the destruction of the Union, regardless of popular dissent; and, in the unscrupulous zeal of their treason, they have assumed powers without warrant, either express or implied, in the Constitution; they have arrogated the authority, through a Convention summoned with indecent haste, and acting in flagrant defiance of the wishes of the people, to perform an act legally impossible, and therefore without effect or force, in decreeing the secession of this Commonwealth from the Federal Union. The ordinances of this Convention have never been submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection; they have commissioned ten men as Representatives of the State in a body called the Confederate Congress, unknown to and unauthorized by the laws, and occupying an attitude of open hostility to that Constitution which North Carolina has formally and definitively ratified and accepted as the supreme law of the land. And, as if to omit no incident of a complete disfranchisement, they have withheld from the electors the poor privilege of designating such Representatives." This Declaration bears the signatures of a select committee of three — the Rev. Marble Nash Taylor of the North Carolina Conference, Caleb B. Stowe and William O'Neil.

In the following month this patriotic movement was brought prominently before the citizens of New York at a public meeting called to express sympathy and furnish aid for the people of North Carolina who had been impoverished by their loyalty to the Union. The Hon. George Bancroft, the eminent historian presided, and many distinguished men spoke on the occasion. The Rev. Mr. Taylor, one of the authors of the Declaration just cited, unhesitatingly pronounced North Carolina not a secession State. It was true that she was out of the Union, but not by the voice of her people. At two elections in reference to that matter, they had declared, by large majorities, in favor of remaining firm for the Union. "Some four thousand of the inhabitants living on the narrow strip of land on the coast," he said, "had, on the first arrival of the troops, flocked to take the oath of allegiance; and this had cut them off from their scanty resources of traffic with the interior. They were a poor race, living principally by fishing and gathering of yoakum, an evergreen of spontaneous growth, which they dried and exchanged for corn." The claim for aid was supported by the testimony of officers on the coast and the recommendation of the President and Secretary of War.

Mr. Bryant, the poet, seconded the appeal at the meeting, enforcing it as an opportunity to improve the visitation of war by turning it to a lesson of mutual charities which would bring us out of the conflict "a nobler branch of the human family than before, raised to a more exalted standard, more worthy of the fortunate light shining upon us in this Western hemisphere, more worthy of the glorious institutions under which we live." Of the suffering patriots for whom charity was solicited, he said, elevating their humble lives and their cause by associating them with the grand lessons of nature around them: "Their occupation is on the great deep, but they have not copied its turbulence in their lives. They have seen in its storms and its tumults the power by which these are overruled, and have been taught to obey the laws first ordained for the government of mankind."

General Burnside, then preparing in silence and secrecy his Expedition, to rescue the afflicted region from the power of the enemy, earnestly joined in the appeal, improving the opportunity to eulogise the military talents and personal virtues of his friend General McClellan, who had just succeeded General Scott in the Chief Command. "I have known him," said he, "most intimately, as students together, as soldiers in the field, and as private citizens. For years we have lived in the same family, and I know him as well as I know any human being on the face of the earth, and I know that no more honest, conscientious man exists than General McClellan. He is an honest, Christian-like and conscientious man, and now let me add one thing, that he has the soundest head and the clearest military perception of any man in the United States." Such was the ample measure of admiration and confidence with which the country welcomed the new General.

It may not be out of place to note the striking declarations which were made at this meeting by influential speakers on the topic of slavery. "We have a continent," said the Rev. R. C. Hitchcock, a prominent divine of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York, "which is a unit by its very structure, and we are essentially one race of men, without one dividing line of race or language. The leaders of the rebellion are sagacious enough to understand this. They have contemplated from the start a reconstruction of the Government, but they intend its corner-stone shall be black as ebony. This, then, is the issue — not between dismemberment and unity, but between a unity based upon freedom and a unity which is based upon human bondage. But we must have a unity based on the old Constitution, which allowed slavery as evil—found an evil and tolerated,—which in the good providence of God it was hoped by and by might be ejected from the system."

Dr. Francis Lieber saw in the attempt to foist the institution upon the reluctant world at the present time, the source of much of the acrimony with which the rebellion was undertaken and maintained. "There are a great many things," he said, "which distinguish the operation of Slavery in modern times—Slavery, that great anachronism, out of time, out of place in the nineteenth century. Now, one point has always struck me—and I may say that I have had a great deal of experience on that subject—is, that slavery because out of time and out of place, if once adopted, if once proclaimed as a good thing, leads people invariably at this time to a great degree of vindictiveness. I do not know any period in history in which any fanaticism has shown itself more vindictive than Slavery at the present period." As a result of this meeting and appeal, a large sum of money was contributed by the city of New York for the distressed Carolinians, and expended in various articles of necessity, which were in good time transported to Hatteras Island. By the time they reached there, however, a profitable employment had been afforded to the natives by the soldiers, which relieved the wants of the people, so that a considerable portion of the produce sent for charity was sold and the money returned to the New York Committee.

The next that we hear of the North Carolina loyalists is an announcement of the formation of a Provisional Government at Hatteras Island on the 18th of November, "in which forty-five counties were represented by delegates and authorized proxies." The Rev. Mr. Taylor was appointed Provisional Governor, and his Excellency ordered an election for the 2d Congressional District, at which Mr. Charles Henry Foster was elected a member of the National House of Representatives. But that body, when he presented himself at Washington the ensuing month, did not think the certificate of the Provisional Governor, or the proceedings at Hatteras, of sufficient importance to justify his admission.

The fearful storm of the 2d of November should be chronicled among the incidents at Hatteras. It was the gale in which the fleet of Commodore Dupont's Port Royal Expedition suffered so severely on its passage. Its onset at Hatteras was most alarming. The waves dashed over the island in the night, submerging its lower portions between the forts, sweeping away a vast quantity of provisions and stores, which had just been landed at the wharf, driving the soldiers from their tents, threatening both forts, and rendering them quite uninhabitable. The Indiana 20th Regiment, which had not yet recovered from its early experience of Hatteras in its disasters at Chicamocomico, was most unfortunate. Its stock of winter clothing had then been captured by the enemy; now half of the new supply was carried off by the ocean, and the regiment was momentarily in expectation of being compelled to abandon its quarters at Fort Clark, and wade through the waters to such resting-place as could be found on the higher grounds above. The storm, however, in a few hours expended its first violence, and the garrison escaped without loss of life. But they had suffered serious discomfort particularly in the fearful removal of the sick.*

It was in the sequel of this gale, three days afterward, that the French steam corvette Prony, Captain M. de Fontanges, carrying six guns and a crew of one hundred and forty officers and men, was wrecked to the south of Hatteras, off Ocracoke Inlet. She was cruising on the Southern coast, and was at the time making her way North. She struck on the sand, and there remained without assistance till she was in immediate danger of destruction, when two Confederate steamers of light draft arrived and took off her crew. They were received by the small fleet of Commodore Lynch in Pamlico Sound, and after returning to burn the vessel, "that nothing belonging to her might be made use of by either belligerent," were conveyed, by way of Albemarle Sound and the Dismal Swamp Canal, to Norfolk, whence they came by a flag of truce to Fortress Monroe, and were transported in safety to New York.*

---

* Special Correspondence of the New York *Tribune*, Hatteras Inlet, Nov. 2. 1861.

* Statement of Captain De Fontanges, New York *Times*, Nov. 14. 1861.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH-WESTERN VIRGINIA.

When General McClellan crossed the Ohio he sent Brigadier-General J. D. Cox, with a sufficient force of Ohio and Kentucky troops to oppose the movements of General Wise, the "chivalric" ex-Governor of Virginia, who, gathering around him a body of insurgents, was stimulating and assisting the revolt in the southerly and westerly part of the Kanawha river. His proclamation of the 6th of July, dated at Ripley, the capital of Jackson county, on the Ohio, summoned the citizens of that border region "to return to their patriotic duty and acknowledge their allegiance to Virginia and her Confederate States as their true and lawful sovereigns. You were Union men," was the conciliatory language of the appeal; "so was I, and we held a right to be so until oppression and invasion and war drove us to the assertion of a second independence. The sovereign State proclaimed it by her Convention and by a majority of more than a hundred thousand votes at the polls. She has seceded from the old, and established a new Confederacy. She has commanded, and we must obey her voice. I come to execute her command—to hold out the olive branch to her true and peaceful citizens—to repel invasion from abroad and subdue treason only at home. Come to the call of the country which owes you protection as her native sons."

We have seen General McClellan's anticipation from General Cox's column, in his despatch of the 13th of July, immediately after the victory of Rich Mountain, of the early liberation of the valley of the Kanawha from the forces of General Wise.* The month of July saw the expectation fulfilled. There was some spirited fighting as the command of General Cox made their way up to the headwaters of the Kanawha. A brilliant skirmish occurred on the 12th of July at Barboursville, the county seat of Cabell county, on the Guyandotte. Five companies of Colonel Woodruff's 2d Kentucky regiment, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Neff, left the Union camp at midnight for an attack upon the town, which was held by a body of Confederate troops. "It was proposed," says the correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial* accompanying General Cox's division, "to make the attack at early daylight, but the deep silence observed along the route, together with the halts to send forward scouting parties, deferred their coming into sight of the enemy until the sun was too hours high. When they *did* catch a first glance, if there had been any fear in their composition, it would have overpowered them at once. The rebels were drawn up in line of battle on the brow of a high hill, apparently inaccessible on all sides, and commanding a view for two miles around of a magnificent level plain, with all its roads in full sight, until they dwindled into the distant forests Near the base of the hill wound the Guyandotte river, and within pistol shot of their position was the only bridge which spanned it from the side on which we were advancing. Our brave boys took but one glance and passed on. As they neared the bridge, they discovered a large body of cavalry on the road which wound around the base of the hill on which the enemy were ranged, retreating and dividing in order to intercept our flight—a natural inference, but a matter of opinion nevertheless. The rebels very considerately reserved their fire until the head of our column had set foot upon the bridge, and then they fired a terrific volley, killing one man instantly, and wounding a number of others. To escape this terrible shelving fire, our men moved double-quick into the covered bridge, where the bullets pelted, pattered, and whistled like a leaden hailstorm. They rushed onward, however, until they halted with such a sudden shock, that it sent the whole column into disorder. The planks of the bridge had been removed on the opposite side, and the mule on which the guide was mounted had fallen through, and he barely escaped sharing its destruction by clinging to the timbers. The rebels, encouraged by our delay at the fearful impediment, broke into wild shouts and cheers. Fired by their assurances of victory, our boys could be restrained no longer; they answered with terrific yells; some ran to the path-holes of the bridge and discharged their muskets at the foe; and Company A, led by Captain Brown, made a dash in single file across the bare stringers and rafters of the bridge, followed by Company D (Woodward Guards) and the remaining companies. As they emerged from the bridge the rebels flanked and charged front from the mouth of the bridge to the road which encircled the base of the hill, and sent another bitter volley at our men, which luckily was aimed too high, and did but little damage. Our men at this time had all cleared the bridge in total disorder, but blazing away with excitement, yelling and leaping like madmen. They turned suddenly up the side of the hill at a charge bayonets, and literally dragging themselves up by bushes and jutting turf. They cleared in a few moments, rushed at the enemy, who had, as they commenced the ascent, fired again with effect. It was their last volley. As the glistening bayonets reached the top of the hill and met their wavering gaze, and those yells continued, which meant victory if there had been a thousand opposed, the enemy swayed for a moment, a leap was made from their flank and rear, and then the whole body scattered like sparks from a pin-wheel down the rear of the hill, streaming in every direction in the fields below, at full speed, with white faces and an impulse of fear which I heard compared to the fright of a hundred horses in a conflagration. Our men were too breathless for pursuit, but they cheered as only men who had conquered can cheer, and planted immediately the Stars and Stripes on the summit of the hill. There was some firing at the retreating foe, and their commander, Colonel Mansfield, was hit and fell from his horse, but was immediately seized and carried off by his companions, as is supposed others were. They left but one on the field, an old gray-haired man, who, we are informed, was pressed into the service, as many of his companions had been. He was taken care of by our troops, but he died in the afternoon. The victorious battalion, when the rebels had disappeared, marched through the town with their banners flying and the bands playing airs which the inhabitants never hoped to hear again. The Woodland boys planted their flag on the cupola of the Court-House, and seemed to regard as a coincidence that precisely two months after it was presented it was streaming from a spire in one of the hot-beds of secession."

---

* Ante, p. 347.

The next engagement with the enemy took place a few days after at Scarytown, where Scary Creek meets the Kanawha, about forty miles above the entrance of the latter into the Ohio. The Union camp was at this time at the mouth of Pocatalico Creek, some eight or ten miles below the camp of the enemy at Scarytown, which was held with the purpose of commanding the communication by the Kanawha with the important region above. The Confederate position was well chosen. It was on a hill well defended by intrenchments, mounting two rifled cannon, while several log-houses adjoining offered most convenient means of annoyance for musketry through their crevices. In front, in the valley, was the small stream which gave name to the place ; the right rested on the Kanawha ; on the left was a wooded height. On the morning of the 17th of July, General Cox sent forward a detachment consisting of Colonel Howe's 12th Ohio regiment, portions of two companies of the 21st Ohio, with Captain Cotter's Cleveland artillery, two rifled 6-pounders, and Captain Rogers' cavalry company from Ironton, Ohio—altogether less than a thousand men, with instructions to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and drive them from it if practicable. The party was commanded by Colonel Lowe of the 12th Ohio Volunteers, an estimable citizen of the State, who had been one of the foremost to offer his services to his country in her present trials. It took a short route by land, and in the afternoon approached the enemy's works from the opposite side of the creek. The cavalry company was in advance, and was first greeted with a sharp discharge from the battery, quickly retiring with the loss of a man killed. The artillery of the Union force then took position, and returned the fire with considerable effect, the distance between the parties being about five hundred yards, and the number and calibre of the guns being the same on each side. The infantry were also discharging volleys of musketry.

An incident of the conflict at this moment, one of a thousand like piteous scenes of this lamentable war, should not be passed over. It shows us what war really is, in the destruction of the noblest and the best. "The first few rounds," writes a correspondent from the camp after the action, "like those of the rebels, were too high; but the Captain kept crying out, 'a little lower, boys,' till the proper elevation was attained, when he played upon them rapidly, and in fifteen minutes silenced their guns, with the loss of one man—private John Haven of Scholersville, Putnam county—a handsome, intelligent young man, as brave as a lion, and the pet of the company. Poor fellow! his right hip was shot away just as he was passing a ball to his gun. When his captain saw him fall, he ran and picked him up, and conveyed him in his arms to a place of safety. 'Never mind me, Captain,' he cried; "but don't let that flag go down!' He still lingers, but can hardly survive the night."

When this firing had continued for some time with mutual loss, the enemy's cannon being dismounted, the ammunition of the Union men—they had taken with them but thirty rounds—began to fail, and an order was given to charge bayonets. A portion of the troops on the left, led by Lieutenant-Colonel White, made the attempt, fording the stream, and making for the intrenchments, but they were not supported by the men who were to coöperate with them from the right, and the movement failed. The enemy, meanwhile, getting reinforcements, word was given by Colonel Lowe for the retreat, in which his force was not pursued. They met on their return a fresh regiment sent by General Cox from his camp, which was, of course, too late to turn the fortunes of the day. The Union loss in this affair was nine killed, thirty-eight wounded, and nine missing; that of the enemy was represented as much larger. The fact that they did not follow up their advantage is the best evidence of their loss. Unhappily for General Cox's command an accident of the day stripped him of some of his best officers. Colonel William E. Woodruff, Lieutenant-Colonel George W. Neff, Captains George Austin and J. R. Hurd, all of the 2d Kentucky regiment of Volunteers; and Colonel Charles De Villiers of the 11th Ohio Volunteers, as they were riding out of the camp to see something of the engagement, found themselves unexpectedly in the enemy's lines, and were taken prisoners.

The subsequent escape from the rebel authorities of Colonel De Villiers, is among the most interesting personal narratives of the war. After his capture on the Kanawha, he was conducted with his brother officers who were captured, to Richmond, and confined in the tobacco factory with the prisoners of war taken at Bull Run. At first, says his fellow-prisoner Mr. Ely, in his journal, he appeared much distressed, and was at times subject to great depression of spirits. As this wore away, and his nervous temperament recovered its elasticity, he would entertain his companions with an exhibition of the most difficult exercises of arms with the musket and broad sword, in which, though but "a bundle of nerves, almost without flesh, weighing not more than 110 pounds," he was a great proficient. It was from him, indeed, as his preceptor, that Ellsworth had learnt the Zouave exercises, in which he drilled his regiment. Having some acquaintance with medicine, he was associated in the duties of the surgeons, and allowed the liberty which they enjoyed, of moving about the city under parole. This, after a time, was taken from him, when one day he made an auction of his military clothing to his comrades, as if for the purpose of supplying his wants, and in the evening disappeared from the prison. How his escape was managed is not told. Mr. Ely hints at the complicity of rebel officers in the affair, who assisted him out of the town, and provided him with some means of continuing his journey. However this may be, he had to depend on his own resources. Avoiding the well-watched route to the Potomac, he took to the woods and swamps lying between Richmond and Norfolk, and living on such berries and fruits as they afforded, was six weeks in reaching the latter city, when he appeared in the character of an old mendicant Frenchman, poor and enfeebled. Wearing a pair of green goggles, with a pack on his back, he went about tottering on a rough stick, and sustaining his disguise by confining his speech to the French language, he appealed, and not in vain, to the sympathies of the inhabitants. He was admitted to the hospital, and after a while began to solicit the authorities for a pass to Fortress Monroe, under the flag of truce. "The piteous story of the venerable Frenchman," continues Mr. Ely's narrative, "and his urgency to return to his home, which he had left before the rebellion broke out, and the accommodating spirit of the Confederates manifested to the French, as well as to the English at that time, induced the rebel General, from charitable motives, after two weeks' delay and persistent application on the part of De Villiers, to allow him to go on board the truce boat. When the boat met the Federal steamer, the infirm old Frenchman (at the venerable age of *thirty-five*) was assisted on board by the compassionate officers from Norfolk, who bade him an affecting adieu. But no sooner had he reached the deck of the Union boat, than he coolly cast off his pack, green goggles and all; and, after thanking the officers for their politeness, shouted with an air of youthful animation, a loud huzza for the Stars and Stripes, and gave the Confederates the pleasing information that they had just parted with Colonel De Villiers of the 11th Ohio regiment." In the subsequent October Colonel De Villiers was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.

On the 25th of July, General Cox, with his division, having advanced cautiously up the Kanawha, and driven the enemy from their camp in the neighborhood, reinforced the important town of Charleston. He then continued his advance, without interruption to Gauley Bridge, at the junction of the Gauley and New Rivers, an important position at the head of the valley of the Kanawha, where, on the 29th of the month he reported, in a dispatch to Governor Pierpont: "The Kanawha Valley is now free from the secession troops.

Most of the forces raised by Wise in this valley left him between Charleston and this place. I had sent them assurances that if they laid down their arms they might go quietly to their homes, and many have done so, asserting that they were cheated into the rebel service. I regret here to say that Wise, in his retreat, has burned a number of valuable bridges, and carried off most of the wagons and teams of the people of the valley. All parties denounce him for his vandalism. I congratulate you on the success of this expedition."

More than a month now elapsed of comparative quiet in Western Virginia, during which the Union army was sufficiently engaged in keeping the peace, protecting the property of loyalists and holding in check the insurgent marauders who infested the mountainous region, before the forces of the two opposed armies were brought into prominent conflict. An engagement then occurred between the immediate commands of General Rosecrans, the immediate successor of McClellan in Western Virginia, and General John B. Floyd, the ex-Secretary of War at Washington, whose services to the cause of rebellion had been rewarded with a high military commission in the rebel army. On the 10th of September, the latter was entrenched at a peculiarly advantageous position on the Gauley River at Carnifex Ferry, eight miles south-west of Summersville, in Nicholas county. He had a short time before, on the 26th of August, taken by surprise and routed Colonel Tyler's 7th Ohio regiment at Cross Lanes, near Summersville. The regiment was surrounded while at breakfast by superior numbers, and fearfully cut up. General Rosecrans having left Clarksburg at the beginning of September, was advancing with several of his best regiments by way of Sutton and Summersville, to attack Floyd wherever he might be found. As he approached the region of the Gauley he was informed of the enemy's position and his force was led in that direction. The story of the encounter which ensued is thus given in a dispatch of General Rosecrans to the Department at Washington, from his camp on the 11th: "We yesterday marched seventeen and a half miles, and reached the enemy's entrenched position, in front of Carnifex Ferry, driving his advanced outposts and pickets before us. We found him occupying a strongly intrenched position, covered by a forest too dense to admit its being seen at a distance of three hundred yards. His force was five regiments, beside the one driven in. He had probably sixteen pieces of artillery. At 3 o'clock we began a strong reconnoissance, which proceeded at such length that we were about to assault the position on the flank and front, when night coming on, and our troops being completely exhausted, I drew them out of the woods and posted them in the order of battle, behind ridges, immediately in front of the enemy's position, when they rested on their arms till morning. Shortly after daylight a runaway contraband came in and reported that the enemy had crossed the Gauley during the night by means of the ferry, and a bridge which they had completed. Colonel Ewing was ordered to take possession of the camp, which he did at about 7 o'clock, capturing a few prisoners, two stand of colors, a considerable quantity of arms, with Quartermaster's stores, mess and camp equipage. The enemy had destroyed the bridge across the

Gauley, which here rushes through a deep gorge, and our troops being still much fatigued, and having no material for immediately replacing the bridge, it was thought prudent to encamp the troops, occupy the ferry and the captured camp, sending a few rifle shots after the enemy to produce a moral effect. Our loss will probably amount to twenty killed and one hundred wounded. The enemy's loss has not been ascertained, but from report, it must have been considerable."

The special report of General Benham, who led the advance, exhibits more particularly the military nature of the engagement: "The head of his brigade," he tells us, "started from the camp, eight miles north of Summersville, at about 4 A. M. of the 10th, reaching that place before 8 A. M. in good order, and with the men eager for the continuance of the march toward the enemy, who, we there ascertained, were well intrenched and determined to resist us near Carnifex Ferry. After a halt of nearly two hours, about one mile short of the Cross Lanes, we moved rapidly forward toward the position of the enemy, until our arrival at the site of this camp, about one mile from their intrenchments, a little past 2 o'clock, when, after a reconnoissance by you, myself accompanying you, I was authorized to move forward with my brigade, 'using my best discretion in the case.' Upon receiving this order, and with the mass of my brigade well closed up, which had been accomplished during our reconnoissance, I moved carefully forward, with the 10th Ohio regiment leading, having our skirmishers well ahead, and at the flanks for nearly three-fourths of a mile, when we discovered through the opening of the woods on our left, their intrenchments in an open space on our left, beyond a deep and steep valley, and crowning the crest of the opposite hill. Having no engineer officer with my brigade, and no others, that I knew of, to replace one, I kept with the head of the regiment to avoid ambuscades, and to judge myself of their position and arrangements. After advancing about one-fourth of a mile to the end of the woods I halted the command, and could perceive that a heavy cross fire had been prepared for us at the open space of the debouch from the roads. Within some five minutes after this time (nearly half-past three o'clock), while carefully examining their earth-works on the road in front, and their intrenchments on our left, a tremendous fire of musketry was opened on us, which in a few minutes was followed by a discharge of grape and spelter canister from a battery of some six pieces of artillery. This caused a break in the line for a few minutes, though for a few minutes only, for the men immediately returned to their ranks, under the lead of their officers, to their former position, where I retained them, as I was certain that the fire at us through the close woods was without direct aim, and because they were needed for the protection of our artillery, which I immediately ordered up; the two rifled guns of Captain Schneider, and Captain McMullen with his four mountain howitzers immediately followed, throwing their shells well into their intrenchments on our left.

"A further examination of their position convinced me that their weak part, and our true part of attack, was on their right flank, across the deep valley from our position, upon which orders were immediately sent to Colonel Smith of the

13th regiment, and to Colonel Lowe of the 12th regiment, to advance and pass the valley on our left, under cover of the woods, to that attack. Neither of these regiments were to be found in their proper position on the road in my rear, as I expected. After a short time Colonel Smith was met with on our right, where he had been drawn into the woods by the belief, from the sound of the firing, that the attack was upon our right. Upon the receipt of my order, however, Colonel Smith moved rapidly across the main road, down the ravine valley on our left, where he fortunately struck upon the most advantageous route, and thence he moved up the opposite hill, entirely past the right flank of the enemy. But as I had been unable to find the 12th regiment to send forward to his support, though I have since learned that three companies, under Lieutenant-Colonel White, were near him, his movement became principally a reconnoissance, from which he soon after returned, reporting to me his opinion of the entire practicability of a successful attack upon the rebel intrenchments at that point, he having entirely passed by the breastwork on the right, approaching within one hundred yards of their line, pouring a fire into them, which, it is since satisfactorily ascertained, cleared that part of the breastwork of the enemy. As I was still unable to find the position of the 12th regiment, which it has been reported to me had been ordered into the woods by the commanding General, I sent one of my staff to Colonel McCook, commanding the 2d brigade, to ask him to aid the 13th in this attack with his 9th regiment, to which request a reply was returned to me that there were other orders from the commanding General, as stated to my aid by acting Adjutant-General, Captain Hartsuff.

"In this state of affairs, I could only hold my position in front, with the 10th regiment protecting the artillery, which was endeavoring to silence the cannon of the enemy, which was to a considerable extent accomplished after the first fifteen or twenty minutes—their guns being at once removed to other positions, as was then also done with one-half of Schneider's and McMullen's pieces, to enfilade the crest of the hill from the edge of the woods on our right, which gave a fair view of their battery at some three hundred and eighty yards distance. At this time, or about an hour after the commencement of the action, Colonel Lytle of the 10th, though not ordered by me, and while I was still endeavoring to obtain troops for the attack from our left, made a very gallant attempt to approach their battery through the cleared space in front of it, which of course failed from the smallness of his force in that exposed situation—he being severely wounded, and compelled to retire with the loss of many men killed and wounded. Colonel Lowe of the 12th, also at a subsequent period made a similar attempt, and, as far as I can learn, without orders ; in which I regret to say, he fell being instantly killed by a discharge of canister from the enemy. The above comprises the sum of the action of the portion of my brigade that was with me, until you arrived on the field and assumed the direction of affairs, some time after which arrival you also arranged for and directed the attack upon their right, with Colonel Smith's regiment, and a part of the 12th and 47th, Colonel Mohr — this attack, as having been first directed by myself, you will recollect I offered to lead upon the enemy, recommending at the same time a simultaneous demonstration or attack by the 9th and 12th regiments, under cover of the woods, from our right. The command moved forward, however, under the direction of Colonel Smith, but from the lateness of the hour it was compelled to return without attempting anything, and the lateness of the hour seemed to forbid further operations for the day."

The battle of Carnifex Ferry—appropriate name for a place of slaughter—was thus a reconnoissance running into an attack upon well defended intrenchments and heavy batteries, the final capture of which by assault of the weaker portion of the works, was spared by the timely departure of their occupants. The action, however, called forth the courage of the assailants in a manner which would have entitled them to a victory in a more regular encounter. Many brave deeds were performed by the Ohio troops in their impetuous assault upon the enemy's well-posted batteries. Colonel W. H. Lytle, leading his Irish companies of the 10th Ohio, made a gallant attack upon a strong position against superior numbers. The lines of the enemy extended on each side to the river, enclosing an irregular space, divided by the road to Carnifex Ferry in the rear of the camp. The immediate approach by the road was guarded by their heaviest battery, and it was within range of this fire, at the very strongest point of their position, that Colonel Lytle found himself engaged. His report to General Benham vividly exhibits the movement of the regiment, with its disastrous results. "Agreeably to your orders," says he, "I proceeded with my command on yesterday, September 10th, at 3 o'clock, yourself accompanying and directing the advance with me, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, supposed to be in force in the neighborhood of Gauley River ; our road led up hill through a densely timbered forest, and as I advanced I threw out flanking parties to the right and left, and skirmishers in advance of my column. After passing through the woods for half a mile, our skirmishers were suddenly engaged in front, and I pushed on to their relief until I reached a cleared space on the summit of the hill, where, for the first time, the enemy came in view, posted in force behind an extensive earthwork, with twelve guns in position sweeping the road for over a mile. A ravine separated the hill by which we approached from the right of the breastworks of the enemy, which were composed of logs and fence-rails, and extended for over a mile to the right and left of their intrenchments, affording secure protection to their infantry and riflemen. When the head of my column reached a point opposite the right centre of their earthwork, their entire battery opened on us with grape and canister, with almost paralyzing effect, my men falling around me in great numbers. I ordered the colors to the front for the purpose of making an assault on their battery, perceiving which, the entire fire of the enemy was directed upon us. The men rallied gallantly on the hill-side, under withering volleys of grape and small-arms, and a part of three companies, A, E, and D, actually moved up to within pistol-shot of the intrenchments, and for some time maintained an unequal contest. Both my color-bearers were struck down ; the bearer of the State color—Sergeant Fitzgibbons—had the staff shot away and his hand shattered, and in a few moments afterward was shattered in both thighs while waving his color on the broken staff. The bearer of the National color—Sergeant O'Connor—was, at the same time, struck down by some missile, but recovered himself in a short time, and kept waving his colors in front of the enemy's fire ; about this time I received a wound in the leg, the ball passing through and killing my horse. Perceiving the fearful odds against us, I directed the men to place themselves under a cover ; a portion rallied behind two log-houses in front of the battery, and kept up a spirited fire for at least an hour before any other regiment came into action, and the remaining portion of the right wing, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Korff, returned in good order to its position under cover of a cornfield in front of the right of the battery ; a steady fire was maintained against the enemy until night, after which four companies, G, H, I, and K, and a great portion of companies D and E, by order of General Rosecrans, remained on the ground during the night and held their position, throwing out their pickets under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Korff. While the right wing of the regiment under my command engaged the enemy on their right centre, a portion of the left wing, consisting of companies C, J, F, and K, under command of Major Burke, pushed through the woods on the left of the road, and assailed the palisades of the enemy's infantry across a deep ravine. This portion of the command held its position in face of a terrific fire until every round of ammunition was expended, and the companies relieved by artillery, when it rejoined the right wing, already in position in front of the battery."

The worthy Colonel Lowe of the 12th Ohio, whom we have seen engaged at Scarytown, fell in a similar attack to that of Colonel Lytle's regiment. He was almost instantly shot down by a discharge of canister. Colonel Robert L. McCook, with his brave, well-drilled Germans of the 9th Ohio, were drawn up in line of battle, and were eager for the fight. An eye-witness thus describes their enthusiasm and that of their gallant commander. "It was," he says, "perhaps, 6 o'clock when Colonel Lowe was announced among the killed. The firing continued with intensified violence on our side, but it appeared to slacken on the part of the enemy. But the din was still terrific, showing that the rebels intended to make us pay for victory. The sun was rapidly sinking when orders arrived to forward the Dutch brigade. It was my grand satisfaction to be present and witness the magnificent reception of the order. Colonel R. L. McCook, acting brigadier, in his citizen's dress, stood in his stirrups, and snatching his slouched hat from his head, roared out, 'Forward, my bully Dutch! We'll go over their d—d intrenchments, if every man dies the other side.' The usually phlegmatic Teutons, inflamed with passionate excitement, exploded with terrific cheers. Old, gray-bearded fellows threw up their hats with frenzied violence, and the gallant brigade shot forward at double quick, shaking the road with their ponderous step. The scene was magnificently exciting. Not a man witnessed it whose very soul was not inflamed, and as the gallant McCook dashed furiously up and down his lines, shouting to his solid Dutchmen, no man doubted that, if they ever got orders to storm the battery, they would go over the parapet with resistless power. As the column deployed into the road, Captain Hartsuff volunteered to lead the column into position, when three thousand Dutchmen again yelled themselves hoarse, and McCook spurred onward to the front to reconnoitre his post. . . . . The brigade was not permitted to storm, but the 9th Ohio, McCook's own regiment, and Colonel Moore's 28th, had opportunity to show their steadiness under a galling fire."*

The severe skirmishing was kept up for three or four hours, and this animated bravery, it should be remembered, was exhibited by men who had hurried to face the enemy in an unknown position, without rest, after a long march since daylight through the sultry noon-tide heat. The details will be found in the newspaper correspondence of the time, written down with the first glow of enthusiasm of the eye-witnesses in the camp. They are too numerous, too much resembling scenes in all struggles of the kind to require their repetition here. In the history of all wars but little, indeed, of the true heroism can be recorded. That must be sought in the story of the individual lives freely offered in the national sacrifice. A reverent hand has preserved one of these simple narratives in a memorial of the career of Colonel Lowe, whose death at "the perilous edge of battle" has just been mentioned. Mr. Shea, in his chronicles of the "Fallen Brave" of the war, has noted his early trials, the spirit and perseverance with which they were overcome, his devotion to his country, and the piety and affection, mingled with a certain prescience of his coming fate, in a last fond letter to his wife.

The report of General Floyd of the engagement at Carnifex Ferry, represents the force in his command at less than two thousand. His lines, he says, "were necessarily very extended, and when manned, left not one man for reserve. The assault was made with spirit and determination. . . . Upon the close of the contest for the night, I discovered that it was only a question of time when we should be compelled to yield to the superiority of numbers. I therefore determined at once to recross the Gauley river and take position upon the left bank, which I accomplished without the loss of a gun or any accident whatever. Our loss, strange to say, after a continued firing upon us by cannon and small-arms for nearly four hours, was only twenty men wounded. The loss of the enemy we had no means of accurately estimating, but we are satisfied, from reports of prisoners and other sources of information, was very heavy. We repulsed them in five distinct and successive assaults, and at nightfall had crippled them to such an extent that they were in no condition whatever to molest us in our passage across the river. . . . . I am very confident that I could have beaten the enemy and have marched directly to the valley of Kanawha, if the reinforcements from General Wise's column had come up when ordered, and the regiments from North Carolina and Georgia could have reached me before the close of the second day's conflict. I cannot express the regret which I feel at the necessity, over which I had no control, which required that I should recross the river."*

Immediately following the attack upon Floyd's camp at Carnifex Ferry, an imposing attempt was made on the Union positions held by General J. J. Reynolds of the first brigade, guarding the important Cheat Mountain Pass. The movement was made by the Confederate General Robert E. Lee, recently detached from the "Army of the Potomac," and sent with a considerable body of troops across the mountains, who now, with a force of nine thousand men, and eight to twelve pieces of artillery, on the 12th of September advanced from Huntersville with the view of cutting off the communications and capturing the Union posts at Cheat Summit and Elk Water. He had made some dispositions toward this result, which were held in check by General Reynolds, when it became necessary for the latter promptly to assume the aggressive. The work on the Summit was in need of supplies, and the enemy, who were investing the post, must be driven from its vicinity. Two strong relieving parties were accordingly set in motion early on the morning of the 13th, but before they reached their destination the route was opened by the valor of the besieged occupants of the fort. They were but three hundred, but they managed to put to flight a greatly superior force of their assailants on the mountain. Meanwhile Lee was threatening Elk Water below, but was held at a distance by the excellent handling of a rifled 10-pounder brought in advance to the front from Loomis' battery. The next day saw a repetition of the operations at both camps, with the like result. On the day following, the fourth of these attacks, the fort on the Summit again gallantly repulsed the enemy. The result of the several encounters, as given by General Reynolds in his report, was a loss on the Union side of nine killed and some sixty prisoners; and a loss to the enemy of nearly a hundred killed, and about twenty prisoners.* In the number of the rebels who were slain was a person of some note, Colonel John A. Washington, the recent proprietor of the estate of Mount Vernon, which had been purchased from him for a large sum by an association formed by the ladies of the country to secure its preservation as the property of the nation.

---

* Correspondence of the New York *Times*, Camp Scott, near Carnifex Ferry, Sept. 12, 1861.

* Brigadier-General John B. Floyd, Commanding Army Kanawha, to the Hon. L. P. Walker, Secretary of War September 12, 1861.

Three weeks after this resolute defence of his post at Cheat Mountain, General Reynolds, on the third of October, detached a large portion of his brigade, well provided with artillery, numbering about five thousand men, to make a reconnoissance of the enemy's fortifications twelve miles distant, on Greenbriar river. On approaching the spot. the pickets were driven in, and the artillery brought to play upon the works. There was much skirmishing, and a heavy loss to the enemy from the well-worked batteries. The Union loss was ten killed and eleven wounded.

Looking in another direction we find, at the end of October, General Kelley, having recovered from the severe wound he had received at Philippa, again in the field in a movement against the rebel force at Romney and its neighborhood, in Hampshire county. Leaving New Creek, on the line of the railway, at midnight, with twenty-five hundred Ohio and Virginia troops, and three pieces of artillery, he came up with the rebels a few miles from Romney at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 26th, drove in their outposts, and after a brilliant action of two hours, completely routed them, taking all their cannon—three pieces—much of their camp equipage, and several hundred prisoners. The rebel loss was between thirty and forty killed and wounded; that of the Unionists but one killed and five wounded. Colonel Angus McDonald commanded the rebel cavalry, and Colonel Monroe the militia. This victory gave General Kelley possession of Romney, and the opportunity to address a proclamation to the inhabitants, assuring them of safety and protection in their rights, civil, social and political, under the flag of the United States; while all who had borne arms were required simply to lay them down, return to their homes, and secure the same privilege on taking the oath of allegiance.

---

* General J. J. Reynolds to Geo. L. Hartsuff, Assistant Adjutant-General, Department of Ohio. Elk Water, Sept. 17, 1861.

An indication of the perils to which the posts of the army of occupation were exposed in Western Virginia is afforded in the painful story of the surprise of a party of Union troops at the little town of Guyandotte, at the junction of the river of that name with the Ohio. The opinions of the residents of the place, which was on the southern line of the Union army, were divided on the national question. There were warm friends of the Government, but the larger number, it is said, favored the secession cause. It was, at the time to which we allude, held by Colonel R. V. Whaley, of the adjacent Wayne county, as the recruiting station of the 9th Virginia regiment of Volunteers. He had about a hundred and fifty men assembled when, on the evening of Sunday the 10th of November, the discipline of the camp being relaxed — some were at church and others scattered through the town—an attack was suddenly made by a guerrilla party of cavalry, several hundred in number, led by Colonel Albert G. Jenkins, a member of the National House of Representatives from the county in the recent Congress. As the recruits were taken entirely by surprise, they were enabled to rally only singly or in small parties, fighting in the streets and at the bridge which crosses the Guyandotte river. The assailants, well informed as to their position, seized their arms and horses, and with mutual slaughter, made prisoners of nearly half their number. The town during the night was occupied by the rebels.

Word of the attack immediately reached Colonel John L. Zeigler, a resolute and patriotic citizen of Wayne county, who was stationed a few miles below on the Ohio, at Ceredo, with his 5th Virginia regiment. He at once embarked two hundred of his men on the steamer Boston, with whom he arrived at Guyandotte about 8 o'clock on Monday morning, just as the rebels had left, carrying off with them, beside the prisoners of war, their Enfield rifles and horses, various Union citizens of the town, storekeepers and others, whose property they had plundered. The indignation of the relieving party, as might have been expected, was excessive. The time and manner of the attack, the alleged complicity of many of the townspeople with the surprise, and the ruthless conduct of the assailants, aroused the vengeance of the troops. Several arrests of leading secessionists were made, and a portion of the town, comprising some of the most valuable stores and dwellings, was set on fire and consumed. Numbers of the citizens of the adjoining Lawrence county, in Ohio, crossed the same day and rallied to the support of the Virginians and the defence of their common region from the incursions of the enemy.

To return to scenes on the Kanawha. General Floyd, after his midnight desertion of his camp at Carnifex Ferry, retreated from one position to another, presently establishing his command at Meadow Bluff, in Fayette county, whither he called General Wise, who, with his "Legion," held Dogwood Gap, one of the neighboring strongholds of the region, to follow for his defence. The ex-Governor appears to have had little respect for the ex-Secretary's orders and strategic retreats, and a decided difference of opinion arose between them. A particular statement of these operations, published in the *Richmond Dispatch*, was generally attributed to the pen of Colonel Henningsen, of Wise's Legion. We take up his narrative, which presents an instructive account of the composition of the "Legion," and the mode of warfare carried on in these mountain defiles, at the point where Wise was called upon to break up his position at Camp Defiance, on the eastern slope of the Big Sewell Mountain, having previously obeyed orders in retiring contrary to his judgment from Dogwood Gap. "On the 18th of September General Wise addressed the troops of his Legion, stating substantially that hitherto he had never retreated but in obedience to superior orders. That here he was determined to make a stand. That his force consisted of only one thousand seven hundred infantry and artillery, and that the enemy was alleged to be fifteen thousand strong. That this he did not believe, but that his men must be prepared to fight two or three or several to one, and even if the enemy were in the full force stated, the position admitted of successful defence, and he was determined to abide the issue. He warned them that they would probably be attacked front and rear for successive days, and he called on any officer or soldier who felt doubtful of the result, or unwilling to stand by him in this trial, to step forward, promising that they should be marched to Meadow Bluff. This speech, delivered successively to the three regiments of infantry and to the artillery, was received with the wildest enthusiasm. Not one solitary individual in the Legion failed to respond, and the spirits of the corps were raised and maintained at the highest fighting pitch. The provisions and baggage wagons were withdrawn into safe positions, and the camp on all sides strengthened. In this attitude the Legion remained till about the 20th, when it was strengthened by the arrival of Captain Romer's artillery company, with one gun, and by that of one Virginia, one North Carolina, and three Georgia companies, which swelled the forces of Wise's Legion to over two thousand men About this time General Lee arrived in General Floyd's camp, at Meadow Bluff, and wrote to General Wise, advising him to fall back, if executable, without delay. Before acting on this advice General Wise requested General Lee to inspect the position in person. On the 22d General Lee arrived at Camp Defiance, and, after a careful survey of the ground, ordered General Wise to maintain his position until further orders. The enemy had meanwhile advanced to within three or four miles, and several skirmishes had taken place between his outposts and the remaining cavalry of the Legion, under Major Bacon, formerly captain of mounted rangers in Nicaragua, and afterward aid to General Garnett, and wounded by the side of that General when he fell.

The rest of the cavalry was still under its gallant colonel, J. L. Davis, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clarkson, south of the New River, where they had pushed a daring and successful foray up to within twelve miles of Charleston. One night General Wise, with a few picked companions, including the Richmond Blues and Mississippi Rangers, of the 2d regiment, under Captain Imboden, attempted to feel and ambuscade the enemy and drive in their outposts, killing three of them, the General himself lying down for several hours in a pitiless shower. Notwithstanding, all that could be ascertained of the enemy was that he was on the turnpike, probably from five thousand to six thousand strong.

"On the afternoon of the 23d, while the infantry and artillery of the Legion were rehearsing their part on the contemplated points of attack, the enemy suddenly appeared, driving in our pickets. The next morning the summit of the Big Sewell was whitened with his tents, and skirmishing commenced and continued till the evening. On our side two gun detachments of the artillery and three companies of the 2d regiment of the Legion, of which Colonel Henningsen is colonel, but in consequence of his having charge of the infantry and artillery, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Anderson — who distinguished himself by the daring exploit of capturing Castillo, in Nicaragua, with forty-eight men, after Lockridge and Titus had failed with eight hundred —Captain Imboden's, Captain Lewis's and Captain Crane's University company were the companies engaged, with one six-pounder and one howitzer, under Major Gibbs of South Carolina, Captain McComas and Lieutenant Pairo of Richmond. The casualties were but trifling on our side, though we have to regret the death of Lieutenant Howell of Mississippi (of Captain McDonald's company), and that of one of Captain Imboden's gallant rangers. Captain Lewis was shot through the breast, but is doing well. Three privates were wounded in the above-named companies, one very severely. The only loss in the artillery was Lieutenant Pairo's horse, shot under him. The enemy was obviously only feeling for the flanks of our position, and evidently could make nothing of it, and 'no wonder,' as Professor Snead remarked, 'since it has no flanks at all.' The guns were only advanced to avenge casualties which befell our men, firing a few rounds and then retiring. For instance, when a ranger fell, a six-pounder suddenly advanced along a ridge where a gun could never have been expected, and drove the enemy from a stable, laying out four of them. In sight, on another occasion, seven were dropped before the howitzer. A company of the enemy's reconnoitering, and commanded by a mounted officer, came on a picket of the University company. The sentry shot the mounted officer down, received the volley of the company and retired unhurt. Major Lawson of the 2d regiment, having seized a rifle to surprise one of the enemy's scouts, was himself surprised by another, who sent a shot through his coat. The major, however, avenged himself on this interloper by shooting him dead."

At the end of September, Wise was recalled to Richmond by the Secretary of War, and left his favorite Camp Defiance in command of General Lee. Rosecrans meanwhile had followed Floyd, and was encamped close in his neighborhood, controlling his further movements westward. The month of October was spent in these various manœuvres confined to the region, so well calculated for defence, at the head of the Kanawha Valley, bounded by the New Gauley and Kanawha rivers, and protected by various passes. Both sides had been reinforced, and it was evident that a contest must soon ensue for the supremacy. By the end of the month Floyd had concentrated his force on the left bank of the New River, within a few miles of its junction with the Gauley. He had with him five to six thousand, and ten or eleven pieces of artillery. The command of Rosecrans was encamped on the opposite side of the river, his right resting on the Kanawha. It numbered about ten thousand in the several brigades of General Cox, the first occupant of the district, General Benham, whose career we have pursued through the previous Virginia campaigns, and General Schenck, who had been transferred from the Potomac to the Western Department.

On the 1st of November Floyd opened fire on the Union camp from a battery across the river, and made some other hostile demonstrations, with but little effect, however, as it at once became evident that he could make no impression upon the force arrayed against him. His position, nevertheless, at the point facing the junction of the rivers, where the main Union camp was situated, and commanding the road by which the provision teams from the North must arrive, where he had established a battery, was sufficiently annoying. There was a double motive, therefore, in dislodging him, and if possible, effecting his capture. To this the efforts of General Rosecrans were now directed, with what result is thus narrated by an army correspondent at the camp: "Again Floyd," says the writer, dating his letter on the 16th, "with his rebel host, has proved the coward. Fearing to encounter the little army that General Rosecrans was silently sending against him, he did not even make a stand at his intrenchments, but, seized with a panic, has shamefully run to the southern counties. Ten days ago he pushed his command forward to New River and the Kanawha, and establishing batteries upon the hills that overlooked our positions, commenced a system of attack upon us that blockaded our only road to Gauley, and cut us off from our provision depot. It became necessary to dislodge him. The General, anxious that he should come as far into the hills as possible, made but little reply to his fire, except to drive in his skirmishers; but at last all was prepared, and word was sent to the different brigades to be ready to move at a moment's warning. It was extremely desirable to turn Floyd's position and get into his rear if possible, and for this purpose Major Crawford, of the United States Army, a member of General Rosecrans staff, was directed to make an examination of the slope of the mountain towards a deserted ferry, known as Townsend's Ferry, and from which, after crossing the river, and ascending the opposite mountain, a road led directly to the town of Fayette, in the rear of Floyd's position. After incredible labor a road was made down the mountain, the distance of one mile, and over rocks and down ravines Major Crawford, with his force of pioneers, passed several boats and two large floats, capable of containing ninety to one hundred men. The enemy were not watching the ferry on the opposite side, and by Monday night (Nov. 11th) all was ready. Schenck's brigade was to have crossed at this ferry. The boats were in the river, and the movement about to be made, when the river suddenly rose, and in a short time became a dashing torrent. To attempt to cross would have hazarded the lives of the men. But one thing was to be done—as we could not strike them in the rear we could reach their flank, and the order was given to the brigade (Benham's) to cross below the entrance of New River into the Kanawha. Meantime the 1st Kentucky regiment had been ordered across, under Major Leeper, to attack them on the hill opposite to Gauley. This was done, and the hill was taken, with a loss of four men killed, five wounded, and six missing. Twenty of the enemy were killed and wounded. Five miles down the river General Benham had crossed with his entire brigade, and was coming up rapidly. The enemy fell back toward a line of intrenchments they had constructed at Dickerson's farm, on the road from Gauley to Fayette. Fearing that they would retreat, General Rosecrans sent orders to General Benham to push forward at once a large force to Cassidy's Mills, the key point of the position. A road led from these mills directly to the road running from Fayette to Raleigh, over which the enemy must pass should he determine to retire. It was the intention of General Rosecrans that this force should have been thrown upon the flank of the retreating army, while Schenck's and Benham's brigades pushed them in the rear. By some strange mismanagement upon the part of General Benham, the force at the mills was ordered by him to rejoin his command by another road. The enemy, knowing that we would outflank him by the very road from Cassidy's Mills, made no stand at his intrenchments, and hastily retreated. The road was strewn with tents, tent-poles, cooking utensils, and ammunition, as he lightened his wagons in his flight. Benham now pressed his rear through Fayette and along the Raleigh road, and came up with his rear-guard, about two miles from the town. He attacked this force, consisting of four hundred cavalry and several regiments of infantry, killing Colonel Croghan, who commanded the cavalry, and several others. He brought up his artillery and opened fire upon them with effect. Again they retreated, closely pursued until nightfall, when, from the exhaustion of our men, who were without food or blankets, a halt was ordered, and shortly afterwards an order from the commanding general arrived directing a return of our forces."*

The final movement of General Benham in pursuit of Floyd is thus described in his report to General Rosecrans, dated Fayetteville, November 16th. "Upon the night of the 11th instant," says he, "while at a kind of bivouac at Loup Creek mouth, where I had been with part of my command, by the directions of General Rosecrans, since the 5th and 6th instant, I received your orders to proceed as early as practicable with the force then at that point, about one thousand five hundred men, of the 10th, 12th, and 13th Ohio regiments, to occupy Cotton Hill, there having been previously stationed by his orders, under my directions, the 37th Ohio regiment of seven hundred men at Loup Creek Forks, about four miles up, and in detachments up to ten miles from the mouth of the

---

* Correspondence of the New York *Herald*, Nov. 29. 1861

Creek; also, about three hundred and twenty of the 44th Ohio regiment, and four hundred and thirty of the 7th Ohio about one mile upon the left fork. About the time of marching from Loup Creek, however, I had directed, as he had ordered me, about one thousand men from these last three regiments to occupy Cassidy's Mills, about six miles up from the left fork toward this place, and the remainder, being part of the 37th regiment, to endeavor to reach me at Cotton Hill by a march to the left of Cassidy's Mills by Nugent's. On the morning of the 12th, in accordance with the directions given, with the first named force, and four mounted howitzers, and two rifled 6-pounders, we moved up the left bank of the Kanawha, four miles from the mouth of Loup Creek to Gauley Falls; thence to the right, some five miles over Cotton Hill to Herschberger's by 3 P. M., where at Laurel Creek we met the advance pickets of the enemy in force, as it was ascertained afterwards, in a most strong position, prepared with abattis; and after skirmishing with them with the greater part of the 13th regiment until dark, we went into bivouac in the open air, on the escarped mountain road, with but few fires and but little water; myself and staff lying on the bare rocks, with our horses held below us. Our loss in the skirmish was one man killed and four wounded; that of the enemy two, at least, killed and about seven wounded. The enemy were completely driven from the ground they occupied, but not much farther, as a large reinforcement was seen coming to them (I have since learned four regiments and one piece of artillery were sent). And with only about one thousand six hundred and forty men, for Colonel Sieber's detachment had not fully joined, I did not think it would be safe to draw on a battle with the whole rebel force, reported by yourself to me to be from four to six thousand men, and as I heard afterward with nine to eleven guns, although, as I reported to you that night, I felt I would hold my position in the mountain secure against their force.

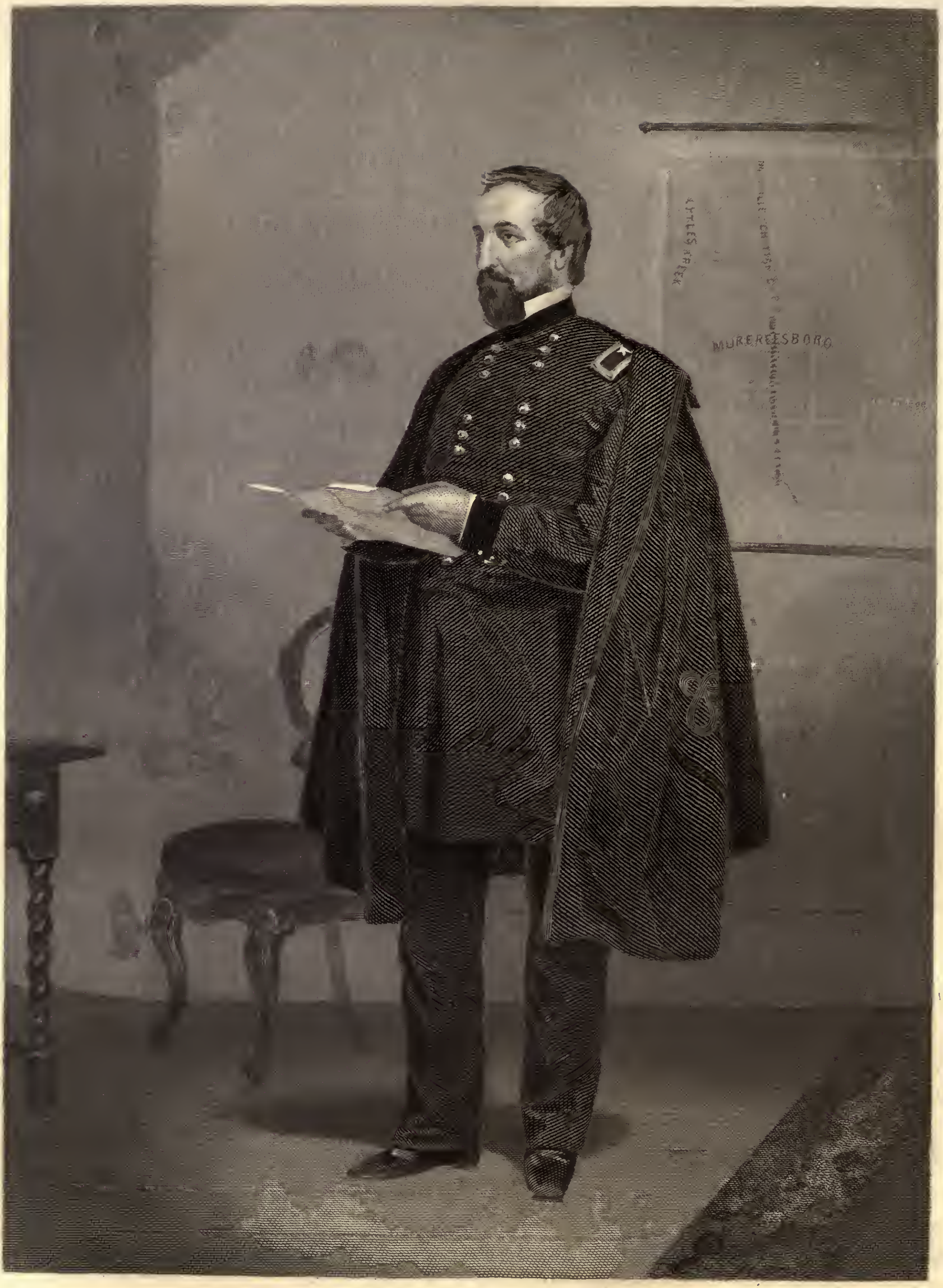
"During the night, at about 2 A. M. of the 13th, it was reported to me by a scout I had sent out to watch the rebel camp, that the wheels of heavy wagons, or artillery, were heard rumbling in the direction of their camp, but as this became no fainter, it was uncertain whether they were retreating or receiving reinforcements. I immediately sent directions to Colonel Smith, of the 13th regiment, to send out two other scouts to ascertain if the movement was a retreat, but most unfortunately, as Colonel Smith informed me in the morning, he did not understand it as a command, but merely as a suggestion, and they were not sent out. On learning this at early light, I immediately sent forward a scout of ten men, supported by two companies of the 13th regiment; but the report from these men of the retreat of the rebels did not come till after 4 P. M., on which I immediately gave the orders for marching to overtake them. For this I felt the more prepared as I had ordered, and expected down to join me, the force that was at Cassidy's Mills, having authorized the aid who was sent there to order them direct to Fayette road, if the enemy were proven to be retreating and it would be *surely safe* to do so. But this last order was also misunderstood, and although a portion of this command of mine had occupied Fayette from 11 A. M., without finding they had the means to communicate with me, they were recalled, and unfortunately made the circuit around to this place again. At length, by 5 P. M., we moved forward from the 'Union School-House' to the Dickerson farm, which we reached before seven, finding there the evidences of a most hasty retreat, in the remains of large quantities of tents and camp equipage destroyed by fire. At a short distance beyond this farm the command was closed up, halted, and rested for about four hours, and the detachments of the 44th and 7th joined me, making my moving strength about two thousand seven hundred men. With this force, at 11 P. M., I moved forward, arriving about 4 A. M. of the 14th at Hawkins' Farm, about five miles beyond Fayetteville, being delayed much by scouting the roads in advance. On the route further evidences of the hasty retreat were shown in the tents, wagons, and large quantities of ammunition left behind. At 7 o'clock we again moved forward with the belief, which proved to be the fact, that part at least of their train was encamped five miles from Hawkins. The advance was led by Colonel Smith of the 13th, to whose prudence and caution during that day we owe it, that not a single man of ours was killed or wounded, and scouting most cautiously, though of course slowly forward, we met the advance posts of the enemy, after four miles' march, at 9 A. M., where a sharp contest with our advance continued for nearly half an hour, where, besides several other losses, the rebels had mortally wounded the colonel of Floyd's cavalry — Colonel St. George Croghan (son of the late Inspector-General Croghan).

"These outposts being driven in, we advanced carefully about one mile further, where the enemy were found posted in considerable force behind a ridge covering McCoy's Mills. A regiment of cavalry and different regiments of infantry are reported as distinctly seen. After an interchange of fire between these and our advance for twenty minutes, Captain Schneider's rifle artillery was brought up with good effect, the officers reporting that they saw many fall at their fire. As, however, I soon discovered a ridge that made out from our rear to our right, that commanded at close musket range the left of the enemy, I sent my aid to direct Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton, with the 7th and half of the 37th, under Major Ankele, to pass down this ridge to attack their left. This movement, I regret, was delayed fully half an hour by the resistance of Colonel Sieber to this order, he at first neglecting or refusing to send the number of men required, and demanding the right to command it, as reported by my aid. When at length this attack was made, it was entirely successful; and with the first concentrated volleys of this command of about seven hundred and fifty men, uniting with the fire of the 13th regiment, the whole of the enemy retreated in confusion with the last of their wagon train. Their position was soon, though cautiously taken possession of, when it was found thickly strewn with blankets, clothing, camp equipage, etc., as evidences of a precipitate flight. A short time for rest was now given, and we then moved forward, with the usual scouting parties in advance, through an escarped road upon a steep mountain side, to a defile continuing for about four miles between two mountains up the Big Loup Creek. We found, about midway of the defile, a bridge of some size broken down, which delayed us nearly an hour to repair ; yet still, as the guides informed us that there was a long and difficult hill for the passage of wagons about two miles in advance of the bridge, I decided to push forward in the hopes of overtaking it, although the men had been marching nearly all the night previous, as well as during the most of that day, in, for a greater part of the time, a drenching storm, and over roads in many places, to a great extent, in tenacious mud, and many of them, by the failure of expected trains, with less than half their rations. On reaching at 4 P. M. the outlet of this defile at Keton's Farm, about fifteen miles from Fayetteville and twenty-one miles from our previous bivouac near Cotton Hill, we found the expected steep hill some two miles distant, and their wagons over it or not in sight. And therefore I concluded to bivouac the men there with such food as we best could obtain, and report the case, as I did so, to General Schenck at Fayetteville, who had assumed the direction by order of yourself, suggesting to him to join me with his force (about one-half of mine), that we might attack or drive the enemy in Raleigh the next day. The first despatch of General Schenck informed me that he had sent the 26th regiment and some mounted men to reinforce me ; a second, received at 10 P. M., informed me that the 26th regiment was ordered to return, while it directed me also to return as soon as practicable to this place.

"As the men were still, for more than nine-tenths of them, without any shelter, in a most drenching rain or succession of violent thunder-showers, many without their blankets even, which had been thrown off in the ardor of the chase, and as they were still standing round their fires, unable to sleep in the rain upon the open ground, the greater part of the command, though most unwilling to give up the pursuit, felt that, if it was so ordered, it must be best for themselves, after their few hours' halt (it could not be called rest), to retrace their steps that very night, rather than remain standing in the cold and wet till morning, with only the prospect before them of their return. We accordingly commenced our retreat soon after 1 o'clock, and, reaching McCoy's about 4, we rested till after 6 A. M. of the 15th, or to-day, when we moved onward, and, with a single rest about midway, the command reached this place soon after noon, being still in excellent spirits—their main disappointment being in not having been permitted to continue the pursuit of the rebels. We are at this hour partly in houses, but a great nnmber are out in the open air in the village, where it is now snowing upon them in their rest, which, added to their really great exposure, will, I fear, half annihilate their effective strength.

"The main facts and circumstances of the expedition are, therefore, that after remaining about one week upon Loup Creek, awaiting the coöperation of another force, and with my command of about three thousand men divided in four portions, as ordered by General Rosecrans, I at length moved with one-half the force to meet the enemy in front to the furthest point of Cotton Hill. There, in the night after our first engagement with his outposts, on the afternoon of the 13th, the enemy made a most precipitous retreat, leaving portions of his baggage, wagon-loads of ammunition, tents, clothing, etc., on the route, besides the evidences of the destruction of a much greater portion ; that from the unknown and difficult nature of the country, some twenty hours had elapsed before his retreat was assured, and without which we did not feel it safe to pursue him to his works at Dickerson's farm (since found to be of the strongest character for fieldworks) with my force then less than two thousand, and not one-half of the least of his supposed numbers. He was then most vigorously followed up by my command through rain, and storm, and mud, till overtaken at about eighteen miles from the camp he left, and the heavy force of his rear-guard was there routed, and further camp equipage taken after another action, by which the train was still kept in advance of us; and the pursuit was still continued until, from the difficult nature of the defile beyond, the breaking of bridges, etc., our exhausted forces needed to rest for the night, when we were recalled by the orders of General Schenck; and this was accomplished with the loss of one man killed and four wounded on our part in the fight at Laurel Creek, and none at the affair at McCoy's Mills, while it is certain that the loss of the enemy was three times that amount, including that of their chief colonel of cavalry killed. Floyd was pursued for thirty miles from his batteries of Gauley Bridge, and driven, as was ascertained, to Raleigh, and on some eight miles further than our last bivouac. I can only add in conclusion that, had I not been ordered to return, and had the forces which were sent over the river been moved up to Keton's to support me, as I asked by a courier that evening that they should be, we could have moved forward to Raleigh to-day as I intended, and, as I am well satisfied, captured that place and dépôt, with their entire train, and certainly routed, if not captured, the whole of Floyd's force."

A word is due to the memory of Colonel St. George Croghan, who, like Garnett, was mortally wounded while defending the rear guard of his retreating associates. He was the son of the gallant Colonel Croghan renowned in Western annals, for his heroic defence of Fort Sandusky against a combined attack of British and Indians. His last thoughts in death were that he had fallen with honor, "I saw him," wrote General Benham in the courteous letter which he addressed to General Floyd, acquainting him of his fate, "in passing, a few minutes after he was wounded, and he recognized me, conversing freely but with pain, and shaking my hand on leaving him, he requested to state that 'he died the death of a brave soldier,' as he did, in every way worthy of his gallant and noble father. I left him in charge of my brigade and one other surgeon, with hospital attendants and a guard, and on my return this morning from my camp ground, the hospital steward handed me a small blank memorandum book, in which was a history made by his request, of which I enclose you a copy. He left his address, etc., with the chaplain of the 10th (Colonel Lytle's) Ohio regiment, Rev. H. E. O. Higgins, and told me that his family were residing in Newburgh, New York. I will endeavor to communicate with them as early as possible, and send each little memorial from him as I shall be able to collect them, for I yet cannot ascertain where most of his property has gone, as the people of the house where he died would not attend to it. I have sent his remains toward Fayetteville, where they will be interred if we are not able to


LYTLES CREEK
MURFREESBORO

W. S. Rosecrans

From the original painting by Chappel in the possession of the publishers.

Johnson, Fry & Co. Publishers. New York

[illegible] according to act of Congress AD 1863 by Johnson, Fry & Co. in the clerks office of the district court of the southern district of NY

take them to Gauley; though I will, if possible, place the body there in a box with salt, to preserve it for his friends. It will be subject to the order from General H.S. Rosecrans. And now, having for the third time the opportunity of extending courtesies somewhat of this character to your officers—as first, in returning the baggage, uniform, etc., of Colonel Porterfield, at Philippa, and afterward of preserving the sword, effects, and body of General Garnett at Carrick's Ford—I trust your officers will appreciate the desire, thus exhibited, of mitigating in every way the horrors of this fratricidal strife, as I think you yourself will do me the justice to believe that I most earnestly wish it."

In December General Floyd, putting the best face on the matter, took leave of his army of Kanawha in a vigorous proclamation. He recalled the five months' contest with the enemy, and his successful endeavor to obstruct his march into the interior of the State, in which "hard contested battles and skirmishes were matters of almost daily occurrence." He complimented his men on their cheerful, uncomplaining endurance of hardships and privations for which the government had reason to be grateful, and closed by inviting them to a new field of service in Kentucky. So ended the operations of the season. As an aggressive movement the advance of Floyd had failed of success, while he had reason to congratulate himself on his escape from capture. The Union army was left in full possession of Western Virginia.

General Rosecrans also closed the campaign with an address to his troops, in which, while he complimented them on the successes they had achieved, he urged the necessity of a serious, earnest prosecution of the work before them, concealing neither its responsibilities nor difficulties—"Officers and soldiers of the Department of Western Virginia: You have closed an arduous campaign with honor to yourselves and satisfaction to the country. None but those who have been with you, as I have, can fully appreciate your trials and privations. Your triumph has been threefold—over your own inexperience, the obstacles of nature, and the rebel forces. When our gallant young commander was called from us, after the disaster of Bull Run, this department was left with less than 15,000 men to guard 300 miles of railroad and 300 miles of frontier, exposed to bushwhackers, and the forces of Generals Floyd, Wise and Jackson. The north-western pass into it was fortified and held, Cheat Mountain secured, the rebel assaults there victoriously repelled, and the Kanawha Valley occupied. A march of 112 miles, over bad roads, brought you upon Floyd's intrenched position, whence the rebels were dislodged and chased to Sewell. Finally, your patience and watchings put the traitor Floyd within your reach, and though by a precipitate retreat he escaped your grasp, you have the substantial fruits of victory. Western Virginia belongs to herself, and the invader is expelled from her soil. In the name of our Commander-in-Chief, and in my own, I thank you. But the country will expect—your Commanding General expects—still more from you. A campaign without a defeat, without even a check, must be eclipsed by deeds of greater lustre. To this end I now call upon you, for your own future honor, to devote yourselves with energy and zeal to perfect yourselves in all that pertains to drill, instruction and discipline. Let every officer and every soldier be emulous to teach and learn the firings, light infantry drill, guard duty, company discipline and police. Your Commanding General proposes to procure for you everything necessary to prepare you for your coming work, and will soon organize boards of examiners, who will rid the service of the disgrace, and soldiers of the incubus, of incompetent and worthless officers, who hold the positions and receive the pay without having the will or capacity to perform the duties of their positions. Remember, you are fighting for your country, for your flag, for your homes. Your enemies are implacable in their hatred of you; there is no measure of falsehood to which they have not resorted to blacken your good name; and their leaders, Beauregard and Jeff. Davis, have dared, even in solemn proclamation, to calumniate you, charging you with crimes which you abhor. From these men you have nothing to expect. You must prepare to teach them, not only lessons of magnanimity and forbearance toward the unarmed and defenceless, but to thrust their calumnies and their boastings down their own traitorous throats. Let not a moment be lost in your preparations for the task before you."

CHAPTER XXXVII.

GENERAL FREMONT'S MISSOURI CAMPAIGN.

After the fall of Lyon, the interest in military affairs in Missouri centres in the movements of General Fremont. It is not necessary here to repeat the circumstances in his previous history which gave to his name a peculiar prestige in the West, which identified him with the exploration and settlement, the conquest of arms and civilization of the mighty region stretching from the Missouri to the Pacific; nor need we refer to the national importance of a name which, in the preceding Presidential election, had been familiar in every home and household in the land. The two ideas to which he had devoted his youth and early manhood were now incorporated in substantial realities of world-wide fame. When he first threaded the passes of the Rocky Mountains he had looked from their heights upon an uncultivated wilderness where now flourished a golden empire. The Republican creed which he had been chosen to represent, the promise of which had been symbolized in the freshness and purity of his fame, his youth and gallantry in the free mountain air among free men—the social and political hope of the people—was now a living, active policy, invigorating and directing the energies of the nation. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that when the arm of rebellion was raised against the State, and the Government was looking everywhere for representative men to sustain its authority, Fremont should not be forgotten. He had, indeed, no established military reputation as a great commander, for he had conducted no great military operations in war; but as it was very evident that the choice of our Major-Generals was very limited if that qualification should be insisted upon, no one felt disposed to press the point in view of the many advantages which he possessed by the side of the crowd of civilians of no experience at all, who stood eager for promotion on the army list. It was, in fact, considered quite as a matter of course that Fremont should be invited to some distinguished military command. It would have been, in the opinion of many, the height of political ingratitude in the administration to pass him by.

At the breaking out of the war he was on a visit to Europe. We have, on a previous page, recorded the temperate and patriotic speech[*] in which, at Paris in the month of May, in company with the American ministers, newly arrived at that capital, he pledged himself to the cause of the Union. He had, in fact, already been recalled to his country, and the short time which elapsed before setting out on his return was given by him to preparations for the now imminent conflict. Having made large purchases of arms in Belgium for the United States Government, he left England for America, arriving at Boston on the 27th of June. Speedily reporting himself at Washington, he was, on the 6th of July, appointed, with the rank of Major-General, to the command of a vast military district, now first constituted into a separate organization as the Western Department. It embraced the State of Illinois and the States and Territories west of the Mississippi and east of the Rocky Mountains, including New Mexico. The headquarters of the department were at St. Louis.

It might have been thought that, on receiving so extensive a command, a particular line of policy or strategy would have been marked out by the administration. But nothing of the kind was prescribed. It was characteristic of the early period of the war that no very definite course of action could be laid down. The army had yet to be formed, and its employment determined by future events. There were discussions at Washington on the subject, and it was understood that the great object in view was the descent of the Mississippi, and that, for its accomplishment, General Fremont was to raise and organize an army, and, when he was ready to descend the river, inform the President of the fact.[*] With no more precise instructions—with none whatever in writing—General Fremont, the day after the battle of Bull Run, having made such arrangements as he could in the fortnight for the equipment of an army corps of twenty-three thousand men, set off for St. Louis, which he reached on the 25th of July. The political and military condition in which he found Missouri on his arrival he has himself thus described: "The State was throughout rebellious. A rebel faction in every county, at least equal to the loyal population in numbers, and excelling it in vindictiveness and energy. The local government was in confusion and unable to aid. St. Louis itself was a rebel city, and, as a rule, the influential and wealthy citizens were friendly to secession. Of the new levies of the Federal troops, few were in the field—the term of enlistment of the three months' men was just expiring—the troops in service had not been paid, were badly equipped and badly supplied; and in addition to the rebel parties which swarmed throughout the State, a Confederate army of nearly fifty thousand men was already on its southern frontier. General Pope was in North Missouri with nearly all my disposable forces; General Lyon was at Springfield with about seven thousand eight hundred men; and General Prentiss was holding Cairo with seven regiments. General Lyon's troops were, in greater part, three months' men whose term of service was ending, and all of General Prentiss' force was in the same condition."

---

[*] Ante, p. 447.

[*] Statement of General Fremont to the Hon. Mr. Wade, Chairman of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, etc.

The first military movement of General Fremont was the reinforcement, within a few days after his arrival in St. Louis, of the threatened posts at Cairo and Bird's Point. He carried with him for this purpose, in a fleet of eight steamboats, thirty-eight hundred men. The expedition, a few months after, when the operations of the war were vastly multiplied, would have attracted little attention; it was then paraded with great effect. Happily the enemy were, as it would appear, duly impressed by it, for we now tremble as we read that General Prentiss had but twelve hundred men at the time at Cairo, while General Pillow had a force a few miles below, at New Madrid, not over-estimated, says General Fremont, at twenty thousand. Looking back upon it by the light of subsequent events, it was certainly one of the most critical moments of the war.

Cairo, as the most important point in danger, having thus been secured, General Fremont bent his efforts for the relief of General Lyon. Before, however, he could equip the raw recruits hastening to St. Louis, the battle of Wilson's Creek was fought, and the small army had withdrawn from Springfield. General Fremont tells us how time was then gained by the dissentions in the camp of the enemy to secure the defence of the State, which he now undertook on the most comprehensive plan. His design was "to fortify Girardeau, Ironton, Rolla and Jefferson City, with St. Louis as a base, holding these places with sufficient garrisons, and leaving the army free for operations in the field." In accordance with this intention, he laid out and completed a series of fortifications about St. Louis commanding the city and its approaches.

While provision was thus made against the approach of the enemy from without, the administration of his department within was conducted with determination and energy. Much had been said of the losses which the nation had sustained by the hesitation or inactivity of its officers in various branches of the Government. General Fremont, it was soon apparent, was not reluctant, when he thought the exigencies of his position demanded it, to proceed on his own responsibility. One of his first acts, immediately after his arrival, at a time when the few troops he had about him were in danger of being lost to the service for want of their stipulated pay—and he had no other remedy at hand—was to compel the Treasurer of the United States at St. Louis, by force, to furnish the requisite funds. On the 14th of August he proclaimed martial law in the city, and suppressed the publication of the *War Bulletin* and the *Missourian*, two newspapers "shamelessly devoted to the publication of transparently false statements respecting military movements in Missouri."* On the 30th of the month, by the following proclamation, he brought the State under martial law:

---

* St. Louis *Democrat*. August 15, 1861.

"Circumstances, in my judgment, are of sufficient urgency to render it necessary that the commanding General of this department should assume the administrative powers of the State. Its disorganized condition, helplessness of civil authority, and the total insecurity of life and devastation of property by bands of murderers and marauders, who infest nearly every county in the State, and avail themselves of public misfortunes, in the vicinity of a hostile force, to gratify private and neighborhood vengeance, and who find an enemy wherever they find plunder, finally demand the severest measures to repress the daily-increasing crimes and outrages, which are driving off the inhabitants and ruining the State. In this condition, the public safety and success of our arms require unity of purpose, without let or hindrance to the prompt administration of affairs. In order, therefore, to suppress disorders, maintain the public peace, and give security to the persons and property of loyal citizens, I do hereby extend and declare established martial law throughout the State of Missouri. The lines of the army of occupation in this State are for the present declared to extend from Leavenworth, by way of posts of Jefferson City, Rolla, and Ironton, to Cape Girardeau on the Mississippi river. All persons who shall be taken with arms in their hands within these lines shall be tried by court-martial, and if found guilty, will be shot. Real and personal property of those who shall take up arms against the United States, or who shall be directly proven to have taken an active part with their enemies in the field, is declared confiscated to public use. and their slaves. if any they have, are hereby declared free men. All persons who shall be proven to have destroyed, after the publication of this order, railroad tracks, bridges, or telegraph lines, shall suffer the extreme penalty of the law. All persons engaged in treasonable correspondence, in giving or procuring aid to the enemy, in fermenting turmoil, and disturbing public tranquility, by creating or circulating false reports or incendiary documents, are warned that they are exposing themselves. All persons who have been led away from allegiance are required to return to their homes forthwith. Any such absence, without sufficient cause, will be held to be presumptive evidence against them. The object of this declaration is to place in the hands of military authorities power to give instantaneous effect to the existing laws, and supply such deficiencies as the conditions of the war demand; but it is not intended to suspend the ordinary tribunals of the country, where law will be administered by civil officers in the usual manner, and with their customary authority, while the same can be peaceably administered. The commanding General will labor vigilantly for the public welfare, and, by his efforts for their safety, hopes to obtain not only acquiescence, but the active support of the people of the country."

The terms of this Proclamation were thought by many to be too summary in the threatened execution of the insurgents, and to exceed the authority given by Congress in the act for the confiscation of rebel property. The authoritative declaration of the freedom of the slave, while it was hailed by the increasing class of emancipationists, was pronounced by others an injudicious interference with the institution, and particularly prejudicial to the Union cause in the yet unsettled border States. The President himself, whose sympathies with a liberal policy of emancipation, admitted of no question, and who had shown himself friendly to the author of the Proclamation, shared these opinions, as appears by the private letter which he almost immediately addressed to General Fremont. It was dated Washington, September 2, and read thus: "My dear Sir: Two points in your proclamation of August 30 give me some anxiety. *First:* Should you shoot a man, according to the proclamation, the Confederates would very certainly shoot our best men in their hands in retaliation; and so, man for man, indefinitely. It is, therefore, my order that you allow no man to be shot, under the proclamation, without first having my approbation or consent. *Second:* I think there is great danger that the closing paragraph, in relation to the confiscation of property, and the liberating slaves of traitorous owners, will alarm our Southern Union friends and turn them against us—perhaps ruin our rather fair prospect for Kentucky. Allow me, therefore, to ask that you will, as of your own motion, modify that paragraph so as to conform to the *first* and *fourth* sections of the Act of Congress entitled 'An Act to Confiscate Property Used for Insurrectionary Purposes,' approved August 6, 1861, and a copy of which I herewith send you. This letter is written in a spirit of caution, and not of censure. I send it by a special messenger, in order that it may certainly and speedily reach you. Yours, very truly, A. LINCOLN."

To this direction, thus kindly and considerately worded, General Fremont replied on receipt of the communication at St. Louis on the 8th. He had not, he said, troubled the President with the details of affairs in his administration, which were changing incessantly, but had left it to time to show that he was acting in consonance with his ideas. In reference to the Proclamation, he said, "Between the rebel armies, the Provisional Government and home traitors, I felt the position bad, and saw danger. In the night I decided upon the proclamation and the form of it. I wrote it the next morning, and printed it the same day. I did it without consultation or advice with any one, acting solely with my best judgment to serve the country and yourself, and perfectly willing to receive the amount of censure which should be thought due if I made a false movement. This is as much a movement in the war as a battle, and in going into these I shall have to act according to my judgment of the ground before me, as I did on this occasion. If upon reflection, your better judgment still decides that I am wrong in the article respecting the liberation of slaves, I shall have to ask that you will openly direct me to make the correction. The implied censure will be received as a soldier always should, the reprimand of his chief. If I were to retract of my own accord it would imply that I myself thought it wrong, and that I had acted without the reflection which the gravity of the point demanded. But I did not. I acted with full deliberation, and upon the certain conviction that it was a measure right and necessary—and I think so still."

In regard to the treatment of the insurgents, he explained that it did not refer to prisoners of war, but to men rising in arms within the lines of the army, that it was strictly according to the usages of war, that the promptitude was needed, and he hoped he might be permitted to carry out the provision.

To this the President replied in the following open letter or order: "Washington, D. C., September 11, 1861, Major-General John C. Fremont. Sir: Yours of the 8th, in answer to mine of the 2d instant, was just received. Assured that you upon the ground could judge better of the necessities of your position than I could at this distance, on seeing your proclamation of August 30, I perceived no general objection to it; the particular clause, however, in relation to the confiscation of property and the liberation of slaves, appeared to me to be objectionable in its non-conformity to the Act of Congress, passed the 6th of August last, upon the same subject, and hence I wrote you expressing my wish that that clause should be modified accordingly. Your answer, just received, expresses the preference on your part that I should make an open order for the modification, which I very cheerfully do. It is therefore ordered, that the said clause of said proclamation be so modified, held and construed as to conform with and not to transcend the provisions on the same subject, contained in the Act of Congress, entitled 'An Act to Confiscate Property used for Insurrectionary Purposes, approved August 6, 1861,' and that said act be published at length with this order.* Your obedient servant, A. Lincoln."

The following letter on this subject, from the Hon. Joseph Holt to General James Speed of Kentucky, accompanied by the correspondence between Mr. Holt and President Lincoln, will further distinctly show the attitude of the Government on this important question at this time. "I hasten to place in your hands," writes Mr. Holt to General Speed from Washington, September 12, 1861, "the enclosed correspondence with the President of the United States. The action which he has taken was firm and decided, and must prove satisfactory to the friends of the Union in Kentucky. The act of Congress alluded to was a necessity under the circumstances, and was fully justified by the usages of civilized warfare. The Government has the same right to confiscate slaves engaged in digging trenches or mounting guns for the rebels that it has to confiscate their arms when captured during the progress of the war; but, having confiscated them, Congress goes no further. Upon this law the President stands firmly, and in doing so, and in disavowing General Fremont's proclamation, he gives another of the ever-multiplying proofs that the war, which is one for national existence, does not seek to extinguish or interfere with slavery as established in the States. If this institution suffers detriment from the events or issues of the rebellion, the blow will come from those who, under the pretence of defending it, are striking at the life of a Government under whose Constitution it has enjoyed complete shelter and protection for three-quarters of a century. The occupation of Columbus by armed Tennesseeans, under the leadership of Bishop Polk and Pillow, has excited no surprise here where the unscrupulous character and ultimate aims of the rebel chieftains are well understood. So long as Kentucky maintained that most illusory of all attitudes—neutrality—and carefully guarded an extended and exposed position of the frontier of the rebel government—in a word, so long as she subserved the purposes of the conspirators, seeking the overthrow of the Republic, and gave reason to hope that she would finally unite her fortunes with them, she was graciously let alone; so soon, however, as she declared her loyalty to a Government to which she is indebted for all her prosperity, and to which she is united by the most solemn ties of duty, of affection, and of interest, her soil is ruthlessly invaded, and, under the promptings and guidance of traitors in her own bosom, her vote at the polls is now to be reversed by the bayonets of Tennesseeans, and the proud old Commonwealth reduced to the condition of a conquered province of that political pandemonium called the Southern Confederacy. Those who have read the history and know the spirit of her people, can have no fears as to the result of this audacious assault upon her honor and independence. The Government here will give all possible support to the State at the earliest moment practicable."

---

* This important act has been given in a previous page in the chapter on the Extra Session of Congress. Ante, p. 494.

The letter of Mr. Holt to the President of the same date read as follows: "Dear Sir,—The late act of Congress, providing for the confiscation of the estates of persons in open rebellion against the Government was, as a necessary war measure, accepted and fully approved by the loyal men of the country. It limited the penalty of confiscation to property actually employed in the service of the rebellion with the knowledge and consent of its owners, and, instead of emancipating slaves thus employed, left their status to be determined either by the Courts of the United States or by subsequent legislation. The proclamation, however, of General Fremont under date of the 30th of August, transcends, and, of course violates the law in both these particulars, and declares that the property of rebels, whether used in support of the rebellion or not, shall be confiscated, and if consisting in slaves, that they shall be at once manumitted. The act of Congress referred to was believed to embody the conservative policy of your Administration upon this delicate and perplexing question, and hence the loyal men of the Border Slave States have felt relieved of all fears of any attempt on the part of the Government of the United States to liberate suddenly in our midst a population unprepared for freedom, and whose presence could not fail to prove a painful apprehension, if not a terror, to the homes and families of all. You may, therefore, well judge of the alarm and condemnation with which the Union-loving citizens of Kentucky—the State with whose popular sentiment I am best acquainted—have read this proclamation. The hope is earnestly indulged by them, as it is by myself, that this paper was issued under the pressure of military necessity which General Fremont believed justified the step, and that in the particulars specified, it has not yet your approbation, and will not be enforced in derogation of law. The magnitude of the interest at stake, and my extreme desire that by no misapprehension of your sentiments or purposes shall the power and fervor of the loyalty of Kentucky be at this moment abated or chilled, must be my apology for the frankness with which I have addressed you, and for the request I venture to make of an expression of your views upon the points of General Fremont's proclamation on which I have commented. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant, J. HOLT." To this the President replied the same day: "Hon. Joseph Holt,—Dear Sir: Yours of this day in relation to the late proclamation of General Fremont, is received. Yesterday I addressed a letter to him, by mail, on the same subject, and which is to be made public when he receives it. I herewith send you a copy of that letter, which perhaps shows my position as distinctly as any new one I could write. I will thank you not to make it public until General Fremont shall have had time to receive the original. Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN."

Previously to the receipt of the President's modification of his proclamation, General Fremont executed two deeds of manumission of slaves of an owner who had been reported by a military commission, sitting at St. Louis, as having "taken active part with the enemies of the United States in the present insurrectionary movement against its Government. The deeds were in the following terms: "Whereas, Thomas L. Snead, of the city and county of St. Louis, State of Missouri, has been taking an active part with the enemies of the United States, in the present insurrectionary movement against the Government of the United States; now, therefore, I John Charles Fremont, Major-General Commanding the Western Department of the Army of the United States, by authority of law and the power vested in me, as such Commanding General, declare Hiram Reed, heretofore held to service or labor by Thomas L. Snead, to be *free*, and forever discharged from the bonds of servitude, giving him full right and authority to have, use and control his own labor or service, as to him may seem proper, without any accountability whatever to said Thomas L. Snead, or to any one to claim by, through, or under him. And this deed of manumission shall be respected and treated by all persons, and in all courts of justice, as the full and complete evidence of the freedom of said Hiram Reed. In testimony whereof, this act is done at headquarters of the Western Department of the Army of the United States, in the City of St. Louis, State of Missouri, on this 12th day of September, A. D. 1861, as is evidenced by the Departmental seal hereto affixed by my order, J. C. FREMONT, Major-General Commanding. Done at the office of the Provost-marshal, in the City of St. Louis, this 12th day of September, A. D. 1861, at 9 o'clock in the evening of said day. Witness my hand and seal of office hereto affixed, J. MCKINSTRY, Brigadier-General and Provost-Marshal."

The rebel General M. Jeff. Thompson, in the south-western portion of the State, issued a violent proclamation on occasion of General Fremont's declaration of martial law. As an indication of the character of the conflict going on in Missouri, nothing could be more significant than its taste and temper. It ran thus:—"Headquarters First Military District, M. S. G., Camp Hunter, September 2, 1861. *To all whom it may Concern: Whereas*, Major-General John C. Fremont, commanding the minions of Abraham Lincoln in the State of Missouri, has seen fit to declare martial law throughout the whole State, and has threatened to shoot any citizen soldier found in arms within certain limits, also to confiscate the property and free the negroes belonging to the members of the Missouri State Guard, therefore know ye that I, M. Jeff.

Thompson, Brigadier-General of the First Military District of Missouri, having not only the military authority of Brigadier-General, but certain police powers, granted by Acting Governor Thomas C. Reynolds, and confirmed afterward by Governor Jackson, do most solemnly promise that for every member of the Missouri State Guard or soldier of our allies, the armies of the Confederate States, who shall be put to death in pursuance of the said order of General Fremont, I will hang, draw and quarter a minion of said Abraham Lincoln. While I am anxious that this unfortunate war shall be conducted, if possible, upon the most liberal principles of civilized warfare—and every order I have issued has been with that object—yet if this rule is to be adopted (and it must first be done by our enemies), I intend to exceed General Fremont in his excesses, and will make all tories that come within my reach rue the day that a different policy was adopted by their leaders. Already mills, barns, warehouses, and other private property have been wastefully and wantonly destroyed by the enemy in this district, while we have taken nothing except articles strictly contraband or absolutely necessary. Should these things be repeated, I will retaliate ten-fold, so help me God!"

It was the design of General Fremont to give the utmost military efficiency to his army, and to further this purpose, and at the same time correct a prominent evil of the day in the appointment of inexperienced officers to important commands, he hit upon a judicious plan of perfecting one regiment as a school of instruction, to be placed under the command of Colonel Marshall, an officer of large experience in the United States army, and Lieutenant Cassily, also a gentleman of excellent qualifications as a commander. To this, applicants for officers' positions were referred in a circular from head-quarters. "Expecting that this regiment," was its language, "will be used for the highest class of service, wherein distinction can be won by those only who possess the requisite merit, it is thought that it will afford rare opportunities for gentlemen who, like yourself, desire early advancement in the service. The eye of the Commanding General will be upon you, and your conduct will not escape his close observation. He designs to make the regiment, in his army, what Napoleon the Elder made the Old Guard in the French army, at once his *corps de reserve* and the source whence can be drawn the officers who will lead his troops to victory. He therefore invites you to join this regiment, that you may have an opportunity to serve your country and secure such promotion as your merits will warrant."

It was, as we have seen, the design of General Fremont from the beginning to organize a great expedition to proceed down the Mississippi. For this purpose a fleet of gunboats was in preparation on the river, and the fortifications at St. Louis were undertaken that the city might be held by a small force when the army should be set in motion. It was not the policy of the enemy, however, to suffer this intention to be carried out without interruption. They were constantly making efforts for diverting any forces which might be raised, to the defence of the State itself. The line of the Mississippi they evidently thought was to be defended by counter attacks in the interior. They were constantly, therefore, invading Missouri from Arkansas, sending forward Pillow, Hardee, and Jeff. Thompson on the south-east, and Ben McCulloch and Price from the south-west to the centre. The latter proved far the most annoying and difficult to cope with in the field. Their knowledge of the country and its inhabitants gave them the command of a large though irregular force, which appeared ever on the point of separating, and yet, when occasion required, was always on the advance. No one understood better than these leaders the arts of desultory warfare, knew better how to watch an opportunity, or relieve themselves of disaster by a successful retreat.

It was very evident, after the prowess they had shown at Carthage, Wilson's Creek, and their march to the Missouri and conquest of Lexington, that the State, often as its pacification had been proclaimed, could not be considered in safety while this adventurous horde was in the field. Desirable as it might be for the progress of the campaign for our military leaders to turn their thoughts in other directions, they could accomplish nothing while this force was in their rear. To catch and overcome Price and his marauding forces, therefore, became, if not the most glorious, certainly one of the most necessary undertakings of the war. To this end Fremont now directed the whole force at his command. An indication of his intentions, which were, of course, subject to modification by the circumstances of the march, may be gathered from the speculations of a member of his staff, Mr. William Dorsheimer, who has published a most interesting account of the brief and interrupted campaign. "The gunboats," he writes, when the expedition of which we shall presently give an account was fairly in motion, early in October, "cannot be finished for two months or more, and we cannot go down the Mississippi until the flotilla is ready; and from the character of the country upon each side of the river, it will be difficult to operate there with a large body of men. In south-western Missouri we are sure of fine weather till the last of November. The prairies are high and dry, and there are no natural obstacles except such as it will excite the enthusiasm of the troops to overcome Therefore the General has determined to pursue Price until he catches him. He can march faster than we can now, but we shall soon be able to move faster than it is possible for him to do. The rebels have no base of operations from which to draw supplies; they depend entirely upon foraging; and for this reason Price has to make long halts wherever he finds mills, and grind the flour. He is so deficient in equipage, also, that it will be impossible for him to carry his troops over great distances. But we can safely calculate that Price and Rains will not leave the State; their followers are enlisted for six months, and are already becoming discontented at their continued retreat, and will not go with them beyond the borders. This is the uniform testimony of deserters and scouts. Price disposed of, either by a defeat or the dispersal of his army, we are to proceed to Bird's Point or into Arkansas, according to circumstances. A blow at Little Rock seems now the wisest, as it is the boldest plan. We can reach that place by the middle of November; and if we obtain possession of it, the position of the enemy upon the Mississippi will be completely turned. The communication of Pillow, Hardee and Thompson, who draw their supplies from Arkansas, will be cut off;

they will be compelled to retreat, and our flotilla and the reinforcements can descend the river to assist in the operations against Memphis and the attack upon New Orleans. This campaign may be difficult, the army will have to encounter hardships and perils, but unless defeated in the field, the enterprise will be successful. No hardships or perils can daunt the spirit of the General, or arrest the march of the enthusiastic army his genius has created."

This army, at the head of which General Fremont took the field, was composed of five divisions, respectively commanded by Generals Hunter, Pope, Sigel, Asboth and McKinstry, the entire force numbering, by a careful estimate, nearly thirty-nine thousand. The men were, of course, newly recruited, but they were drawn from the hardy population of the north-west, and many of them were natives of Germany, with more or less experience of military training abroad. Their efficiency, however, for an active campaign was greatly impaired in some important instances by a want of proper arms and equipments, and a general deficiency of the means of transportation. But these were difficulties which it was impossible on the instant to surmount. Indeed the General, in providing such arms as the men were furnished with, had not only exhausted every mode of regular procedure in his calls upon the Government and the surrounding States, but he had exposed himself to censure by authorizing contracts on his own responsibility with dealers at the East. If a portion of the cavalry were without sabres, as was alleged by the critics of the campaign, it was certainly a serious defect, but it had to be borne with for the time ; and though the muskets might not be the best, they were the best which could be procured. As for transportation, the season was favorable for movement, and where other supplies failed, the agricultural population among whom the army was passing must be looked to for aid. The several divisions of the army were to move from their positions on the line of the Missouri and its vicinity and pursue a southerly route toward Springfield. By the middle of October General Fremont and his staff, with three companies of the famous body guard of which so much has been said, and the divisions of Sigel and Asboth, were at Warsaw, on the Osage, a river which, running parallel with the Missouri, divides the central from the southern portion of the State on its western side. There was a delay here of a few days, which were actively employed by the skillful soldiers in building a bridge, not merely to secure a rapid passage for the army, which was imperfectly supplied by a ford and ferry, but to provide a safe means of retreat in case of necessity. The reader may form an idea of the energy demanded for this work, in the absence of the usual facilities, by the description of the scene and the laborious activity of the men, in the narrative of Mr. Dorsheimer. "The river here," he says, under date of October 17th, "is broad and rapid, and its banks are immense bare cliffs, rising one hundred feet perpendicularly from the water's edge. The ford is crooked, uncertain, and never practicable except for horsemen. The ferry is an old flat-boat drawn across by a rope, and the ascent up the farther bank is steep and rocky. It will not answer to leave in our rear this river, liable to be changed by a night's rain into a fierce torrent, with no other means of crossing it than the ricketty ferry. A bridge must at once be built, strong and firm, a safe road for the army in case of disaster. So decides the General. And as we look upon the swift-running river and its rocky shores—cold and gloomy in the twilight—every one agrees that the General is right. His decision has since been strongly supported, for to-day two soldiers of the Fremont Huzzars were drowned in trying to cross the ford, and the water is now rising rapidly. . . . Bridge building is now the sole purpose of the army. There is no saw-mill here, nor any lumber. The forest must be cut down and fashioned into a bridge as well as the tools and the skill at command will permit. Details are already told off from the sharpshooters, the cadets, and even the body-guard, and the banks of the river now resound with the quick blows of their axes. . . . . . *October* 21*st*. Four days we have been waiting for the building of the bridge. By night and by day the work goes on, and now the long block shape is striding slowly across the stream. In a few hours it will have gained the opposite bank, and then, ho! for Springfield!"

Springfield was reached by the advanced divisions on the 28th. The dashing adventure of Major Zagonyi and his squadron of cavalry, which led the way to its capture, is one of the most brilliant exploits of the war. This officer already enjoyed considerable military distinction. An Hungarian by birth, he had fought on the side of his country under General Bem, and been taken prisoner by the Austrians while leading a desperate charge of horse against a superior force of artillery. After two years of captivity he was released to become an exile in America. When Fremont was placed in command he was naturally attracted to share his fortunes. He presented himself at St. Louis, and was charged with the duty of recruiting a company of cavalry to act as the General's Body Guard. There was no lack of zeal or readiness in the enlistments. Two companies, picked youths of the West, with a sprinkling of German naturalized citizens, were immediately enrolled, and a third was speedily added, composed almost entirely of Kentuckians. They were clad in a uniform of blue jackets, trousers and caps, were well equipped with an extra armament of revolvers, and admirably mounted on blooded bays. Their means of destruction, recited by a St. Louis journalist, indeed, were truly formidable. Each man had with him two of Colt's six-barrel navy revolvers, one five-barrel rifle and a sabre. But little time was afforded them for instruction, but their youth, fine physique and aptitude for war made them ready students, and they were soon proficients in the drill and exercises fitting them for active service. Some prejudice was excited against the Guard on account of its alleged foreign element, but this, beside being an unworthy sentiment, where the army was so literally recruited from persons of European birth, was unfair as a matter of fact. There were, comparatively, few foreigners in the Guard, and its officers were all Americans except three—one Hollander and two Hungarians—its founder, Zagonyi, and Lieutenant Maythenyi, who came to the United States in his boyhood.

The valor of this band, thus constituted, was now to be put to the test. While General Fremont was yet distant fifty-one miles from Springfield, he sent forward a detachment of the Guard under Zagonyi, about a hundred and sixty, to coöperate with Major White's battalion of Prairie Scouts, who were to join them on the way in an attack upon the town. It was supposed that the place was held by a small force, some three hundred, and that its capture would be easy. Zagonyi set out at half-past eight on the evening of the 24th October, rode all night, overtook White in the morning, and added his company to his force, bringing the whole number of his command to three hundred. White himself, on account of illness, was compelled to lag behind for rest, and, attended by a small guard, follow after in his carriage, with the intention of joining his comrades before their arrival at Springfield.

Zagonyi meanwhile sped onward to the town. As he approached it on the direct road from the North, he fell in, some eight miles off, with a foraging party, five of whom he captured, while a sixth escaped to carry the news of his coming. Zagonyi was now informed by a Union farmer that powerful reinforcements had reached the town, and that it was guarded by some two thousand defenders. To dash on under these circumstances, without even the hope of surprise, argued a degree of bravery bordering on temerity. But Zagonyi was not to be disappointed of his game ; he would take the chances of a sudden onset, with the expectation of attacking the camp with better advantage in the rear. Accordingly, when about five miles from Springfield, he turned off to the West to make his approach by the Mount Vernon road. Here, too, at the end of his round-about march of twelve miles, he found the foe drawn up outside of the town to receive him.

The position which they had chosen for their camp was a hill side. sloping down on the east to a brook. The rear was protected by a thick wood ; in front the ground was open, extending in width some three hundred yards, between a broad road on the north, and a narrow lane on the south. The wood was skirted with infantry, twelve hundred in number, and a body of horse four hundred strong, were stationed in advance on the left, supported by a grove. The woods and fences on the line of approach were manned with sharp-shooters. The whole number of active combatants of the enemy on the ground, and its immediate vicinity, a concentration of their entire force in the town, was estimated at twenty-two hundred. Such was the position to be stormed, and the odds to be encountered by a small band of about one hundred and fifty men, for the Prairie Scouts did not take part in the main assault. Their commander, Major White, was in fact a prisoner in the enemy's hands, having ridden into their lines in his attempt to join Zagonyi, of whose change of route he was ignorant. There was great exultation over his capture, and the leader of the party would have sacrificed him in expiation of his brother's death, had not a young officer, Captain Wiston, interfered and saved his life.

The Guard now suddenly, about four o'clock in the afternoon, came upon the formidable parallelogram, in which the foe had every advantage of defence. Zagonyi, at the head of his men, with the simple order to follow his movements, led the way through the narrow lane across the brook to the foot of the hill—a most perilous passage of two hundred and fifty yards, clogged with the wounded and the dying, men and horses falling under the fire of the sharp-shooters from the forests and the heights. There was inevitable confusion in this hurried passage. The Prairie Scouts under Captain Fairbanks, had hardly entered it when, an order unauthorized by Zagonyi was given, bidding them to take the lane behind the wood. So they turned off from the fiery pathway, to render such service as fell in their way in the rear and flank. Captain Naughton, of Major White's Squadron, coming on after, led his Irish Dragoons, fifty in number, into the hottest of the fight, with heavy loss. He was shot in the shoulder and dismounted. Lieutenant Connolly was mortally wounded. The remnant then retired with the exception of five, who succeeded in joining Zagonyi.

There was much confusion in the utter impossibility, under the circumstances, of conveying prompt directions to the officers in a brave but disastrous attempt of Captain Foley, of the Guard, to make a flank attack at the edge of the wood. Some of his men dismounted and removed a portion of the fence under heavy fire, several of them falling, when the company was called off to plunge through the carnage to the end of the lane, where Zagonyi was rallying his little band for one steady, impetuous charge. Dividing his force into two parts, one under Maythenyi was directed against the cavalry on the right, which broke and fled under the furious assault, when he himself leading the other, charged upon the slope of the hill upon the line of infantry. That, too, was instantly dispersed. The fugitive cavalry was pursued with fearful slaughter. and the Guard, with wild energy, rode onward into the town, and, in repeated charges, scoured the streets of the rebel soldiery. Zagonyi then raised the United States flag on the Court House, and rallied his scattered force, of which but seventy then answered to his call. In their exhausted condition they thought it unsafe to attempt to hold the place, and retired for the night to a position on the Northern road near Bolivar, whither he was followed by Captain Fairbanks' squadron of Prairie Scouts. He left in the town a guard of twenty dismounted men and a corporal.

The eloquent narrative of Mr. Dorsheimer, already cited, supplies several animated personal incidents of this memorable encounter. We take up his description towards the close, where Zagonyi makes his final charge upon the enemy on the hill side: "Up to this time no Guardsman has struck a blow, but blue coats and bay horses lie thick along the bloody lane. Their time has come. Lieutenant Maythenyi, with thirty men, is ordered to attack the cavalry. With sabres flashing over their heads, the little band of heroes spring towards their tremendous foe. Right upon the centre they charge. The dense mass opens, the blue coats force their way in, and the whole rebel squadron scatter in disgraceful flight through the corn-fields in the rear. The bays follow them, sabring the fugitives. Days after the enemy's horses lay thick among the uncut corn. Zagonyi holds his main body until Maythenyi disappears in the cloud of rebel cavalry; then his voice rises through the air,—'In open order,—charge!' The line opens out to give play to their sword-arm. Steeds respond to the ardor of their riders, and, quick as thought, with thrilling cheers, the noble hearts rush into the leaden torrent which pours down the incline. With unabated fire the gallant fellows press through. Their fierce onset is not even checked. The foe do no; wait for them—they waver, break and fly. The Guardsmen spur into the midst of the rout, and their fast-falling swords work a terrible revenge. Some of the boldest of the Southrons retreat into the woods, and continue a murderous fire from behind trees and thickets. Seven Guard horses fall upon a space not more than twenty feet square. As his steed sinks under him, one of the officers is caught around the shoulders by a grape-vine, and hangs dangling in the air until he is cut down by his friends. The rebel foot are flying in furious haste from the field. Some take refuge in the fair-ground, some hurry into the corn-field, but the greater part run along the edge of the wood, swarm over the fence into the road, and hasten to the village. The Guardsmen follow. Zagonyi leads them. Over the loudest roar of battle rings his clarion voice—'Come on, Old Kentuck! I'm with you!' And the flash of his sword-blade tells his men where to go. As he approaches a barn, a man steps from behind the door, and lowers his rifle; but before it has reached the level, Zagonyi's sabre-point descends into his head, and his life-blood leaps to the very top of the huge barn-door.

"The conflict now rages through the village—in the public square, and along the streets. Up and down the Guards ride in squads of three or four, and wherever they see a group of the enemy charge upon and scatter them. It is hand to hand. No one but has a share in the fray. There was at least one soldier in the Southern ranks. A young officer, superbly mounted, charges alone upon a large body of the Guard. He passes through the line unscathed, killing one man. He wheels, charges back, and again breaks through, killing another man. A third time he rushes upon the Federal line, a score of sabre-points confront him, but he pushes on till he reaches Zagonyi—he presses his pistol so close to the Major's side, that he feels it, and draws convulsively back, the bullet passes through the front of Zagonyi's coat, who at the instant runs the daring rebel through the body, he falls, and the men thinking their commander hurt, kills him with a half-a-dozen wounds. 'He was a brave man,' said Zagonyi afterwards, 'and I did wish to make him prisoner.'

"Meanwhile it has grown dark. The foe have left the village, and the battle has ceased. The assembly is sounded; and the Guard gathers in the Plaza. Not more than eighty mounted men appear: the rest are killed, wounded or unhorsed. At this time one of the most characteristic incidents of the affair took place. Just before the charge, Zagonyi directed one of his buglers, a Frenchman, to sound a signal. The bugler did not seem to pay any attention to the order, but darted off with Lieutenant Maythenyi. A few moments afterwards he was observed in another part of the field vigorously pursuing the flying infantry. His active form was always seen in the thickest of the fight. When the line was formed in the Plaza, Zagonyi noticed the bugler, and approaching him, said, 'In the midst of the battle you disobeyed my order. You are unworthy to be a member of the Guard. I dismiss you.' The bugler showed his bugle to his indignant commander—the mouth-piece of the instrument was shot away. He said, 'The mouth was shoot off. I could not bugle viz mon bugle, and so I bugle viz mon pistol and sabre.' It is unnecessary to add, the brave Frenchman was not dismissed.

"I must not forget to mention Sergeant Hunter, of the Kentucky company. His soldierly figure never failed to attract the eye in the ranks of the Guard. He had served in the regular cavalry, and the Body-Guard had profited greatly from his skill as a drill-master. He lost three horses in the fight. As soon as one was killed, he caught another from the rebels; the third horse taken by him in this way he rode into St. Louis. The Sergeant slew five men. 'I won't speak of those I shot,' said he, 'another may have hit them; but those I touched with my sabre I am sure of, because I *felt* them.' At the beginning of the charge he came to the extreme right, and took position next to Zagonyi, whom he followed closely through the battle. The Major seeing him, said, 'Why are you here, Sergeant Hunter? Your place is with your company on the left.' 'I kind o' wanted to be in the front,' was the answer. 'What could I say to such a man?' exclaimed Zagonyi, speaking of the matter afterwards. There was hardly a horse or rider among the survivors that did not bring away some mark of the fray. I saw one animal with no less than seven wounds — none of them serious. Scabbards were bent, clothes and caps pierced, pistols injured. I saw one pistol from which the sight had been cut as neatly as it could have been done by machinery. A piece of board, a few inches long, was cut from a fence in the field, in which there were thirty-one shot-holes."

Major White, meanwhile, had been carefully guarded by the enemy. During the engagement he had been placed on the hill-side, exposed in the front rank to the fire of his friends, and his horse was shot under him. He was all the time in charge of his preserver, Captain Wroton, who, when the flight occurred, conducted him to a farm-house ten miles distant. The host fortunately happening to be a Union man, was induced to assist in a plan of escape. He sent his son for aid, and when Wroton and his squad of guards were asleep, a friendly party of Unionists of the county came in and captured the whole, carrying them off in triumph to Springfield. Major White thus found himself in command of the town at the head of a garrison of twenty-four men; the enemy, too much intimidated to re-enter, had left the corporal's guard in quiet possession during the night. Shrewdly availing himself of the rebel panic, he stationed twenty-two of his paltry force as pickets, and in this imposing attitude received a flag of truce from the rebels asking permission to bury their dead. To this he ceremoniously replied that he must consult General Sigel, thus inducing the belief of the presence of that officer in the neighborhood, while he was, in reality, forty miles away. In a conveniently short time, a written communication, purporting to come from General Sigel, was forwarded granting the request, and a detachment of the pickets were stationed to preside over the necessary arrangements.

The loss of the Guard, as reported by Zagonyi, was fifteen killed, twenty-seven wounded, and ten missing—about one-third of his command in the action. The Prairie Scouts lost thirty-one out of a hundred and thirty. The loss of the enemy in killed was estimated, from the statements of citizens, scouts, and prisoners, at one hundred and six. The number of wounded could not be ascertained. Twenty-seven prisoners were taken, about four thousand dollars in gold, and about sixty stand of arms. Zagonyi's report of this affair to General Fremont, dated "Five miles South of Bolivar, Mo., October 26th — 1 A. M.," was in these words: "I report, respectfully, that yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock, I met in Springfield from 2,000 to 2,200 of the rebels in their camp, formed in line of battle. They gave me a very warm reception—warmer than I expected. But your Guard, with one feeling, made a charge, and in less than three minutes the 2,000 or 2,200 rebels were routed by 150 men of the Body-Guard. We cleared out the city perfectly from every rebel, and raised the Union flag on the Court-House. It getting too dark, I concluded to leave the city, not being able to keep it with 150 men. Major White's men did not participate in the charge. Allow me, General, to make you acquainted with the behavior of the soldiers and officers. I have seen charges; but such brilliant unanimity and bravery I have never seen, and did not expect it. Their war-cry, 'Fremont and the Union,' broke forth like thunder."

The closing days of General Fremont's administration were also cheered by a victory hardly less brilliant, and decidedly more important, in the south-eastern region of the State. There, in the immediate neighborhood of Fredericktown, the capital of Madison county, in the heart of the rich mining district, on the 21st of October, the forces of the rebels, some thirty-five hundred in number, led by General Jeff. Thompson, were met by a body of four thousand of the national troops, and defeated with great loss. The Union force was made up from two separate columns—one from the direction of St. Louis under Colonel Carlin, comprising parts of three Illinois regiments, a Wisconsin regiment, Colonel Baker's Indiana cavalry, and Major Scofield's battery; the other from Cape Girardeau, under Colonel Plummer, consisting of two Illinois and one Missouri regiments, a section of a battery, and two companies of cavalry. Both divisions entered Fredericktown in the forenoon, when Colonel Plummer, taking command of the joint force, immediately proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, who had left the place the day before. Their position was presently discovered about a mile from the town on the Greenville road. Colonel Plummer brought his troops into action at once, and after a sharp contest of two hours and a half, the enemy were defeated with heavy loss. Colonel Lowe, one of their officers, fell in the early part of the battle. His death was counterbalanced by the loss of Major Gavitt and Captain Highman of the Indiana cavalry, who were killed in a gallant charge on a rebel battery. One hundred and fifty-eight of the enemy's dead were buried, Captain Plummer tells us in his report on the field, before his departure, and other bodies were found. Eighty prisoners of the rebels were taken, of whom thirty-eight were wounded. The Union loss was six killed and sixty wounded. One iron 12-pounder field-piece was taken from the enemy.

A correspondent of the *St. Louis Democrat*, an eye-witness of the scene, gives an account of the rebel killed and wounded on the battle-ground, a piteous illustration of the irregular forces hurried to the field by the insurgents. "One-third were boys from fifteen to eighteen years old — mere striplings with the down on their faces, who could not have been disciplined, and who could have had no adequate idea of military duty or the horrors of a battle. One of these, who had been shot through the thigh, and was suffering intensely, cried like a child, as he was, and most piteously bewailed his unfortunate condition. Then their guns. They no doubt had some good muskets, but of the forty or fifty pieces that had been picked up on the battle-field, not a single one could be called respectable. More than half of them were old flint-lock squirrel-guns that were next to useless in a battle. Two brothers lay behind a fence ; one of them was shot dead, and the other, a mere boy, concluding discretion was the better part of valor, played dead and allowed himself to be taken prisoner. Of the dead, not a single one that I saw was dressed in any kind of a uniform, the clothing being generally home-made and butternut-colored. Old, torn, fragmentary hats were lying in every direction, with here and there a nut-brown, threadbare coat. I confess that in looking over the field and reflecting on the condition of these people, I felt for them the deepest pity and commiseration. Even Colonel Lowe himself had but a sash to distinguish him from a civilian."

The military qualities of these men, however, were not to be judged altogether by their clothes. They showed courage and perseverance ; for, disastrous as the day was to them, the battle was well contested. Colonel Plummer pursued the enemy the next day some distance, but did not find them disposed to make a stand. "The soldiers," he adds in his report, "after their return to Fredericktown, believing the citizens, who nearly all sympathized with the enemy, had cooperated with them in their endeavor to lead us into an ambuscade, became exasperated, and some few acts of violence ensued. Six or seven buildings were burned. I exerted myself with many of the officers to put a stop to the incendiarism, and finally succeeded. I will not attempt to justify such acts of violence, but if anything could palliate them, it would be the deserted homes and desolated fields of our Union friends, which I witnessed upon the march."*

Animated by these foretastes of victory, the army now moved rapidly on to Springfield. Sigel, who had led the way from the commencement, overcoming by his energy and good military management all the difficulties of the long march arising from imperfect transportation and supplies, was the first to enter the town the second day after Zagonyi's engagement, the morning of Sunday the 28th, and in the afternoon he was followed by General Fremont, with his staff officers and guard. Two days after, Asboth came in with his division ; then McKinstry, on the 31st, having marched with his well-appointed command—the best supplied in the army with the means of transportation—seventy miles in three days. Pope's division, close at hand, came in two or three days after. Hunter was yet distant somewhere toward the Osage.

Every preparation was making by General Fremont for an engagement. The rebel Price, who, with McCulloch, it was supposed, mustered some thirty thousand men, had been reported in the south-western corner of the State, at

---

* Colonel J. B. Plummer to General U. S. Grant, Cape Girardeau, Oct. 31, 1861.

Neosho, then at Cassville, was now confidently believed to be approaching Springfield. But just at this crisis, when a battle was daily expected, an order from General Scott was delivered to Fremont in his camp at Springfield, relieving him of his command, and directing him to transfer it to General Hunter. The blow had been some time impending. Rumors of jealousies and dissatisfaction with the Department had for weeks filled the newspapers. Vague charges of extravagance and irregularity, even of vanity and incompetence, had been freely circulated, to all of which additional weight was given by a flying tour of inspection in Missouri, in the middle of October, while the army was on its march, by Cameron, the Secretary of War, accompanied by General Thomas, Adjutant-General at Washington. The report of General Thomas, presented on his return to the Secretary, which got before the public in the newspapers, was decidedly unfavorable to Fremont. It charged him with various assumptions of authority, with making military appointments in an irregular manner, with incurring unnecessary expenses, with giving out contracts illegally, with having procured worthless fire-arms in Europe, with neglecting reinforcements to Lyon and Mulligan. Serious charges and specifications were also brought by Colonel Francis P. Blair, Jr., between whom and General Fremont the most unfriendly relations existed. Whatever explanations there might be to modify these disparaging statements, or lessen the force of the unsparing military criticism, could not be so readily forthcoming as the charges, particularly as the subject of them was engaged in an active campaign in face of the enemy. The time came afterwards for reply and discussion, when the accusations were frankly met by General Fremont, and the whole matter was brought before a Committee of Congress; but there was only one course at the time —to be silent and submissive.

This was magnanimously pursued by General Fremont. Without a word of rebuke or disaffection, he gave the necessary directions for the change of command, and issued this simple farewell order to his troops:—"Headquarters Western Department, Springfield, Mo., November 2, 1861.—Soldiers of the Mississippi Army: Agreeably to orders received this day, I take leave of you. Although our army has been of sudden growth, we have grown up together, and I have become familiar with the brave and generous spirits which you bring to the defence of your country, and which makes me anticipate for you a brilliant career. Continue as you have begun, and give to my successor the same cordial and enthusiastic support with which you have encouraged me. Emulate the splendid example which you have already before you, and let me remain, as I am, proud of the noble army which I have thus far labored to bring together. Soldiers, I regret to leave you sincerely. I thank you for the regard and confidence you have invariably shown me. I deeply regret that I shall not have the honor to lead you to the victory which you are just about to win, but I shall claim the right to share with you in the joy of every triumph, and trust always to be personally remembered by my companions in arms."

Many of the soldiers who had taken up arms out of personal regard for the General, were not disposed to acquiesce quite so philosophically in this unusual experiment of arresting an army with every nerve strung, fully intent upon a victorious conflict with the enemy. Their disappointment, however, though loudly expressed, was not encouraged, nor suffered to interfere with the discipline of the camp. The officers were still decided in their expressions of the necessity of a battle, which the General himself, from the expressions in his Order, evidently thought desirable, if not inevitable. The theory seems to have been this. Price, the most troublesome, as he is the most crafty and elusive of military agitators, is inclined to give battle. Our force is well prepared to meet him, and now is the opportunity. If we do not seize the golden moment he will escape, and, as the event proved, remain to harass the State and perplex future armies. Fremont and his officers were, we believe, unanimous on this point—to strike, and strike at once. Indeed the urgency appeared so great that, General Hunter not having yet arrived to undertake his command, Fremont was pressed and consented to lead his troops in the imminent engagement. He accordingly issued an order of battle on the 3d, in which he assigned the positions of the several divisions—Asboth on the right wing, Sigel on the left, McKinstry to the centre, and Pope in reserve, with directions for their line of march to the old ground of General Lyon's engagement at Wilson's Creek, where the enemy was reported to be again encamped. The movement was to be made at 6 o'clock the next morning. All was anxious preparation that night for the coming battle, when about midnight General Hunter presented himself in the midst of the assembled Generals in council, received the command, and indefinitely postponed the engagement. The next day, instead of moving southerly to the encounter with Price, General Fremont, accompanied by the officers of his staff, his noble Body-Guard, and a band of about fifty Delaware Indians, who had been attracted to his camp by recollections of his old journey of exploration, pursued their way toward St. Louis.

Mr. Dorsheimer thus narrates the last incidents of the interrupted campaign—as the Major-General retires with his simple escort from the army which had been raised with such effort, and which he was leading, as all hoped, to victory. "At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 4th of November, we were in the saddle, and our little column was in marching order. The Delawares led, then came our band, the General and his staff followed, the Body-Guard came next, and the sharpshooters in wagons brought up the rear. In this order we proceeded through the village. The Benton Cadets were drawn up in line in front of their camp, and saluted us as we passed, but none of the other regiments were paraded. The band had been directed to play lively airs, and we marched out to merry music. The troops did not seem to know that the General was to leave; but when they heard the band, they ran out of their camps and flocked into the streets; there was no order in their coming; they came without arms, many of them without their coats and bareheaded, and filled the road. The crowd was so dense that with difficulty the General rode through the throng. The farewell was most touching. There was little cheering, but an expression of sorrow on every face. Some pressed forward to take his hand; others cried, 'God bless you, General!' 'Your enemies are not in the camp!' 'Come back and lead us to battle; we will fight for you!' The General rode on perfectly calm, a pleasant smile on his face, telling the men he was doing his duty, and they must do theirs. We travelled with great rapidity and circumspection; for there was some reason to suppose that parties of the enemy had been thrown to the north of Springfield, in which case we might have been interfered with.

"*Sedalia, November 7th.* We are waiting for the train which is to take us to St. Louis. Our journey here has been made very quickly. Monday we marched twenty-five miles. Tuesday we started at dawn, and made thirty miles, encamping twenty-five miles south of the Osage. Wednesday we were in the saddle at 6 o'clock, crossed the Osage in the afternoon, and halted ten miles north of that river, the day's journey being thirty-five miles. We pitched our tents upon a high, flat prairie, covered with long dry grass. In the evening the Delawares signified that, if the General would consent to it, they would perform a war-dance. Permission was easily obtained, and, after the Indian braves had finished their toilet, they approached in formal procession, arrayed in all the glory and terror of war-paint. A huge fire had been built. The inhabitants of our little camp quickly gathered, officers, soldiers of the guard, and sharpshooters, negroes and teamsters. The Indians ranged themselves on one side of the fire, and the rest of us completed the circle. The dancing was done by some half-dozen young Indians, to the monotonous beating of two small drums and a guttural accompaniment which the dancers sang, the other Indians joining in the chorus. The performance was divided into two parts, and the whole was intended to express the passions which war excites in the Indian nature—the joy which they feel at the prospect of a fight—their contempt for their enemies—their frenzy at sight of the foe—the conflict—the operations of tomahawking and scalping their opponents—and, finally, the triumph of victory. The performances occupied over two hours. Fall-Leaf presided with an air of becoming gravity, smoking an enormous stone pipe with a long reed stem. After rendering thanks in proper form, Fall-Leaf was told that, by way of return to their civility, and in special honor to the Delawares, the negroes would dance one of their national dances. Two agile darkies came forward, and went through with a regular break-down, to the evident entertainment of the red men. Afterwards an Irishman leaped into the ring and began an Irish hornpipe. He was the best dancer of all, and his complicated steps and astonishing *tours-de-force* completely upset the gravity of the Indians, and they burst into loud laughter. It was midnight before the camp was composed to its last night's sleep. This morning we started an hour before day, and marched to this place, twenty miles, by noon. Thus ended the expedition of General Fremont to Springfield."

On the evening of the 8th of November General Fremont was welcomed to St. Louis by a deputation of the citizens, who presented him with a series of resolutions, warmly expressive of their confidence in the integrity and patriotism of his conduct under many "paralyzing circumstances." In reply, he said, "Gentlemen, I wish to say to you that your kind and affectionate—I may even say affectionate—reception of me moves my heart. It cheers me and strengthens my confidence—my confidence, already somewhat wavering—in our republican institutions. I felt all day as we passed through the country—I feel emphatically to-night—that the faithful servant of the people, honestly laboring in the public cause, will not be allowed to suffer undeserved, and I feel stronger. Since I left you a few weeks ago, many accusations have been rained on my defenceless head—defenceless, because my face was turned to the public enemy. What I see and hear to-night, the address you have just read to me, and the approving multitude below, show me that I was not wrong in leaving my defence with you. In regard to the baser charges made against me I will say nothing now. You do not require it, and to speak of them would jar upon the generous feelings with which you come here to-night. Others have been already answered by my brave soldiers at Springfield ; and others of gross incompetency and a weak and aimless administration, to all of these I will adopt your address, and the shouts of the grand multitude assembled below, as my answer. And for all this, gentlemen, to you and to them, I renew my thanks with all my heart, which, to-night, is roused to full sensibility by the hearty and unqualified expression of your confidence and approbation so valuable and grateful to me in my actual position. I shall soon have occasion, for I shall make occasion, to answer all these charges more definitely. Until then, I will rely upon this evening for my defence."

The staff of General Fremont, in accordance with the Act of Congress of the previous session, was presently discharged. It consisted of Colonel J. H. Eaton, Assistant-Adjutant General, Colonel A. Tracy, Acting Chief Commissary, Colonel J. C. Woods, Director of Transportation, and the following Aids-de-camp : Colonel Hudson, Colonel Shanks, Colonel Owen Lovejoy, the well-known member of Congress from Illinois, Major F. J. White, the leader of the dashing march on Lexington, Major W. Dorsheimer, whose narrative of the campaign we have frequently cited, Major W. Savage, Captain J. R. Howard, Captain L. Haskell, R. W. Raymond, Lieutenant F. Clarke, Lieutenant E. N. Hallowell, Captain A. Sacchi and Lieutenant A. Odoni, the last two, soldiers of Garibaldi's campaigns, who had come from Italy to take part in the war.

The day previously to the surrender of his command, General Fremont completed a negotiation with General Price, through the agency of commissioners, for the purpose of protecting peaceable citizens of Missouri, and for the exchange of prisoners of war. The following joint Proclamation embodied this agreement : "*To the Peaceably-disposed Citizens of the State of Missouri, greeting, Whereas,* A solemn agreement has been entered into by Major-Generals Fremont and Price, respectively commanding antagonistic forces in the State of Missouri, to the effect, that in future arrests or forcible interference by armed or unarmed parties of citizens within the limits of said State for the mere entertainment or expression of political opinions, shall hereafter cease ; that families now broken up for such causes may be reunited, and that the war now progressing shall be exclusively confined to armies in the field ; therefore, be it known to all whom it may concern—1. No arrests whatever on account of political opinions, or for merely private expression of the same, shall hereafter be made within the limits of the State of Missouri, and all persons who may have been arrested, and are now held to answer upon such charges only, shall be forthwith released. But it is expressly declared that nothing in this proclamation shall be construed to bar or interfere with any of the usual and regular proceedings of the established courts and statutes and orders made and provided for such offences. 2. All peaceably-disposed citizens who may have been driven from their homes because of their political opinions, or who may have left them from fear of force and violence, are hereby advised and permitted to return, upon the faith of our positive assurances that while so returning they shall receive protection from both armies in the field, whenever it can be given. 3. All bodies of armed men, acting without the authority or recognition of the Major-General before named, and not legitimately connected with the armies in the field, are hereby ordered at once to disband. 4. Any violation of either of the foregoing articles shall subject the offender to the penalty of military law, according to the nature of the offence. In testimony whereof, the aforesaid John Charles Fremont, at Springfield, Mo., on the first day of November, A. D. 1861, and Major-General Sterling Price, at ——, on this —— day of November, A. D. 1861, have hereunto set their hands, and hereby mutually pledge their earnest efforts to the enforcement of the above articles of agreement, according to their full tenor and effect, to the best of their ability.

"*Secondly*. Brigadier-General R. Curtis, or the officer in command at Benton barracks, is hereby authorized and empowered to represent Major-General Fremont; and Colonel D. H. Armstrong. Hon. J. Richard Barrett, and Colonel Robert M. Renick, or either of them, are hereby authorized and empowered to represent Major-General Price; and the parties so named are hereby authorized, whenever applied to for that purpose, to negotiate for the exchange of any and all persons who may hereafter be taken prisoners of war and released on parole; such exchanges to be made upon the plan heretofore approved and acted upon, to wit: grade for grade, or two officers of lower grade as an equivalent in rank for one of a higher grade, as shall be thought just and equitable. This done and agreed at Springfield, Missouri, this first day of November, 1861. By order of Major-General Fremont. J. H. EATON, A. A. A. G. Major-General Sterling Price. By HENRY W. WILLIAMS, D. ROBERT BARCLAY, Commissioners."

The Proclamation was signed by General Price at Cassville on the 5th of November, but was not suffered, however, to be operative. General Hunter thinking its provisions impolitic under the circumstances of the war, immediately after taking command of the army, addressed, on the 7th, a letter to General Price, stating that he could "in no manner recognize the agreement, or any of its provisions, whether implied or direct, and that he could neither issue, nor allow the joint Proclamation to be issued." In communicating this letter to Adjutant-General Thomas, General Hunter gave the following as the grounds of his repudiation of the convention. "It would be, in my judgment, impolitic in the highest degree to have ratified General Fremont's negotiations, for the following, among many other obvious reasons: The second stipulation, if acceded to, would render the enforcement of martial law in Missouri, or any part of it, impossible, and would give absolute liberty to the propagandists of treason throughout the length and breadth of the State. The third stipulation, confining operations exclusively to 'armies in the field,' would practically annul the Confiscation Act passed during the last session of Congress, and would furnish perfect immunity to those disbanded soldiers of Price's command who have now returned to their homes, but with the intention, and under a pledge, of rejoining the rebel forces whenever called upon; and, lastly, because the fourth stipulation would blot out of existence the loyal men of the Missouri Home Guard, who have not, it is alleged, been recognised by act of Congress, and who, it would be claimed, are therefore 'not legitimately connected with the armies in the field.' There are many more objections quite as powerful and obvious, which might be urged against ratifying this agreement—its address 'to all peaceably-disposed citizens of the State of Missouri,' fairly allowing the inference to be drawn, that citizens of the United States (the loyal and true men of Missouri) are not included in its benefits. In fact, the agreement would seem to me, if ratified, a concession of all the principles for which the rebel leaders are contending, and a practical liberation, for use in other and more immediately important localities, of all their forces now kept employed in this portion of the State."

General Hunter, after remaining a few days at Springfield, in accordance with an order from the President, retreated in the direction of St. Louis. The army, formed in so short a time by the exertions of Fremont, and hurried forward with extraordinary effort, retraced its steps to the Missouri, and awaited the call of the new head of the Department, General Halleck, again to follow under less advantageous circumstances, at a less propitious period of the year, the still advancing, still retreating, ever renewed, ever dispersing rebel army of Price. When the Statement of Fremont, in reply to the charges of General Thomas' Report was published, in the ensuing March, it was received with favor and respect, and while the force of its explanations was freely admitted—for every ingenuous mind rejoices when a load of obloquy is removed from the fair fame of a man like Fremont—it was yet felt that the best vindication of his hurried military manœuvres, and the policy of his interrupted campaign, was the almost identical repetition of the movement in the recent entry of the Union troops into Springfield, and the pursuit, according to the original programme of the still fugitive Price into Arkansas.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

MILITARY AND NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS AT SANTA ROSAS ISLAND AND THE PASSES OF THE MISSISSIPPI, SEPTEMBER–NOVEMBER, 1861.

After the reinforcement, in April, of the little garrison with which Lieutenant Slemmer gallantly seized and held Fort Pickens, that important position, under the energetic command of Colonel Harvey Brown, for many months continued to attract the attention of the public, expectation being at one time excited by the prospect of the recovery of the abandoned ground on the mainland at Pensacola, at another by the danger to the fort itself from attack by the insurgents. A description of a visit to these scenes in April, by Mr. Russell, the correspondent of the London *Times*, affords us the unusual opportunity of an intelligent view of what was going on in both camps at the same time. Accompanied by several friends, he ran down in a small schooner from Mobile, was admitted, by the courtesy of the United States officers off Pensacola, to pass the blockade, and after a day spent with the Confederates among their defences on the mainland, had the privilege of a leisurely inspection of Fort Pickens and Santa Rosas Island. He found General Braxton Bragg in command of the Confederates. A native of a Southern State, this officer had been educated at West Point, and had served for many years with distinction in the United States army. He is thus introduced to us in the vivid and entertaining narrative of Mr. Russell, who, on landing, has been received with due hospitality by a mess of New Orleans officers established in the pleasant quarters about the Navy Yard. "An aide-de-camp from General Bragg entered as we were sitting at table, and invited me to attend him to the General's quarters. The road, as I found, was very long and very disagreeable, owing to the depth of the sand, into which the foot sank at every step up to the ankle. Passing the front of an extended row of the clean, airy, pretty villas inside the Navy Yard, we passed the gate on exhibiting our passes, and proceeded by the sea-beach, one side of which is lined with houses, a few yards from the surf. These houses are all occupied by troops, or are used as barrooms or magazines. At intervals a few guns have been placed along the beach, covered by sand-bags, parapets and traverses. As we toiled along in the sand the aide hailed a cart, pressed it into the service, and we continued our journey less painfully. Suddenly a tall, straight-backed man in a blue frock-coat, with a star on the epaulette strap, a smart kepi, and trousers with gold stripe, and large brass spurs, rode past on a high-stepping, powerful charger, followed by an orderly. 'There is General Bragg,' said his aide. The General turned round, reined up, and I was presented as I sat in my state chariot. The commander of the Confederated States army at Pensacola is about forty-two years of age, of a spare and powerful frame; his face is dark, and marked with deep lines, his mouth large, and squarely set in determined jaws, and his eyes, sagacious, penetrating, and not by any means unkindly, look out at you from beetle-brows which run straight across and spring into a thick tuft of black hair, which is thickest over the nose, where naturally it usually leaves an intervening space. His hair is dark, and he wears such regulation whiskers as were the delight of our generals a few years ago. His manner is quick and frank, and his smile is very pleasing and agreeable. The General would not hear of my continuing my journey to his quarters in a cart, and his orderly brought up an ambulance, drawn by a smart pair of mules, in which I completed it satisfactorily. The end of the journey through the sandy plain was at hand, for in an enclosure of a high wall there stood a well-shaded mansion, amid trees of live-oak and sycamore, with sentries at the gate and horses held by orderlies under the portico. General Bragg received me at the top of the steps which lead to the verandah, and, after a few earnest and complimentary words, conducted me to his office, where he spoke of the contest in which he was to play so important a part in terms of unaffected earnestness. Why else had he left his estates? After the Mexican war he had retired from the United States artillery; but when his State was menaced he was obliged to defend her. He was satisfied the North meant nothing but subjugation. All he wanted was peace. Slavery was an institution for which he was not responsible; but his property was guaranteed to him by law, and it consisted of slaves. Why did the enemy take off slaves from Tortugas to work for them at Pickens? Because whites could not do their work. It was quite impossible to deny his earnestness, sincerity and zeal as he spoke, and one could only wonder at the difference made by the 'stand-point' from which the question is reviewed. . . . Before I left General Bragg he was good enough to say he would send down one of his aides-de-camp and horses early in the morning to give me a look at the works."

The tour of the works next day affords us an interesting glimpse of the enemy's camp. "I do not think," writes Mr. Russell, "that any number of words can give a good idea of a long line of detached batteries. I went through them all, and I certainly found stronger reasons than ever for distrusting the extraordinary statements which appear in the American journals in reference to military matters, particularly on their own side of the question. Instead of hundreds of guns, there are only ten. They are mostly of small calibre, and the gun-carriages are old or unsound, or new and rudely made. There are only five 'heavy' guns in all the works; but the mortar batteries, three in number, of which one is unfinished, will prove very damaging, although they will only contain nine or ten mortars. The batteries are all sand-bag and earthworks, with the exception of Fort Barrancas. They are made after all sorts of ways, and are of very different degrees of efficiency. In some the magazines will come to speedy destruction; in others they are well made. Some are of the finest white sand, and will blind the gunners or be blown away with shells; others are cramped and hardly traversed; others, again, are very spacious and well constructed. The embrasures are usually made of sand-bags, covered with raw hides to save the cotton-bags from the effect of the fire of their own guns. I was amused to observe that most of these works had galleries in the rear, generally in connection with the magazine passages, which the constructors called 'rat-holes,' and which are intended as shelter to the men at the guns in case of shells falling inside the battery. They may prove to have a very different result, and are certainly not so desirable, in a military point of view, as good traverses. A rush for the 'rat-hole' will not be very dignified or improving to the *morale* every time a bomb hurtles over them; and assuredly the damage to the magazines will be enormous if the fire from Pickens is accurate and well-sustained. Several of the batteries were not finished, and the men who ought to have been working were lying under the shade of trees, sleeping or smoking—long-limbed, long-bearded fellows in flannel shirts and slouched hats, uniformless in all, save bright, well-kept arms and resolute purpose. We went along slowly, from one battery to the other. I visited nine altogether, not including Fort Barrancas, and there are three others, among which is Fort McRae. Perhaps there may be fifty guns of all sorts in position for about three miles, along a line extending 135 degrees round Fort Pickens, the average distance being about one and one-third miles. The mortar batteries are well placed among brushwood, quite out of view of the fort, at distances varying from 2,500 to 2,800 yards, and the mortars are generally of calibres corresponding nearly with our 10-inch pieces. Several of the gun-batteries are put on the level of the beach; others have more command, and one is particularly well-placed, close to the White Lighthouse, on a high plateau which dominates the sandy strip that runs out to Fort McRae. Of the latter I have already spoken. Fort Barrancas is an old fort—I believe of Spanish construction, with a very meagre trace—a plain curtain-face toward the sea, protected by a dry ditch and an outwork, in which, however, there are no guns. There is a drawbridge in the rear of the work, which is a simple parallelogram, showing twelve guns mounted *en barbette* on the sea-face. The walls are of brick, and the guns are protected by thick merlons of sand-bags. The sole advantage of the fort is in its position; it almost looks down into the casemates of Pickens opposite at its weakest point, and it has a fair command of the sea entrance, but the guns are weak, and there are only three pieces mounted which can do much mischief. While I was looking round, there was an entertaining dispute going on between two men, whom I believe to have been officers, as to the work to be done, and I heard the inferior intimate pretty broadly his conviction that his chief did not know his own business in reference to some orders he was conveying. The amount of ammunition which I saw did not appear to me to be at all sufficient for one day's moderate firing, and many of the shot were roughly cast and had deep flanges from the moulds in their sides, and very destructive to the guns as well as to accuracy. In the rear of these batteries, among the pine woods and in deep brush, are three irregular camps, which, to the best of my belief, could not contain more than 2,700 men. There are probably 3,000 in and about the batteries, the Navy Yard and the suburbs, and there are also, I am informed, 1500 at Pensacola; but I doubt exceedingly that there are as many as 8,000 men, all told, of effective strength under the command of General Bragg.

It would be a mistake to despise these irregulars. One of the Mississippi regiments out in camp was evidently composed of men who liked campaigning, and who looked as though they would like fighting. They had no particular uniforms—the remark will often be made—but they had pugnacious physiognomies and the physical means of carrying their inclinations into effect, and every man of them was, I am informed, familiar with the use of arms."

Having made the circuit of the works and gathered his impressions of the character of their defenders, Mr. Russell presented himself on the landing at Fort Pickens, where he was received by Captain Vodges and Captain Berry, two officers at the station. His observations of the fort and its capabilities for defensive and offensive action were amply confirmed by subsequent events. He thus describes the place. "The way from the jetty to the entrance of the fort is in the universal deep sand of this part of the world ; the distance from the landing-place to the gateway is not much more than two hundred yards, and the approach to the portal is quite unprotected. There is a high ramp and glacis on the land side, but the face and part of the curtain in which the gate is situate are open, as it was not considered likely that it would ever be attacked by Americans. The sharp angle of the bastion on this face is so weak that men are now engaged in throwing up an extempore glacis to cover the base of the wall and the casemates from fire. The ditch is very broad, and the scarp and counterscarp are riveted with brickwork. The curvette has been cleared out, and in doing so, as a proof of the agreeable character of the locality, I may observe upwards of sixty rattlesnakes were killed by the workmen. An abattis has been made along the edge of this part of the ditch—a rough inclined fence of stakes and boughs of trees. 'Yes, sir ; at one time when those terrible fire-eating gentlemen at the other side were full of threats, and coming to take the place every day, there were only seventy men in this fort, and Lieutenant Slemmer threw up this abattis to delay his assailants, if it were only for a few minutes, and to give his men breathing time to use their small arms.' The casemates here are all blinded, and the hospital is situate in the bomb-proofs inside. The gate was closed ; at a talismanic knock it was opened, and from the external silence we passed into a scene full of activity and life, through the dark gallery which served at first as a framework to the picture. The parade of the fort was full of men, and as a *coup d'œil*, it was obvious that great efforts had been made to prepare Fort Pickens for a desperate defence. In the parade were several tents of what is called Sibley's pattern, like our bell tents, but without the lower side-wall, and provided with a ventilating top, which can be elevated or depressed at pleasure. The parade-ground has been judiciously filled with deep holes, like inverted cones, in which shells will be comparatively innocuous ; and warned by Sumter, everything has been removed which could prove in the least degree combustible. The officer on duty led me straight across to the opposite angle of the fort. As the rear of the casemates and bomb-proofs along this side will be exposed to a plunging fire from the opposite side, a very ingenious screen has been constructed, by placing useless gun-platforms and parts of carriages at an angle against the wall, and piling them up with sand and earth for several feet in thickness. A passage is thus left between the base of the wall and that of the screen, through which a man can walk with ease. Turning into this passage, we entered a lofty bomb-proof, which was the bedroom of the commanding officer, and passed through into the casemate which serves as his headquarters.

"Colonel Harvey Brown received me with every expression of politeness and courtesy. He is a tall, spare, soldierly-looking man, with a face indicative of great resolution and energy, as well as of sagacity and kindness; and his attachment to the Union was probably one of the reasons of his removal from the command of Fort Hamilton, New York, to the charge of this very important fort. He has been long in the service, and he belonged to the first class of graduates who passed at West Point after its establishment in 1818. After a short and very interesting conversation, he proceeded to show me the works, and we mounted upon the parapet, accompanied by Captain Berry, and went over all the defences. Fort Pickens has a regular bastioned trace, in outline an oblique and rather narrow parallelogram, with the obtuse angles facing the sea at one side and the land at the other. The acute angle at which the bastion toward the enemy's batteries is situate, is the weakest part of the work; but it was built for sea defence, as I have already observed, and the trace was prolonged to obtain the greatest amount of fire on the sea approaches. The crest of the parapet is covered with very solid and well-made merlons of heavy sand-bags, but one face and the gorge of the bastion are exposed to an enfilading fire from Fort McRae, which the Colonel said he intended to guard against if he got time. All the guns seemed in good order, the carriages being well constructed, but they are mostly of what are considered small calibres now-a-days, being 32-pounders, with some 42-pounders and 24-pounders. There are, however, four heavy columbiads, which command the enemy's works on several points very completely. It struck me that the bastion guns were rather crowded. But, even in its present state, the defensive preparations are most creditable to the officers, who have had only three weeks to do the immense amount of work before us. The brick copings have been removed from the parapets, and strong sand-bag traverses have been constructed to cover the gunners, in addition to the 'rat-holes' at the bastions. More heavy guns are expected, which, with the aid of a few more mortars, will enable the garrison to hold their own against everything but a regular siege on the land side, and so long as the fleet covers the narrow neck of the island with its guns, it is not possible for the Confederates to effect a lodgment. If Fort McRae was strong and heavily armed, it could inflict great damage on Pickens; but it is neither the one nor the other, and the United States officers are confident that they will speedily render it quite untenable. The *bouches à feu* of the fort may be put down at forty, including the available pieces in the casemates, which sweep the ditch and the faces of the curtains. The walls are of the hardest brick, of nine feet thickness in many places, and the crest of the parapets on which the merlons and traverses rest are of turf. From the walls there is a splendid view of the whole position, and I found my companions were perfectly well acquainted with the strength and *locus* of the greater part of the enemy's works. Of course I held my peace, but I was amused at their accuracy. 'There are the quarters of our friend, General Bragg.' 'There is one of their best batteries just beside the lighthouse.' The tall chimney of the Warrington Navy Yard was smoking away lustily. The Colonel called my attention to it. 'Do you see that, sir? They are casting shot there. The sole reason for their "forbearance" is that Navy Yard. They know full well that if they open a gun upon us, we will lay that yard and all the work in ruins.'"

To the personal notice of Colonel Harvey Brown in this paragraph, we may add that he was a native of New Jersey, and that, after graduating at West Point, he became 1st Lieutenant of Artillery in 1821, was, in the Florida war in 1836, Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of mounted Creek Volunteers, was brevetted Major for his services, and in the Mexican war gained distinguished credit in the columns of General Taylor and General Scott at Monterey, Contreras, Churubusco, and Belen. He reached the rank of Major in 1851, and Colonel in 1858. His selection by the Government for the delicate and responsible duty of reinforcing Fort Pickens and taking the command on his arrival, was fully justified by the ability with which these services were performed by him. In the early perils of the war for the Union the country relied, and not in vain, upon her manly defender at Fort Pickens.

Months passed on while the defences were being strengthened on both sides; the defects noticed by Mr. Russell were repaired; the blockading squadron grew more effective with experience; heavier guns were brought to the fort; new reinforcements came—the notable regiment of Wilson's Zouaves, enlisted in the City of New York, on their arrival at the end of June, increasing the force on the island to about 2,400 men—and the public began to be impatient at the hesitation or forbearance of the Government in not arresting the increasing line of batteries on the shore, and driving the insurgents from their position. "As a specimen of the perfect sangfroid, and if I may be allowed the term, the peacefulness of this disgusting war," wrote, on the 25th of June, a correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, from the deck of the Niagara, one of the blockading fleet, "Colonel Brown, who has declared his determination to open fire the first opportunity the rebels might show him, received a polite note from General Bragg, the representative of the pseudo government, requesting that he would not commence fire, or take it as an opening of hostilities, if by chance one of his guns should be discharged, as it might be from some accidental cause, but wait for a repetition."

The delay, however, was doubtless well understood at the fort, and had its sufficient reasons of policy, were it only to keep employed a large force of the enemy, who might be far more troublesome to the National cause elsewhere. In due time Pensacola was abandoned by General Bragg and his army. Meanwhile the seemingly slow progress of hostilities in the bay was diversified by more than one incident of brilliant adventure. The destruction of the dry dock, in the face of the enemy, by a party from the fort, was one of these. The enemy had unmoored this ponderous structure at its station, and caused it to be floated into the channel, where it was sunk as an obstruction to the passage of any vessels into the bay. This remained there for some time, when it becoming apparent that it was about to be removed to a more effective position, Colonel Brown resolved effectually to dispose of it. Sunday, the 1st of September, was passed in preparation for the work, the carrying out of which was entrusted to Lieutenant Shipley with a select boat's crew. Ammunition was got ready and the guns manned, to bombard the forts on the shore should opposition be offered to the enterprise. A correspondent from Camp Brown, outside of the fort, gives an account of the scene which ensued. "Night came, cloudless; the heavens lit up by hosts of stars. The opposite shore was plainly visible, and the enterprise seemed too hazardous, as in the planning of it a darker night had been looked for. Upon consultation it was thought best to wait till the following night. All day Monday a strong breeze blew from off the Gulf; rain was expected but none fell. Night came, and the sky was cloudy. A few minutes after tattoo (nine o'clock) Lieutenant Shipley left the beach in front of the fort in a boat, with eleven picked men, rowing noiselessly for the dry dock. The boat reached the dock without being challenged, was made fast, when the men sprang up prepared to encounter and overcome the sentries, who had often been seen stationed upon it at night; none were found, however, and they proceeded to accomplish their work. Combustible materials of various kinds had been prepared and brought along, together with three large Columbiad shells. These were placed in the boilers. The combustibles, properly arranged, word was given for the men to go aboard the boat. Lieutenant Shipley remaining to apply the match, which done, he quickly followed in their wake. Scarcely had a distance of twenty yards from the doomed structure been gained by the gallant little band, when the flames burst forth, followed almost immediately by the explosion of the shells, which filled the air in a shower of fragments around the retreating boat, but fortunately injuring none of the crew. As the first streak of flame mounted upwards, the 'long roll' sounded at the Navy Yard, but not a shot was fired, and the boat reached the shore in safety. Meanwhile the whole sky was illuminated by the tall spires of flame which shot upward from the burning dock. All night long the fierce element sped on its work of destruction, and when morning dawned, a shapeless mass of ruins floating upon the water was all that remained of the dry dock, which cost the Government upwards of a million and a half of dollars, but which the 'mad demon of rebellion' wrested from its grasp." *

The destruction of the Dry Dock was succeeded by a daring achievement under the enemy's guns, by a select party from the United States ship Colorado, of the blockading squadron, which recalls to us similar feats of prowess, in the brilliant adventures in the port of Tripoli of Bainbridge, Decatur and Somers. The circumstances of this affair are thus narrated in the official report of Flag-officer William Mervine, dated from his ship the Colorado, off Port Pickens, September 15, 1861. Addressing the Secretary of the Navy, he writes: "I have the

---

* Fort Pickens' correspondence of the New York *Herald*, September 14, 1861.

honor to inform you that a boat expedition was fitted out from this ship on the night of the 13th instant, consisting of the first launch, first, second and third cutters, under the commands of Lieutenants Russell, Sprotson, Blake and Midshipman Steece, respectively, assisted by Captain Reynolds, of the marine corps, Assistant-Surgeon Kennedy, Assistant-Engineer White, Gunner Boreton, and Midshipmen Forrest and Higginson. The whole force detailed consisted of about one hundred men, officers, sailors and marines. The object of the expedition was the destruction of a schooner which lay off the Pensacola Navy Yard, supposed to be fitting out as a privateer, and the spiking of a gun in battery at the south-east end of the yard. The movements of the schooner had been assiduously watched for several days and nights, and I deemed it so morally certain that she was intended for a privateer, that I determined the attempt should be made to destroy her, even in face of the fearful odds which would have to be encountered. Lieutenant Russell had charge of the expedition, and with Lieutenant Blake, was to attack the vessel, while Lieutenant Sprotson and Midshipman Steece spiked the gun. The attack was made on the morning of the 14th instant, at half-past three o'clock. The schooner, named the Judah, was found moored to the wharf, under the protection of a battery and one field-piece, and to be armed with a pivot and two broadside guns. Her crew were on her and prepared to receive our forces, pouring in a volley of musketry as the boats neared the vessel. A desperate resistance was made from the deck of the schooner, but her men were driven off on to the wharf by our boarders, where they rallied and were joined by the guard, and kept up a continual fire upon our men. In the meantime the vessel was set on fire in several places. That which finally consumed her was lighted in the cabin by Assistant-Engineer White and a coal-heaver Patrick Driscoll, who went as a volunteer. She burned to the water's edge, and has since, while burning, been set free from her moorings, and has drifted down opposite Fort Barrancas, where she has sunk. Of the party assigned to the spiking of the gun, only Lieutenant Sprotson and Gunner Boreton were able, after considerable search, to find it, the party becoming separated in the darkness. No opposition being made to their landing; Steece, with his command, had gone to the aid of those on the schooner, where he performed valuable service. Very fortunately only one man was found in charge of the gun, and he immediately levelled his piece at Lieutenant Sprotson, but was shot down by Gunner Boreton before he could obtain certain aim, both pieces exploding simultaneously. The gun, which was found to be a 10-inch columbiad, was immediately spiked, and bringing off its tompion as a trophy, these two officers returned to their boat. The work proposed having been thus well and thoroughly done in the short space of fifteen minutes, and the whole force in the yard (reported by deserters to be over one thousand strong) being aroused, our boats pulled away, and rallying at a short distance from the shore, fired six charges of canister from their howitzers into the yard, with what result it is impossible to say. Three of the enemy are known to have been killed, and our officers are confident the number is much larger. The boats then returned to the ship, arriving there about daylight. But, sir, I am grieved to report that this brilliant affair was not unattended with loss on our side. I have to report as killed by shots from the cross-trees of the schooner, while the boats were approaching, Boatswain's Mate Charles H. Lamphere, and John R. Herring, seaman, and captain of howitzer (two of the best men in our ship), and marine John Smith (the first man to board the schooner, and who behaved most gallantly), who was, by a sad mistake, having lost his distinguishing mark, killed by one of our own men. We have wounded, probably mortally, seaman R. Clark and E. K. Osborne; severely, nine other seamen. Captain Reynolds received a severe contusion on his shoulder, and Midshipman Higginson had the end of his thumb shot off. Lieutenants Russell and Blake had narrow escapes, the flesh of each being grazed by one or more musket balls. It is not an easy task to select individual instances of bravery or daring where all behaved so gallantly. The officers unite in giving great credit to the coolness and bravery with which they were supported by the men, and the latter have learned to look with new pride and confidence on the former. The marines, especially, seemed to have sustained the reputation borne by their branch of the service, as they receive encomiums from all sides. Assistant-Surgeon Kennedy rendered valuable assistance in the care of the wounded. Assistant-Engineer White brought down from the cross-trees of the schooner a man who had been seen to fire upon the boats, killing him instantly."

The next incident of moment at Santa Rosa, was an attack of the enemy in a sudden descent upon the island. Early on the morning of the 9th of October a well-planned assault from the mainland was made upon the camp of Colonel Wilson's 6th regiment New York Volunteers. A body of some fifteen hundred men, consisting of detachments from various regiments and companies of the Confederates about Pensacola, in which the Georgia and Mississippi riflemen were well represented, crossed on the night of the eighth in two steamers and a barge, and at two o'clock in the morning were safely landed on Santa Rosa Island, at a point about four miles distant from the fort. They were commanded by General Anderson, formerly Captain of the United States Dragoons. The object was to attack and destroy the encampment of the volunteers, cut off the retreat to the fort, spike the guns of the two batteries near Pickens, and probably, if opportunity served, though they could hardly have had much hope of success in this, assail the fort itself. The Zouave camp was three miles below the place where the landing was made, at a spot where the island was about half a mile wide. Along the coast extended a succession of three or four sand ridges, bounding the beach on either side. The ground was generally low and swampy.

The landing being effected, General Anderson divided his force into three parts—one led by himself, to proceed down the centre of the island, and make the main attack, while the others advanced along the shore to the right and left, with the intention of flanking the camp and cutting off the retreat of its occupants. The advance picket was slain, pierced by three balls, the Sergeant of the guard met with a like fate, and the remainder of the picket fled to carry the alarm to the camp. It was now about three o'clock, and the soldiers off duty were in profound slumber. The men were hardly aroused when the enemy were upon them. Their tents were entered and plundered, and many of them were fired. The Zouaves, however, immediately rallied, and a skirmishing fire was kept up with the invaders. The regimental colors were carried out in safety from a burning tent. Word was now brought to the fort of the attack, when Colonel Brown ordered the roll to be beaten, manned his guns, and sent forth his second in command, Major Vodges, with two companies of regulars to the rescue. Unhappily this officer in some way became entangled with the enemy in the obscurity of the night, was taken prisoner, but his force was at once rescued from their position by the next in command, Captain Hildt, who turned them with effect upon the enemy. Meanwhile two more companies, sent forth from the fort, under Major Arnold, came up, and, the enemy retreating, continued the pursuit. The Zouaves, also, assisted by the officers of the fort, followed on. The invading force was thus driven back in fearful disorder and consequent loss from the well-directed attacks of a foe skillfully taking advantage of the protecting sand hills, and familiar inequalities of the ground, to their landing place, where, embarking to their boats they were further pursued by the rifle shots of the regulars, thrown among their solid masses.

"When it is considered," says Colonel Brown in his report, "that less than two hundred regulars, with some fifty volunteers, pursued five times their number four miles and expelled them, under a heavy fire from the island they had desecrated, it will, I trust, be considered an evidence of their having gallantly performed their duty. The plan of attack of the enemy was judicious, and, if executed with ordinary ability, might have been attended with serious loss; but he failed in all save the burning of one-half the tents of the 6th regiment, which being covered with bushes, were very combustible, and in rifling the trunks of the officers. He did not reach within five hundred yards of the batteries, the guns of which he was to spike, nor within a mile of the fort he was to enter pell-mell, the fugitives retreating before his victorious arms. I have now in my possession nine spikes taken from the bodies of the dead, designed for our guns."

The loss of the regulars in this affair was four killed and twenty slightly wounded, and of the Zouaves ten killed and six wounded. Eight of the regulars and sixteen of the volunteers were missing, doubtless taken prisoners. The *Pensacola Observer* reported of the Confederates twenty-one killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-two prisoners. Three physicians were taken prisoners and released by Colonel Brown the following day.

A letter from Colonel Wilson to General Arthur, dated Fort Pickens, October 14, 1861, furnishes a familiar account of the attack. "On the morning of the 9th," he writes, "at half-past 3 o'clock the enemy attacked us in three columns, commencing by attacking, with small parties of twenty or thirty men, every sentinel. Two companies charged the picket tent, the three bodies, numbering in all 2,000 men, simultaneously firing volleys of musketry into the hospital and guard-house. We were out and formed in quick time. The sentinels, the guard, and officers came running in. They had fought retreating until overpowered, killing quite a number of them. Several of our pickets were killed and wounded. Private W. Scott deliberately waited until one column was within ten feet of him, and then shot the commanding officer, Captain Bradford. In an instant after, we were formed, fronting, as I supposed, the enemy. It was so dark that I could not discern a man ten feet off. We were fired into from three sides. I had just sent out Captain Hazelton with his company to the front as skirmishers, and Captain Duffy, with twenty men, to the left flank, to endeavor to find out the whereabouts of the enemy and draw their fire, when bang! we got it from all sides! By companies and file I wheeled my men into line to the left, and returned the fire. At this moment a blaze arose—the tents were all on fire; the quartermaster's and commission store or building was also on fire—all at one time. The distance from the camp to the commission building is an eighth of a mile. We could then see our enemy, for the first time, in dense masses in the centre of our camp, and extended along the ridge. Companies were seen moving along the ridges endeavoring to surround us. A large body of men were also drawn up fronting the camp, firing into our camp and us, setting fire to everything. We retired behind the first ridge towards the sea, halted and faced the enemy. I had but sixty men with me. I sent out for the rest of my officers and men, but could not find them. Stragglers came in and reported that Lieutenant-Colonel Creighton, Captains Hazelton, Huberer, Hotrel, and Lieutenant Silloway had retired towards the fort. On hearing this, I said to my few men: 'We will be cut off; they are trying to surround us; we are too few to fight so many;' and they gradually, being in good order, moved towards the beach on to the first battery, where we halted and rested a few moments. We then, as daylight appeared, marched in chase of the enemy. Until this time I heard no news of my men or of the regulars. I then learned from Major Towen that several companies were in chase of the enemy. We hurried up some seven miles, and arrived a few moments too late at the place where the enemy were getting slaughtered by our men while they were endeavoring to embark. There were three steamboats and three barges. The enemy lost in killed and wounded about 500 men. General Anderson led them on. Their war-cry was: 'Death to Wilson! No quarter to Wilson's Zouaves!' Five thousand dollars was the reward for him dead or alive. All our loss is about twenty killed, fifteen wounded, and twenty prisoners. Our new clothes are all destroyed. I have lost everything I had; my men also. They burned us out completely. Our papers and books are burned. . . . . They are exhibiting my hair and head in Pensacola. The reward is already claimed; also an old flag which I nailed to a flag-staff on the 4th of July, which has been hanging there ever since; nothing left, however, but the stars. The ladies have cut it up in pieces and have it pinned on their bosoms as a trophy. Every one in Pensacola has my sword and uniform. I must have had a large quantity of hair, plenty of swords and uniforms. They say if I was to be taken alive, I was to be put in a cage and exhibited." Colonel Wilson's estimate of the killed and wounded of the enemy differs, it will be observed, from that of the Confederates themselves—not, however, out of proportion to the usual discrepancies in the first narratives of this kind throughout the war.

The day following the attack upon the forces on the island, Colonel Brown—his thoughts evidently bent on retaliation—addressed the following communication to General Bragg. "I observe this morning," said he, "for the first time, a yellow flag hoisted over a large building directly in front of my batteries. I also understand that officers' wives and children are in the neighboring buildings. I do not make war on the sick, women, or children. The buildings will necessarily be exposed to my fire should there be a bombardment, and they are besides subject, under this flag, to be used as a protection to any of your troops that may take shelter behind or before them. I therefore give you this notice—that the sick, women, and children may be removed, so that if fired on, the responsibility may rest where it belongs."

To this the Confederate commander sent the next day, the 10th, the following reply: "I received late last night your communication of that date with profound astonishment. The building on which you had, for the first time, observed the yellow flag, has been well known to you and to all your command, as well as to the United States Navy, as the military hospital of this station, and you could not help knowing that it is now used for that purpose. Dealing with one who had been an old brother soldier of high reputation, I had hoped that our intercourse and conduct in the hostile attitude in which we are placed would be marked by all the courtesies and amenities of civilized warfare. But it seems from your communication that you claim the right to violate the hospital flag, *because it may be abused.* Admit this principle, and we revert to a state of barbarism. The sick, the women and children, and prisoners must become objects of vengeance, the white flag must be abolished, 'Beauty and Booty,' 'Rape and Rapine,' must follow in the track of a victorious commander. I decline your invitation to make these the subjects of war. Your hospital flag has been, and shall be respected. In the affair of Tuesday night, your hospital, with its inmates, was in our possession for at least one hour, and as far as I can learn, my orders to scrupulously respect both were rigidly enforced. Our hospital and the two adjacent buildings occupied by medical officers will continue to be used for legitimate purposes. Nothing has or will be done to attract your fire. If, under these circumstances, you should put your threat into execution, which would only be in accordance with the acts of some of your brother commanders of little experience in the custom of war, I shall take care that the fact shall be made known, that it may receive, as it will deserve, the execration of the civilized world."

Three days after the assault of the enemy at Santa Rosa Island, a spirited attack of a like desperate character was made upon the blockading vessels at the entrance of the Mississippi. By orders of Commodore McKean, the chief officer of the squadron at Pensacola, the United States steamer Richmond, 14 guns, the sloops-of-war Preble and Vincennes, and the steam-tender Water Witch, carrying a single gun, were stationed at the head of the passes of the Mississippi, where they were engaged in erecting a land battery at a point which commanded the entire navigation of the river. While in this position, on a very dark night, they were suddenly assailed by a formidable flotilla which had been fitted out at New Orleans, and was placed under the command of Captain Hollins, formerly an officer of the United States navy, celebrated for his bombardment of Greytown, in Nicaragua. The enemy's fleets, gathered at the forts above the Passes waiting the opportunity for attack, consisted of the Manassas, a completely covered iron-plated propeller, altered from a heavy tug-boat, armed with a 64-pounder Dahlgren gun and a formidable projecting borer or ram; Commodore Hollins' flag-ship the steamer Calhoun, with a single 24-pounder Dahlgren; the steamers Ivy, McRea, and Jackson, all powerfully armed, with a supplementary force of towboats and barges, the latter laden with combustibles to be set on fire and driven against the Union vessels. With this preparation the attack was made. It is thus described by flag-officer Captain John Pope, whose vessel, the Richmond, was first assailed. "At 3:45 A. M., October 12, 1861," says he, in his report to Commodore McKean the day after the affair, "while the watch on deck were employed in taking coal from the schooner Joseph H. Toone, a ram was discovered in close proximity to this ship. By the time the alarm could be given, she had struck the ship abreast of the port fore channels, tearing the schooner from her fasts and forcing a hole through the ship's side. Passing aft, the ram endeavored to effect a breach in the stern, but failed. Three planks on the ship's side were stove in about two feet below the water-line, making a hole about five inches in circumference. At the first alarm the crew promptly and coolly repaired to their quarters, and as the ram passed abreast of the ship, the entire port battery was discharged at her, with what effect it is impossible to discover, owing to the darkness. A red light was shown as a signal of 'danger,' and the squadron was under way in a very few minutes, having slipped the cables. I ordered the Preble and Vincennes to proceed down the South-west Pass, while I covered their retreat, which they did at 4:50 A. M. At this time three large fire-rafts, stretching across the river, were rapidly nearing us, while several large steamers and a bark-rigged propeller were seen astern of them. The squadron proceeded down the river in the following order: 1. Preble; 2. Vincennes; 3. Richmond; 4. Water Witch, with the prize schooner Frolic in tow. When abreast of the Pilot Settlement, the pilot informed me that he did not consider it safe to venture to turn this ship in the river, but that he believed he could pass over the bar. I accordingly attempted to cross over the bar with the squadron, but in the passage the Vincennes and the Richmond grounded, while the Preble went over clear. This occurred about 8 o'clock, and the enemy, who were now down the river with five steamers, commenced firing at us, while we returned the fire from our port battery and rifled gun on the poop, our shot, however, falling short of the enemy, while their shell burst on all sides of us, and several passed directly over the ship. At 9:30 commander Handy of the Vincennes, mistaking my signal to the ships outside the bar to 'get under way,' for a signal to him to 'abandon his ship,' came on board the Richmond with all his officers and a large number of his crew, the remainder having gone on board the Water Witch. Captain Handy, before leaving his ship, had placed a lighted slow-match at the magazine. Having waited a reasonable time for an explosion, I directed Captain Handy to return to his ship with his crew, to start the water, and if necessary, at his own request, to throw overboard his small guns for the purpose of lightening his ship, and to carry off his kedge with a cable to heave off by. At 10 A. M. the enemy ceased firing and withdrew up the river. During the engagement a shell entered our port quarter port, and one of the boats was stove by another shell."

The ram also sunk one of the large cutters of the Richmond, and a shot from the enemy stove the gig. The coal schooner fell into the hands of the enemy. The damage to the side of the Richmond was at once temporarily repaired. Happily for her further relief and protection, the army transport McClellan, bringing several rifle guns and a supply of ammunition from Fort Pickens for the ship, came up early in the afternoon. These reinforcements were received on board, when the McClellan gave her assistance to get the Richmond off the bar. This was successfully accomplished on the morning of the 13th, and the afternoon of the same day the Vincennes, the guns of which had been thrown overboard on Commander Handy's return to the ship, was also got afloat, when the entire fleet was carried without further injury down the Pass. Not a single life was lost from the rebel attack.

The first report of this affair reached the North by way of Richmond, in the following despatch from the Confederate commander: "Fort Jackson, October 12, 1861. Last night I attacked the blockaders with my little fleet. I succeeded, after a very short struggle, in driving them all aground on the Southwest Pass bar, except the Preble, which I sunk. I captured a prize from them, and after they were fast in the sand, I peppered them well. There were no casualties on our side. It was a complete success. HOLLINS." This was much commented upon at the time in the newspapers for its alleged exaggeration, and the phrase "peppered them well" passed into the slang currency of the day, but a knowledge of the whole affair showed that Captain Hollins, in spite of his false impression concerning the Preble had some ground for exultation. His attack, as the precursor of the memorable career of the Virginia or Merrimac, is of historic interest, while as a surprise his movement was daring, and to a certain extent successful, at least in inflicting considerable damage, and in breaking up for a time the occupation of the river by a land battery, though, as appears from the following interesting narrative of the affair, published in the New Orleans *Crescent*, the Manassas by no means escaped without injury.

"On Friday night, the 11th October, about 12 o'clock," says this writer, "the little fleet left the forts in the following order: The Manassas leading the way, with orders to go right in among the fleet, and run down the first vessel she could get at, sending up a rocket at the instant she made an attack. Then came the Tuscarora and the tow-boat Watson, with the five barges in tow; these had orders to set fire to the barges the moment they saw the rocket from the Manassas. After these were the Calhoun, Ivy, McRae, and Jackson. The last was the launch, bringing up the rear. The tow-boat Watson was under the command of Lieutenant Aylette. The night was intensely dark, and it was almost impossible to see twenty yards ahead. The Manassas put on a heavy head of steam and dashed on in the direction where it was thought the enemy were lying. Suddenly a large ship was discovered only about a length ahead, and before Lieutenant Warley could have time to fire the signal rocket, into her they went with an awful crash. An appalling shriek was heard on board of the doomed ship, and the iron steamer was borne off by the current, and found herself in the midst of the enemy's fleet. The signal rocket was fired, the enemy beat to quarters, and a perfect storm of iron hail was falling upon and around the Manassas, the machinery of which it was soon discovered by the commander, had in some manner become deranged. This was most inopportune and perilous ; and the Richmond, soon observing that something was wrong, began playing upon her with all the power of her guns. Lieutenant Warley found that only one engine would work, and with that he began working his way out of reach toward shore ; but the shot fell thick and fast around and upon the 'old turtle,' and her fate seemed hanging on a hair, when the brave little Tuscarora and the Watson came up with five barges on fire, and soon cut them adrift on the stream. Commodore Hollins did not know what had been the result of the firing, neither did the rest of the commanding officers. It was too dark to make observations, and he did not wish to risk signals. So daylight was waited for impatiently. It came at last, and presented the following picture : The enemy, some miles down, heeling it for the open sea by way of the South-west Pass, with one of their ships sunk on the middle ground. The Manassas close in shore, among the willows, concealed as well as possible ; the Watson and the Tuscarora aground on the bank not far off. The Tuscarora was soon pulled off by the rest, and the fleet commenced a pursuit of the retreating enemy. They soon came within range, and a heavy cannonade began. The sunken ship seemed to be in a very bad fix, as she was nearly on her beam ends. The Richmond drew up on the outside and protected her with her full broadside. The other vessels of the enemy soon got aground, but near by, and in a great measure protected by the Richmond's guns. Our fleet pitched shot and shell into them with vengeance, and our informant tells us that he saw at least two shots hit the Richmond which were fired from the Tuscarora, and two or three from the Ivy. The shots from the Yankees were all badly aimed, and not one touched any of our vessels, though over five hundred passed all around them. After continuing the cannonade until about eight o'clock, Commodore Hollins concluded that the sport did not pay for the powder, and feeling that he had won glory enough for one day, and that the enemy were in a fix that it would take them some time to get out of, he ordered his fleet back to town. The Manassas struck the vessel she ran into near the bow, and cut into her upwards of twenty feet, if we may judge from the fact that splinters, copper and nails were found in the cracks of the iron on her sides to at least that distance. She drew off from the collision without trouble, though she undoubtedly twisted her prow badly when swayed to one side by the current, for it was found broken and bent to one side. The balls which struck her bounded off without effecting any damage, except in one case, when a ball hit on the bluff of the bow and made an ugly, though not serious, dent in the iron. It is said that the balls from the Richmond's broadside fell upon her like hail upon a house-top for a while, but to-day nothing of this can be seen excepting the dent above mentioned. The accident which happened to her machinery disabled her propeller, and she was, consequently, almost unmanageable, yet it was not of a nature to require more than a day or two to repair. She went into dock yesterday afternoon at Algiers. If that accident had not occurred, she undoubtedly would have sunk the whole of the enemy's fleet."

To return to the harbor of Pensacola. The defiance of the enemy in the attack upon Santa Rosa Island, with the prospect of its being repeated if opportunity should offer, determined Colonel Brown to break his long-enforced silence, and if possible, administer a lesson to the assailants which would make them chary of such projects in the future. The resolute old soldier burned to avenge the insult to his flag. "That Fort Pickens," he wrote to the War Department at Washington, "has been beleaguered by the rebels for the last nine months, and that it was daily threatened with the fate of Sumter, is a fact notorious to the whole world. Since its occupancy by Lieutenant Slemmer the rebels have been surrounding it with batteries, and daily arming them with the heaviest and most efficient guns known to our service—guns stolen from the United States—until they considered this fort as virtually their own, its occupancy being only a question of time. I have been in command since the 16th of April, and during the whole of that time their force has averaged, so far as I can learn, from eight to ten times the number of mine. The position in which I have thus been placed has been sufficiently trying, and I have at three separate times intended to free myself from it by opening my batteries on them, but imperious circumstances, over which I had no control, have unexpectedly in each instance prevented."* At length he resolved upon action. Having taken council with the flag-officer of the squadron off the harbor, Commodore McKean, and finding him of the same mind in the matter, it was determined, with the aid of the ships at the station, to open fire from the fort on the morning of the 22d of November. The vessels thus called into the service were the flag-ship, the steam frigate Niagara and the sloop of war Richmond, which had of late been engaged in the night attack of the Confederate Captain Hollins on the Mississippi. Two steamers, it seems, were in the habit of plying between Pensacola and the Navy Yard, bringing down supplies to the latter place, and when these had made their appearance as usual at the yard, Colonel Brown, a few minutes before ten on the day appointed, fired his first gun, a signal for the ships to come into action. They quickly obeyed the summons, and in a short time the engagement was general. The line of forts and batteries to which Fort Pickens and the ships were now opposed extended four miles round the bay from the Navy Yard, on the north-east, to fort McRae on the south-west. Central to their semi-circular outline, at a distance from the several works

---

* Dispatch, Fort Pickens, November 25, 1861.

varying from two thousand one hundred to two thousand nine hundred yards, at the extremity of Santa Rosa Island stood Fort Pickens. Supposing the outline of the hostile batteries to be that of a bent bow, Pickens was at the apex of the string to which the archer draws his arrow. On that arc, on the enemy's ground, were now erected, beside the old works of Forts Barrancas and McCrea, no less than fourteen separate batteries, mounting from one to four guns each, many of them ten-inch columbiads, and some twelve and thirteen-inch sea-coast mortars. These powerful fortifications were defended by some eight thousand men, while Captain Brown had under his command at Fort Pickens but one-sixth of that number. The story of the engagement which ensued is best told in the official report of Captain Brown to the Department, dated on the 25th, two days after the action. "At the same time of my opening," he writes, "Flag-Officer McKean, in the Niagara, and Captain Elliston in the Richmond, took position as near to Fort McRae as the depth of the water would permit, but which, unfortunately, was not sufficiently deep to give full effect to their powerful batteries. They, however, kept up a spirited fire on the fort and adjacent batteries during the whole day. My fire was incessant from the time of opening until it was too dark to see, at the rate of a shot for each gun every fifteen or twenty minutes, the fire of the enemy being somewhat slower. By noon the guns of Fort McRae were all silenced but one, and three hours before sunset this fort and the adjoining battery ceased fire. I directed the guns of batteries Lincoln, Cameron and Totten principally on the batteries adjacent to the Navy Yard; those of battery Scott to Fort McRae and the lighthouse batteries, and those of the fort to all. We reduced very perceptibly the fire of Barrancas, entirely silenced that in the Navy Yard, and in one or two of the other batteries the efficiency of our fire, at the close of the day not being the least impaired. The next morning I again opened about the same hour, the navy, unfortunately, owing to a reduction in the depth of water, caused by a change of wind, not being able to get so near as yesterday, consequently the distance was too great to be effectual. My fire this day was less rapid, and, I think, more efficient than that of yesterday. Fort McRae, so effectually silenced yesterday, did not fire again to-day. We silenced entirely one or two guns, and had one of ours disabled by a shot coming through the embrasure. About 3 o'clock fire was communicated to one of the houses in Warrington, and shortly afterwards to the church steeple, the church and the whole village being immediately in rear of some of the rebel batteries, they apparently having placed them purposely directly in front of the largest and most valuable buildings. The fire rapidly communicated to other buildings along the street until probably two-thirds of it was consumed; and about the same time fire was discovered issuing from the back part of the Navy yard, probably in Wolcott, a village to the north and immediately adjoining the yard, as Warrington does on the west. Finally it penetrated to the yard, and as it continued to burn brightly all night, I concluded that either in it or in Wolcott many buildings were destroyed. Very heavy damage was done also to the buildings of the yard by the avalanche of shot, shell and splinters showered unceasingly on them for two days, and being nearly fire-proof, being built of brick and covered with slate, I could not succeed in firing them, my hot shot nor shells not having any power of igniting them. The steamer Time, which was at the wharf at the time, was abandoned on the first day and exposed to our fire, which probably entirely disabled her. The fire was again continued till dark, and with mortars occasionally, until 2 o'clock the next morning, when the combat ceased. This fort, at its conclusion, though it has received a great many shot and shell, is, in every respect, save the disabling of one gun carriage and the loss of service of six men, as efficient as it was at the commencement of the combat; but the ends I proposed in commencing having been attained, except one, which I find to be impracticable with my present means, I do not deem advisable further to continue it unless the enemy think proper to do so, when I shall meet him with alacrity. The attack on 'Billy Wilson's' camp, the attempted attack on my batteries, and the insult to our glorious flag have been fully and fearfully avenged. I have no means of knowing the loss of the enemy, and have no disposition to guess at it. The firing on his batteries was very heavy, well-directed and continuous for two days, and could hardly fail of having important results. Our loss would have been heavy but for the foresight which, with great labor, caused us to erect elaborate means of protection, and which saved many lives. I lost one private killed, one sergeant, one corporal and four men (privates) wounded, only one severely."

To this light bill of casualties, unhappily, was added a disaster, one of many such, growing out of carelessness or inexperience during the war, in the explosion of a shell after the bombardment had terminated. To prevent such an accident Colonel Brown had ordered all the shot and shell of the enemy to be collected, and as this was being done the thing happened which he was endeavoring to avoid. One of the men was recklessly bent upon emptying one shell by knocking it against another, when the concussion produced an explosion. It was in the midst of a crowd, and five men were instantly killed and seven wounded. The fatal result of this accident showed how carefully the commander had shielded his men during the action from the effect of these death-dealing missives.

The Niagara was employed both days in the bombardment, but necessarily, from the shallow water, at such long range that her guns, though by no means ineffective, were unable to accomplish as much as might have been expected from the laborious and skillful handling of her picked crew. An 84-pound rifle which she carried, however, told with good effect. The enemy had more powerful guns, the shots from which passed beyond the ship, and in two instances penetrated her side. Not a man, however, was injured. The companion of the Niagara, the Richmond, was less fortunate. As her draft was lighter, she was enabled to approach nearer the shore. Whilst receiving the fire of one of the batteries, the captain of one of her guns was killed at his post in the act of firing, and seven men wounded by the same discharge. This happened the first day, and being also seriously disabled by a shot at the water-line, she was not again in the action. A vast quantity of ammunition was expended in this affair. The Niagara fired two hundred and twenty-five shell, a number of which were loaded with sand for breaching the fort. A passage from a letter of one of the officers will give the reader an idea of the scene on board this noble ship during the engagement. He is reciting the incidents of the second day: "All hands had a good warm breakfast, at 9 o'clock we went to prayers. At half-past nine signals were made to Fort Pickens, and at ten we weighed anchor, and steamed in nearly to our position. As soon as we approached the new battery in the wood disclosed itself, and although it burst shell very near us it could not do us much harm. The other battery in the wood now consists of two pieces. Fort Pickens opened fire a little after ten. We came to anchor at forty minutes past ten, and fired the first gun at a quarter to eleven. At this time all the batteries were hard at work. There were between forty and fifty guns playing into Fort Pickens. As we expected, masked batteries had disclosed themselves all along the beach. Our firing was very slow, owing to our inability to reach them, except with the rifled gun. The wind, which was quite strong, was directly against us, and very much in favor of the rebels. The charges of powder were increased from fifteen to seventeen pounds, and still our shots fell short. About a dozen of their shell exploded quite near enough for comfort. The men took matters quite coolly. The commodore, in his address in the morning, told them he did not want so many lookers-on to be on deck. Said he, 'one watch go below and sleep and be ready to relieve the other when wanted.' As I passed along the birth-deck I saw many of them stretched out fast asleep, and not a few playing backgammon and checkers.

"Finding that all our shots fell short, we weighed anchor at half-past two, and moved in a little closer. Hardly had we dropped it before a shot went whizzing in between our smoke pipes and fell in the water half a mile the other side of us. Immediately there came another and then another, and while they came thick and fast, our guns returned the compliment. But it was no use; our shot all fell short. The wind was too strong and our ship was dangerously near the bottom. The charges of powder were increased to twenty pounds, five more than the regular charge, and finding that that did us no good, we weighed anchor and stood out. Even after we had moved out a long distance several of the shots of this new gun came directly over our quarter. It could have been no other than a ten-inch columbiad, or else one of the rifled one hundred and twenty-pounders, said to have been brought over by the Bermuda. One of our men says he could hear it say, 'secesh, secesh, secesh—sechong!' as it landed in the water. Had one of the secesh villains hit us it would have bored us through and through. We got out of their range at last, and then we had the satisfaction of watching the grand conflagration." *

---

* Correspondence *Providence Evening Press.* Dec. 12, 1861

E
468
D97
1861
v.1